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A

GENERAL HISTORY

OF

MUSIC.

FROM THE

EARLIEST AGES TO THE PRESENT PERIOD.

BY

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A

GENERAL HISTORY

OF

MUSIC.

CHAP. I.

Of the Introduction of Music into the Church, and of its Progress there previous to the Time of Guido.

THAT Music had very early admission in the sacred rites of the Egyptians and Hebrews, has been already shewn; and that it likewise constituted a considerable part of the religious ceremonies of the Greeks and Romans at all times, is certain, from testimonies, and descriptions of those ceremonies, still to be found in the most respectable writers of antiquity. Dionysius Halicarnassensis (*a*) relates that Dardanus, upon consulting the Oracle concerning his settlement, among other things, had this answer relative to the custody of the images of the Gods: "Remember to establish in the city, "which you shall build, perpetual worship to the Gods, and "to honour them with safeguards, sacrifices, solemn Dances "and Songs (*b*)." Indeed there remain no proofs that any other

(*a*) *Lib. i.*

(*b*) The late Mr. Spelman's note on this passage is curious with respect to chronology: "The oracle, says he, that was "delivered to Dardanus, if the authori-"ties quoted by Dionysius, which are Callistratus,

language except poetry, through the vehicle of music, had admission in the Rituals or Liturgies of the Pagans. All the prayers, thanksgivings, and praises offered up to their several divinities, were *Songs* and *Choruses*, accompanied by musical instruments, and, generally, by *Dancing*, or at least by a solemn *March* and by *Gestures*. "If Music, says Censorinus, had not "been acceptable to the immortal Gods, a *Tibicen* would cer- "tainly not have assisted *at every prayer* in their temples (*c*)." Horace calls music *a friend to the temple* (*d*); and says, that "The guardian gods of Numida are to be appeased by incense "and *music* (*e*)." Maximus Tyrius calls it "The Companion "of Sacrifices (*f*)." And according to Proclus, the very avenues of the temple were furnished with music. "When they "approached the altars and temples they sung, and the tibia "played in the recess (*g*)."

It has already been observed, vol. I. that Plato was such a friend to temple music, as to wish that no other should be heard either by gods or men. And it appears that in all nations the first *public* use of music has been in the celebration of religious rites and ceremonies. Tacitus (*h*) informs us, that the

"listratus, Satyrus, and Arctinus, the most "ancient poet known in his time, have "not misled him, is of the highest anti- "quity; since it was given to him before "he founded the kingdom of Troy, which "happened in the 3234th year of the "Julian period, (Petavius, lib. ii.) about "50 years after the Israelites came out "of Egypt, and a little before the death "of Joshua; 296 years before Troy was "taken by the Greeks, in the reign of "Priamus. It is very remarkable that "this oracle is in very good hexameter "verse, and the *language not at all differ- "ent from that of Homer*, who writ 500 "years after this period; nor from the "language of those poets who writ 500 "years after Homer." Spelman's Diony- sius, vol. i. p. 153. If this account could be relied on, the difficulty concerning Orpheus being the author of the verses ascribed to him, vanishes, as well as that of Homer not having been able to write or read, for want of language, and even letters, in such remote antiquity. See Wood's Posthumous Publication.

(*c*) *Nisi grata esset immortalibus Diis musica, profecto, nec tibicen omnibus supplicationibus in sacris ædibus adhiberetur.* De Die Nat. c. 12.

(*d*) *Amica templo.* Lib. iii. Od. 2.

(*e*) *Et Thure & fidibus juvat placare— custodes Numidæ Deos.* Lib. i. Od. 36.

(*f*) *Socia* Sacrificiorum. Serm. 21.

(*g*) *In Chrestomat. apud* Photium.

(*h*) Initio *Libri de Morib. Germ.*

ancient

ancient Germans used to sing the praises of their Gods Teuton, or Tuisto, and Mannus, in verses, with which they likewise recorded the most memorable events in their history.

The propensity which the early Christians had to singing psalms and hymns, may be gathered Acts xvi. 25, where St. Paul himself and Silas are described singing in a dungeon (*i*); which was afterwards imitated by other saints and martyrs. The same apostle, Ephes. v. 19. recommends the singing of psalms, hymns, and spiritual songs at festivals, it should seem after the manner of the *Scolia* of the Greeks, which were not only convivial songs, and panegyrics to deceased heroes, but hymns to the Gods. St. James clearly distinguishes prayer from song; chap. v. ver. 13 (*k*). "Is any among you afflicted? "let him pray. Is any merry? let him sing psalms." And St. Paul has the same distinction, 1 Cor. xiv. ver. 15: "I will *pray* with the spirit, and I will *pray* with the understanding "also: I will *sing* with the spirit, and I will *sing* with the un- "derstanding also *(l)*."

Lucian speaks of the psalm-singing rage of the first Christians; and Pliny the Younger accuses them of singing, or rather *Chanting* hymns to Christ *as to a God (m)*.

Justin Martyr, who flourished in 163, has left, in his Apology to the emperor Antoninus Pius, a clear and indisputable testimony of the early use of hymns by the Christians. "Approv- "ing ourselves grateful to God, by celebrating his praises with "hymns and other solemnities *(n)*."

(*i*) "And at midnight Paul and Silas "prayed and *sang* praises unto God." υμνον τον Θεον.

(*k*) Ψαλλετω. *Psallat.*

(*l*) Ψαλω τω πνευματι, ψαλω δε και νοι — *Psallam spiritu, psallam et mente.* See likewise Ephesians, chap. v. ver. 19. and Coloss. iii. 16.

(*m*) *Quasi Deo.* Lib. x. Ep. 97. What Mr. Melmoth translates *a form of prayer*, is, in the original, *carmen.* Tertullian, speaking of Pliny persecuting the Christians, says, that all he accused them of was, that, besides neglecting to sacrifice, they held meetings before day-break *to sing in honour of Christ as a God.* And Eusebius, in his Ecclesiastical History, translates the complaint which Pliny made against the Christians to the emperor Adrian, thus: τον Χριστον δικην Θεω υμνειν. *Christo tanquam Deo canere*

(*n*) *Gratos nos illi exhibentes rationales pompas, et hymnos celebramus*—&c.

Upon

Upon these occasions, however, we do not find that a new species of music was invented for the purpose of praising God, after a manner peculiar to the Christians; it is probable therefore that the music of the times, and, perhaps, that of the Pagan hymns, was adopted. Origen, in writing against Celsus, who had treated the Christians as Barbarians, says, that "The Greeks pray in Greek, the Romans in Latin, and other "people in the language of their country celebrate the praises "of God to the utmost of their power." And when Celsus observes, that "though the Pagans sing hymns to Minerva "and to Apollo, they imagine they worship the great God." This father adds, but "We know the contrary, for we sing "hymns to none but the supreme Being, and to his only Son, "in the same manner as they sing to the Sun, Moon, Stars, "and all the heavenly host (*o*)."

Clemens Alexandrinus has a curious passage alluding to the church and to religious music (*p*): "This is the chosen moun-"tain of the Lord, unlike Cithæron, which has furnished sub-"jects to Tragedy: It is dedicated to Truth: a mountain of "greater purity, overspread with chaste shades.—It is inhabited "by the daughters of God, the fair Lambs, who celebrate to-"gether the *venerable Orgies*, collecting the chosen *Choir*. The "singers are holy men, their song is the hymn of the Al-"mighty King: Virgins chant, Angels glorify, Prophets dis-"course, while Music sweetly sounding is heard (*q*)."

Philo, speaking of the nocturnal assemblies of the Therapeutæ, whom Eusebius calls Christians, upon the vigils of saints, says: "After supper their sacred songs began: when "all were risen they selected from the rest two Choirs, one of

(*o*) *Cum hymni* Minervæ, *&* Soli *canuntur, magnum Deum magis coli videri: at nos*, subdit, *contra esse scimus. Hymnos enim canimus Soli summo DEO, et unigenito ejus verbo, atque DEO; et laudamus DEUM, e unigenitum ejus eodem modo, ac Sol, Luna, & Stellæ, et tota cælestis militia.*

(*p*) *Hic est mons Deo dilectus, qui non tragœdiis*, &c. *Admonit. ad Gentes.*

(*q*) This is the same musical language which the Greeks and Romans used long before the promulgation of the Gospel.

"men,

" men, and one of women, in order to celebrate some festival, " and from each of these a person of a majestic form, and well " skilled in music, was chosen to lead the band. They then " chanted hymns in honour of God, composed in different " measures and modulations, now singing together, and now " answering each other, by turns *(r)*."

This passage sufficiently proves the use of music by the primitive Christians, even before churches were built, or their religion was established by law. And Eusebius *(s)* in speaking of the consecration of churches throughout the Roman dominions, in the time of Constantine the first Christian Emperor, says, " that there was one common consent in *chanting* forth " the praises of God: the performance of the service was exact, " the rites of the church decent and majestic: and there was a " place appointed for those who sung psalms; *youths* and *vir-* " *gins*, *old men* and *young*."

It is in vain to seek for any regular ritual before this period, though St. Isidor, and, after him, all the Spanish ecclesiastical writers, tell us positively that St. Peter first settled the order of the mass *(t)*; nor can I find better authority for the establishment of music in the church during the reign of Constantine, than that of Eusebius, who was his cotemporary, and a principal agent in the ecclesiastical transactions of the times. And though the veracity of this historian may in some instances have been suspected, yet that scepticism must be excessive which will not allow the Fathers, and even credulous Monks, to be faithful in their accounts of such transactions as are indifferent to their cause; and when neither their own honour nor

(*r*) *De vita contemp.* All the early Greek fathers encouraged nocturnal singing of psalms and hymns, especially on the vigils of Saints, and the eves of great festivals, on which account the custom was continued much longer in the Greek church than in the Roman. Indeed the *Mesonyction*, or midnight service, and the *Pernoctations*, are still retained in the Liturgy of that Communion. *See Rites and Ceremonies of the Greek Church of Russia.*

(*s*) Lib. ii. cap. 3.

(*t*) Marbillon, *de Liturg. Gallic.* p. 5.

interest can be affected by deviations from truth. It was in the year 312 from the coming of our Saviour, that Christianity, after the defeat of Maxentius, became the established religion of the Roman empire. The primitive Christians, previous to this important æra, being subject to persecution, proscription, and martyrdom, must frequently have been reduced to silent prayer in dens and caves.

In 313, Constantine built several sumptuous churches for the Christian worship, and in 314, the celebration of the usual secular games in Italy was omitted, to the great mortification of the Pagans. From this time, to the reign of Theodosius, a period of near seventy years was spent in vain struggles by the zealots of Paganism for the restoration of their ancient religion; and in successful endeavours on the part of the Christians for the establishment of their new worship, and settling the performance of its rites and ceremonies in the most decorous and solemn manner.

It was in the time of this Emperor, about the year 384, that the Capitoline games were abolished. A circumstance perhaps no less fatal to the cultivation of music and poetry, than favourable to good order and decorum. However, according to St. Chrysostom, this Emperor used to have musicians, performers on the flute and harp, to play to him while he was at table.

It was during this reign that the Ambrosian chant was established in the church at Milan. St. Augustine (*u*) speaks of the great delight he received in hearing the psalms and hymns sung there at his first entrance into the church, after his conversion. "The voices flowed in at my ears, truth was distilled "in my heart; and the affection of piety over-flowed in sweet "tears of joy." He afterwards gives an account of the origin of singing the church service at Milan, in the eastern manner.

(*u*) Conf. L. ix. c. 6.

"The

" The church of Milan, says he, had not long before begun to " practise this way of mutual consolation and exhortation " with a joint harmony of voices and hearts."

This was about the year 386, during the persecution of the orthodox Christians by the Empress Justina, mother to the then young Emperor Valentinian II. in favour of the Arians. " At this time, continues St. Augustine, it was first ordered that " hymns and psalms should be sung after the manner of eastern " nations, that the people might not languish and pine away " with a tedious sorrow; and from that time to the present it is " retained at Milan, and imitated by almost all the other con- " gregations of the world (*x*)."

Music is said by some of the fathers to have drawn the Gentiles frequently into the church through mere curiosity; who liked its ceremonies so well, that they were baptized before their departure (*y*)."

About this time, during the contention between the orthodox Christians and the Arians, we find by Socrates the historian, L. vi. c. 8. that the Heretics used to sing hymns, marching through the streets of Constantinople, *in procession*, with which the vulgar were so much captivated, that the orthodox, under the direction of St. Chrysostom, thought it necessary to follow the example which had been set them by their greatest enemies. Processional singing had been long practised by the Pagans, but no mention is made of it among Christians before this period.

With respect to the music that was first used by the Christians, or established in the church by the first Emperors that were converted, as no specimens remain, it is difficult to determine

(*x*) St. Ambrose, to whom the establishment of this manner of singing in the western church is attributed, was made Bishop of Milan in 374, over which See he presided till the year 398.

(*y*) The generality of our parochial music is not likely to produce similar effects; being such as would sooner drive Christians with good ears *out* of the church, than draw Pagans *into it*.

of

of what kind it was. That some part of the sacred music of the Apostles and their immediate successors, in Palestine and the adjacent countries, may have been such as was used by the Hebrews, particularly in chanting the psalms, is probable; but it is no less probable that the music of the hymns which were first received in the church, wherever Paganism had prevailed, resembled that which had been many ages used in the temple-worship of the Greeks and Romans. Of this, the versification of those hymns affords an indisputable proof, as it by no means resembles that of the psalms, or of any other Hebrew poetry. And examples may be found in all the Breviaries, Missals, and Antiphonaries, ancient and modern, of every species of versification which has been practised by the Greek and Roman poets, particularly the Lyric; such as the Alcmanian, Alcaic, Sapphic, &c. (*z*)

Father Menestrier (*a*) conjectures, with great appearance of truth, that the manner of reading and singing in the church was taken from the public theatres, which was still open when chanting was established; and the passion of our Saviour being a kind of tragedy, it is very probable that in singing it to the people, the Priest imitated the melody of tragedy: whence the custom was derived of performing the mass by different persons, and in different tones. It is certain, at least, that the moderns have taken their ideas of tragedy from religious mysteries (*b*).

As Christianity was first established in the East, which was the residence of the first Emperors who had embraced that faith; and as the whole was regulated by the counsel, and un-

(*z*) St. Hilary, Bishop of Poitiers, and St. Ambrose, are said to have been the first that composed hymns to be sung in the western churches. Both these fathers flourished about the middle of the fourth century; but Prudentius, a Christian poet, cotemporary with Theodosius, who died in 395, was author of most of the hymns in the Roman Breviary.

(*a*) *Traite des Representations en Musique, Anciennes et Modernes.*

(*b*) *Dissert. sur la Recitation des Tragedies Anciens.* Par l'Abbe Vatry. Mem. des Inscrip. tom.

der

der the guidance of Greek fathers, it is natural to suppose that all the rites and ceremonies originated there, and were afterwards adopted by the western Christians; and St. Ambrose is not only said by St. Augustine *(c)* to have brought thence the manner of singing the hymns, and chanting the psalms which he established at Milan, and which was afterwards called the *Ambrosian chant*, but Eusebius *(d)* tells us, that a regular choir and method of singing the service was first established, and hymns used in the church, at Antioch, the capital of Syria, during the time of Constantine; and that St. Ambrose, who had long resided there, had his melodies thence *(e)*. These melodies, and the manner of singing them, were continued in the church, with few alterations, till the time of Gregory the Great.

But besides St. Ambrose, Augustine, and Gregory, who have all left clear testimonies of their approbation, and even cultivation, of music in the western church, the ecclesiastical historians are unanimous in recording the sanction that was given to it in the East, by St. Basil, Chrysostom, and Jerom *(f)*. And we find early mention, after the Christian religion was established by law, of Chanters and Canons being appointed to officiate daily in the church; these were called in the ecclesiastical canons *Canonici*, *Psaltæ*, and were distinct from the readers. Of their origin, however, no certain account has been given, though there is no doubt of their use previous to the council of Laodicea, about the middle of the fourth century *(g)*. But it is probable that they were established in imitation

(c) *Confess.* L. ix. c. 7.

(d) L. ii. c. 17.

(e) Antioch was founded by Seleucus, one of Alexander's Captains, and by him made the capital of the Syro-Macedonian Empire; so that it may be regarded as a Grecian city. An order of Monks was established there in the early ages of Christianity, whose discipline obliged them to preserve in their monastery a *perpetual psalmody*, equally perennial with the vestal fire, or perpetual lamps of antiquity. *Psalmody-island*, in the diocese of Nismes, had its name from a monastery founded by Corbilla, a Syrian Monk of this order, about the end of the fourth century. This kind of psalmody is known in the Monkish writers by the name of *Laus perennis*; Gregory de Tours calls it *Psalterium perpetuum*.

(f) Vide Gerbert, *De Cantu et Musica Sacra*. Vol. i. p. 31.

(g) *Canonicus*, a Canon, is not supposed to have any reference to *cano*, to *sing*;

of the Jewish temple worship, where that was known; and in other places, remote from Palestine, perhaps the Pagan religious ceremonies may have suggested to the Christians these institutions.

St. Ignatius, who, according to Socrates (*h*), had conversed with the Apostles, is generally supposed to have been the first who suggested to the primitive Christians in the East the method of singing psalms and hymns alternately, or in *dialogue;* dividing the singers into two bands or choirs, placed on different sides of the church. This is called *Antiphona;* and this custom soon prevailed in every place where Christianity was established. Though Theodoret in his history (*i*) tells us that this manner of singing was first practised at Antioch. But for its origin, Socrates, and several of the fathers, pretended that it was revealed to St. Ignatius by a vision, in which he had seen choirs of angels praising the holy Trinity in this manner by singing *alternate hymns.* But *Suidas,* under the word Χορος, says that "the choirs of churches were, in the time of Constantius, the son of Constantine the Great, and of Flavian, "Bishop of Antioch, divided into two parts, who sung the "*Psalms* of *David* alternately: a practice that began at Antioch, and was thence dispersed into all parts of the Christian "world." Suidas may have taken this account from St. Augustine or Theodoret; but he never names his authors. However, he plainly assigns a much later origin to the practice than Socrates, who gives the invention to Ignatius (*k*). Indeed it seems as if the primitive Christians had had no conceptions more sublime of the celestial employment, or joys of the bless-

sing: Canonicus is one *cui cura datum est ut canones serventur*—one who takes care that divine worship be regularly performed. And the council of Laodicea, which some suppose to have been held in 314, and others in 319, forbids, *Art.* 15. all persons to sing in the church, except the *Singing-canons.*

(*h*) L. vi. *cap.* 8.

(*i*) L. ii. c. 24.

(*k*) Constantius reigned from 337 to 361.

ed,

ed, than that they were eternally singing. The ancient hymn, *Te Deum laudamus*, still retained in the church, appears to have furnished the poet Dante with a model of the 28th Canto of his *Paradiso*, where, under three different hierarchies, consisting each of three choirs or choruses, the heavenly host of Cherubim and Seraphim are singing perpetual Hosannahs. Milton has assigned them the same employment:

> ——————Their golden harps they took;
> Harps ever tun'd, that glittering by their side
> Like quivers hung, and with preamble sweet
> Of charming symphony they introduce
> Their sacred song, and waken raptures high;
> No voice exempt, no voice but well could join
> Melodious part, such concord is in Heaven (*l*).
>
> PARAD. LOST, BOOK iii.

St. Ambrose and St. Gregory having been celebrated not only as fathers of the church, but of church music, I shall endeavour to point out the particular obligations which sacred song had to the genius and patronage of these pious personages.

There are few writers on ecclesiastical music who do not speak of the Ambrosian chant, and of its being different from the Gregorian; but no satisfactory account has been given of their specific difference; nor was I able, in hearing the service performed at the Dúomo of Milan, or by a perusal of the Missals or other books published in that city on the subject of *Canto fermo*, to discover it, by any considerable deviation from the melodies used in the service of other cathedrals in France or Italy, where the Gregorian chant is said to subsist. The truth

(*l*). Orazio Benivoli composed in the last century a mass for the cessation of the plague at Rome, upon the same idea, for six choirs, of four parts each, the score consisting of twenty four different parts: it was performed in St. Peter's church, of which he was Maestro di Capella, and the singers, amounting to more than two hundred, were arranged in different circles of the dome; the sixth choir occupying the summit of the cupola.

is,

is, there are no vestiges of the Ambrosian chant remaining, sufficient to ascertain its peculiar character. The fragments of it that Gafurio has inserted in his *Practica Musica* are very suspicious, not only as they have a much more modern appearance than even the ancient Gregorian chants that are come down to us, but on account of the *number* of modes in which he gives them, which amount to eight; whereas all writers on these subjects agree in saying that St. Ambrose only used the four authentic modes, and that the four plagal were added afterwards by St. Gregory.

Though I shall not travel into the land of conjecture in search of Ambrosian chants, it seems allowable to imagine, that, from their Greek origin, they must have been constructed on the tetrachords, by which all the melody of the ancient Greeks was regulated (*m*). And M. Rousseau has truly remarked, that there is no more analogy between their system and ours, than between a tetrachord and an octave.

St. Ambrose, as already related from St. Augustine, having introduced into the western churches the method of chanting the Psalms, in imitation of the eastern manner of singing them, no memorable change seems to have happened in ecclesiastical music till the year 600, about 230 years after the time of St. Ambrose, when Gregory the Great reformed the chant.

The Greek ecclesiastics had retained the names, at least, of the four ancient modes: the Dorian from D to d. The Phrygian from E to e. The Æolian, which is improperly called the Lydian, from F to f (*n*). And the Myxolidian from G to g, which they likewise distinguished by the Greek numerical terms *Protos*, first: *Deuteros*, second; *Tritos*, third; and *Tetartos*,

(*m*) See Dissert. vol. i. from p. 8 to 12.

(*n*) The Lydian mode, as has been shewn in the first vol. p. 48, and p. 90, is a *whole tone* above the Phrygian; but the modern Greeks, according to the Abate Martini, place it a tone lower, between the Dorian and the Phrygian.

fourth

fourth (*o*). There was, however, no other resemblance between these modes and those of the ancient Greeks, of the same denomination, than there would be in modern music between the keys of D, E, F, G, minor, and the different species of octave produced by the sounds belonging to the key of C natural, as they lie between D and d, E and e, &c.

These four modes, which, according to some ecclesiastical writers, acquired the appellation of *authentic*, from their having been selected and appointed for the service of the church of Milan by St. Miroclet and St. Ambrose, where by St. Gregory, either for variety, or convenience of the voice, encreased to eight, by assigning to each *authentic*, what was donominated its *plagal*, that is, according to the most probable derivation of the term, its adjunct, or collateral, mode (*p*). Each of these had the same *final*, or key-note, as its relative *authentic*, from which there is no other difference than that the melodies in the four *authentic* or principal modes are generally confined within the compass of the eight notes *above* the key-note; and those in the four *plagal* or relative modes, within the compass of the

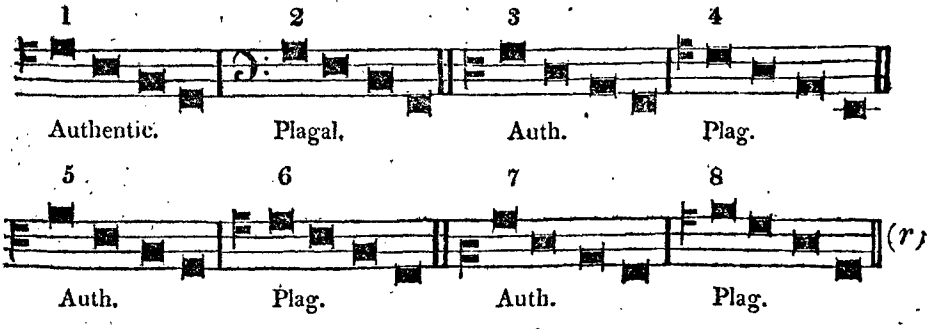
(*o*) These terms, long retained in the Gregorian chant, seem to point out the Greek origin of the Ecclesiastical modes; they are still retained in the Greek Church, but after the modes were multiplied to eight they could not with propriety be applied to those which were originally called first, second, third, and fourth, as by the intercalation of four new modes, they became the first, third; fifth, and seventh.

(*p*) *Plagalis*, from πλαγιος, *obliquus*, *a latere*. These terms, *authentic* and *plagal*, are, with reason, censured by Meibomius and Bontempi, as barbarous. Bontempi proposes, instead of the word *authentic* to substitute *principal*; and for *plagal*, *relative*, or *collateral*. These distinctions in the Romish church are similar to the discriminations made by the Greek musical writers where they class their modes under the denomination of *principal* and *subordinate*, with the distinction of *hyper* and *hypo*. See, vol. I. p. 50. It is not surprising that the primitive Christians should give Greek names to the species of octaves in imitation of the Greek modes; nor, if we reflect on the simplicity that was aimed at, and the humble state of those who first employed music in their religious worship, shall we wonder at the incorrect and artless manner in which it was done. How the Roman church acquired Greek terms in Canto Fermo it is easy likewise to imagine, if we recollect that it was a present from Greek fathers: and Gregory, in reforming the mass, not only retained these Greek terms but adopted others, both from the Greek and Hebrew languages and ceremonies, in order to conciliate parties and acquire converts: as *Kyrie Eleison* from the Greek, and *Hallelujah* from the Hebrew.

eight notes *below* the fifth of the key. The *numeral* names of the modes were now altered; the four *authentic* being distinguished by the odd numbers 1, 3, 5, 7; the four *plagal* by the even numbers, 2, 4, 6, 8: but music speaks to musicians more intelligibly with its own characters, than with those of any other language: I shall therefore give a short example of each mode in Gregorian notes, which by delineating the capital and specific feature of each, will render them recognisable whenever they occur (*q*).

In the Romish Missals, Breviaries, Antiphonaries, and Graduals, only four lines are used in the notation of the chants; with two clefs, the base tenor, or those of F and C, which are removable; and two kinds of notes, the square and the lozenge; the first for long syllables, and the second for short. In some modern French Missals a third species of note is used, generally at a close; this is square with a tail added to it, and is of longer duration than either of the other two. However, the Italians seldom use any other than square notes in their Canto Fermo, nor did the French, in their more ancient books.

Essential Sounds of the Eight Tones or Ecclesiastical Modes.



(*r*)

(*q*) These characters are not supposed to have been invented by St. Gregory, nor were they in use till many ages after his time; but since their invention, having been appropriated chiefly to the purpose of writing ecclesiastical chants in the Antiphonary of that Pontif, they obtained the appellation of *Gregorian Notes*.

(*r*) Glareanus and Zarlino admit of twelve modes, by allowing two to each of the seven species of octave, except B, which, for want of a true fifth, has no authentic;

The only accident allowable in Canto Fermo is a flat to B, which is removed by a ♮. No character of ♯ occurs in genuine chants of high antiquity. The first and second modes are frequently transported into A, a fifth higher. In some modern Missals a flat is placed at the clef upon B, for the fifth and sixth modes; but the strict adherents to antiquity murmur at this licence, and rather chuse to impoverish the melody, by making a fourth of the key a *noli me tangere*, than admit this innovation. As it is, no one scale or key of the eighth ecclesiastical modes is complete: for the first and second of these modes being regarded, according to the modern rules of modulation, in the key of D minor, want a flat upon B; the third and fourth modes having their termination in E, want a sharp upon F; the fifth and sixth modes being in F, want a flat upon B; and the seventh and eighth generally beginning and ending in G major, want an F sharp.

Such are the out-lines and general rules of the ecclesiastical modes and Canto Fermo; there are indeed peculiarities and exceptions to most of them; but as the book is designed chiefly for the perusal of my countrymen, who have little curiosity, and *no use* for these modes, it seems unnecessary to enter minutely into a discussion of their anomalies.

Ecclesiastical writers seem unanimous in allowing that it was the learned and active Pope Gregory the Great, who collected the musical fragments of such ancient hymns and psalms as the first fathers of the church had approved, and recommended to the primitive Christians; and that he selected, methodized, and arranged them in the order which was long continued at Rome, and soon adopted by the chief part of the western church *.

authentic; and F, which having no true fourth, admits of no plagal. However, no other than the eight modes given above are in use, as it does not appear that the four last which were proposed by Glareanus, have been adopted in the church.

* Gregory began his Pontificate in 590.

The

The anonymous author of his life, published by Canisius, speaks of this transaction in the following words: "This Pontif composed, arranged, and constituted the *Antiphonarium* "and chants used in the morning and evening service *(s)*."

Arnold Wion cites many writers of the middle ages, such as Walafred, Berno, Radulph, and Sigebert, who not only speak of a singing school founded by him at Rome, but tell us that he banished from the church the *Canto Figurato* as too light and dissolute; and that his own chant was called *Canto Fermo* from its gravity and simplicity (*t*). This Pope is likewise said by

(*s*) Fleury, in his *Hist. Eccl.* tom. viii. p. 150, gives a circumstantial account of the *Scola Cantorum*, instituted by St. Gregory. It subsisted three hundred years after the death of that Pontif, which happened in 604, as we are informed by John Diaconus, author of his life. The original *Antiphonarium* of this Pope was then subsisting; and the whip with which he used to threaten to scourge the boys; as well as the bed on which he reclined in the latter part of his life, when he visited the school in order to hear them practise. Two colleges were appropriated to these studies; one near the church of St. Peter, and one near that of St. John Lateran; both of which were endowed with lands.

(*t*) It is not easy to conceive how the *Canto Figurato*, if it meant *florid song*, as at present, could gain admission into the church, when plainness and simplicity were most likely to be encouraged by its rulers, or even how it could have existence during the first ages of Christianity; for the syllabic and metrical music only, seem to have been used in the temples, and even theatres of the Pagans. Meibomius indeed has inserted, in his preface to the seven ancient Greek writers on music, *Te Deum Laudamus*, set, in the opinion of this learned critic, to nearly the same chant as was used to that hymn in the time of St. Ambrose and St. Augustine, its supposed authors, and expressed in such a notation as would have been then used; but I cannot help thinking this chant corrupted by graces of more modern times, as *three notes* frequently, and sometimes even *four* and *five*, are applied to one syllable, which destroy the prosody of the language; a licence which would not have been tolerated by the ancients. But in tracing the use of the word *figuratus*, when applied by the ancient ecclesiastical writers to *Cantus*, it does not seem to have the same acceptation as at present, that is, *giving more than one note to a syllable*: Du Cange gives the following example of its use in the middle ages: *in eodem saccello missam de B. Virgine* in figurativo *quotidie decantari suis sumptibus ordinavit.* "He ordered a mass to be daily sung *with notes* in the same chapel at his own expence." An old French poet, speaking of the celebration of the mass on the feast of St. Magloire in 1315, by the Bishops of Laon and Lagonne, together with the Abbots of St. Germain, St. Genevieve, and St. Dennis says, they sung

L' *Allelujah* mout hautement,
Et bien, et *mesureement.*

which is a manifest distinction from *chanting*. In Zarlino's sense of the word *figurato*, the ancients, in their vocal music, admitted of no *other Canto*. And it is the *Canto Fermo* itself, that is incompatible with *metrical* music. Zarlino, *Instit. Harm.* prima part. cap. 8. expressly designs *Canto Figurato* to be *Canto Misurato*: a *measured melody*, in which *notes*, that is—"*figure*" position

by ecclesiastical writers, to have been the first that separated the chanters from the regular clergy; observing that singers were more admired for their fine voices than for their precepts or their piety.

It is imagined that St. Gregory was rather a compiler than a composer of ecclesiastical chants, as music had been established in the church long before his Pontificate; and John Diaconus, in his life (*u*), calls his collection *Antiphonarium Centonem*, the ground-work of which was the ancient Greek chant, upon the principles of which it was formed. This is the opinion of the Abbé Lebeuf (*x*), and of many others. The derivation is respectable; but if the Romans in the time of St. Ambrose had *any* music, it must have been composed upon the Greek system: all the arts at Rome, during the time of the Emperors, were Greek, and chiefly cultivated by Greek artists; and we hear of no musical system in use among the Romans, or at least none is mentioned by their writers on the art, but that of the Greeks.

It has been long a received opinion that the ecclesiastical *tones* were taken from the reformed modes of Ptolemy; but it is difficult to discover any connection between them except in their name; for their number, upon examination, is not the same, those of Ptolemy being *seven*, the ecclesiastical *eight*. And indeed the Greek names given to the ecclesiastical modes, do not agree with those of Ptolemy in the single instance of key, but with those of higher antiquity (*y*).

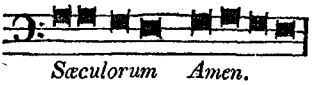
—of different lengths were used; in opposition to *Canto Fermo*, in which the notes were all of a length, as in our psalmody; or at least of no stated measure, as in our cathedral service. Buontempi says the same, p. 199. *Il Canto Figurato acquistossi l'Epiteto Figurato dalle viarie figure* (notes) *che vi s'introducevano*. This removes the difficulty, and makes it probable, that by saying Gregory banished the *Canto Figurato*, it was only implied that he banished *rhythmic* singing, as too lively; he would not let *verse* be sung, or perhaps would not let it be sung *as* verse, because it was gay and paganish.

(*u*) *Lib.* ii. *cap.* 6.

(*x*) *Traite Historique et Pratique sur le Chant Ecclesiastique.* Chap. iii.

(*y*) See p. 48. & seq. vol. i.

It seems, however, as if some idea of the genealogy of the ecclesiastical modes, and their *deviation* from more ancient music might be acquired, by supposing that the pious fathers, who introduced the use of music first in the churches, would naturally make it as simple as possible, to avoid the reproach of contaminating the Christian service with Pagan *Lenocinia* (*z*). For the same reason, therefore, as they rejected all but the Diatonic genus, they likewise rejected all the variety and complication of *modes* and transported systems, with their difficulties of execution. They took the Hypodorian mode, or natural scale of *A*, allowing the variety of B flat, occasionally, with the change from the disjunct to the conjunct system which was in every mode, and the different species of octave which *every* mode also admitted. All this was ready to their hands. That they called them *Modes* or *Tones* was not surprising, considering them to have been a *part* of the ancient modes or *toni*, though not the whole: they ended like the old modes upon different *finals*, and were at different *pitches*, though in the same scale. And indeed, besides the effects of transposition by adopting *parts* only of each species for their chants, and not the whole, they made them really different keys to the ear, as in the following examples:



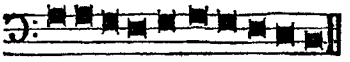
Mediatio (*a*).

Sæculorum Amen.

(*z*) St. Jerom, in his commentary on the Epistle to the Ephesians, ch. v. ver. 19. p. 652. "Speaking to yourselves in "psalms and hymns, and spiritual songs, "singing and making melody in your "heart to the Lord," cries out, *Audiant hæc adolescentuli: audiant hi quibus psallendi in ecclesia officium est, Deo non voce, sed corde cantandum: nec in Tragœdorum modum guttur et fauces dulci medicamine colliniendas, ut in ecclesia theatrales moduli audiantur et cantica, sed in timore, in opere, in scientia scripturarum.*

(*a*) *Mediatio* implies the middle of a chant, or the sound which terminates the first part of a verse in the Psalms. The punctuation of the Psalms in the English Psalter, where a colon is constantly placed in the middle of a verse, and frequently when the sense requires not so long a pause, expresses this *Mediatio*, or breath-place, marked out for those who chant the Psalms in the cathedral service.

for


Final (*c*).

EVOVA E (*b*).

for these two fragments of genuine plain-song in the first mode, give true ideas of modulation into two distinct keys; the first in F with a major third, and the second in D minor (*d*).

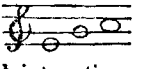
It might be expected that some better traces of the music, that so much delighted the Greeks and Romans, would be found in the Canto Fermo of the church; but if we reflect upon the manner in which the Christian religion was established,

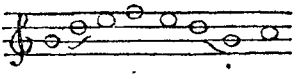
(*b*) EVOVE, or ÆVOVE, are the vowels, and, in *Canto Fermo*, the representation of the two last words, in the *Gloria Patri*.

(*c*) *Final*, the last sound of a verse in a chant, which if *complete* is on the key note; if *incomplete*, on some other sound of the key: it is then called a demi-cadence, and the termination is postponed to the next verse; this usually happens in our double chants.

(*d*) The Abbe Lebeuf, who has examined and compared the Canto Fermo of the several ages of the church with great diligence and sagacity, is of opinion, that there is a strong resemblance in the transitions from one key to another in that, and in the ancient Greek music: the Greeks more frequently modulated from the key note to its fifth below, than to the fifth above, see vol. i. p. 51. This is discoverable in the fragments of their music that are come down to us. See Dissert. sect vii. as well as in the precepts of their Theorists. It is the same in the ancient chants of the church. B b commonly occurs in a melody that begins in the key of C or A; which implies a modulation into F or D. the fifth below each of these keys: but no F ♯, which would indicate a transition into the fifth above, is discoverable. Indeed, sometimes in the key of F the B is made natural, which leads to C, the fifth above; however, such transitions are very uncommon in this, as well as in the Greek music.

The terminations, or closes of Greek Melodies, and ecclesiastical chants, have likewise a great similitude, though they differ so much from those of modern music. In this last, the close is on the key note, in the Greek it is on the third; at least such is the Final of the airs to which the reader is referred: and in the *Canto Fermo*, one of the most common closes is in the third of the tone or mode in which the chant begins. The want of a sharp seventh to several of the modes furnishes another resemblance, in the rising from the flat seventh to the key note at a close; this occurs several times in the fragments, especially in the Ode of Pindar, vol. i. Dissert. sect. vii. Another similitude is discoverable in the frequent interruption of the Diatonic progression by leaps of thirds,

as in St. Ambrose's *Te Deum* 

&c. and in the ecclesiastical intonations  &c. Mersennus was also struck with the same resemblance: speaking of the Greek melodies, he says, "they plainly appear, from "the fragments remaining, to have been," *Simplicibus tonorum ecclesiasticorum cantibus . . . Omnino Similes*. Harmon. lib. vii.

from

such expectations will vanish. The Roman empire having from the beginning opposed and persecuted the proselytes to this new doctrine, its rites were celebrated only in caves and desarts, without pomp and splendor. Its first protectors were the princes of new-founded monarchies, barbarians whom the mild and benevolent doctrines of Christianity, by degrees, rendered less savage and ferocious. On this account, and from the horror with which the followers of the new religion beheld the dissolute manners of the Pagans, the fathers of the church declaimed bitterly against public spectacles, in which the ancient music was still practised; and to adopt into the church theatrical melodies would have been a scandal and mortal sin: nor, perhaps, did the Pagans themselves use them in their temples. Besides, the new Christians, being chiefly illiterate, and of mean rank, would hardly have been capable of executing the refined and difficult music of the theatre, which was usually performed by skilful and eminent professors. Thus vanished entirely the idea of Greek and Roman secular music, with the knowledge of the Greek characters, now become useless, as nothing remained to be expressed by them but simple sounds, such as were common to Christians and Barbarians.

After the conversion of the Emperors, when the Christian religion was established by law, theatres, and all kinds of public spectacles being discouraged, and, by degrees, suppressed, many of the princes themselves regarding them with horror; the simple, artless, and insipid psalmody of the primitive Christians was continued, though magnificent churches were built; and ecclesiastical rites, in other respects, were celebrated with every allurement which could captivate the vulgar, and render its ceremonies pleasing to the senses.

Though the original melodies used in the Antiphonary, which includes the chants of the Graduals in the Mass, the Responses, Lessons, and Antiphonaries that accompany the Psalms, were adopted in the church at different times, but reformed and digested by St. Gregory; yet they bear evident marks

marks of the age when they were insensibly received in the church: language was beginning to lose the distinctions of long and short syllables, especially in chanting; in which there was little variety of notes, either as to length or modulation (*e*), for the vocal organs of the new Christians not having been accustomed to a refined and artificial music, could not easily form the semitones, nor execute a variety of passages; on which account a change of key seldom happens in Canto Fermo, and words are sung to long notes of nearly equal value. For want of semitones, cadences are made from the flat seventh rising a whole tone, in the same manner as among the Canadians and other savage people. There was no need of great musicians to invent, or superior beings to inspire such melody as this; the priests themselves, who regulated the public worship, might have formed it by mere instinct, as it so much resembles that of a rude and uncivilized people (*f*).

At present, however, this kind of singing is become venerable from its antiquity, and the use to which it is solely appropriated: and its simplicity, and total difference from secular music, precludes levity in the composition, and licentiousness

(*e*) The variety of " ", or long and short syllables, expressed by square and lozenge notes, is a modern attempt, only observed in the French printed Missals; the ancient MSS. and even modern *printed* books of *Canto Fermo* in Italy, have no such distinctions. All notes are, in general, equally square and Gothic; but whether round or square, their length is the same. *Le note del Canto Fermo si cantano tutte in un'istessa misura, cioe tante valeuna quanto l'altra, o sia tonda, o quandra.* Breve Instruttione alli Giovani per imparare *il Canto Fermo,* del Gios. Mar. Stella. In Roma, 1675.

(*f*) Vide Eximeno, p. 394, 395. *Dell' Origine & delle Regole della Musica in Roma,* 1774. This author, who writes with a strength and eloquence that are seldom found in musical treatises, seems to have expressed himself with too much violence in supposing, that when music was first admitted into the church, the use of rhythm and prosody began to be neglected, because the new languages, then forming from barbarous dialects, and Latin ill pronounced, paid no regard to either: but they have never been lost in the Latin language, and in all Roman Catholic churches the service has ever been performed in Latin. In chanting the Psalms indeed there is no *fixed distinction* of long and short syllables; but this confusion could not have reached the Latin language at the time of St. Gregory.

in the performance. As to the want of variety with respect to modulation, such as are much accustomed to the ecclesiastical tones, pretend that a very different effect is produced to the ear by these *different species* of *octave*, even though the idea of the key be not changed: and it must be allowed that these tones, which seem all to belong to one key and scale, do admit the variety of minor and major, as was before observed.

There is a curious chapter in the Micrologus of Guido, which has for title *De Tropis & vi Musicæ*; in which he attributes all imaginable difference of character and effect to the species of octave, or ecclesiastical tones, for he speaks of no other *tropi*; ascribing *garrulity* to one; *voluptuousness* to another; *sweetness* to a third, &c.

M. Rousseau, Art. *Plain Chant*, says, that the "Christians having introduced singing into their religious worship, at a time when music was very much degenerated, deprived the art of the chief force and energy which it had still retained, by a total inattention to rhythm and metre, and by transferring it from poetry, with which it had always been connected, to the prose of the sacred writings, and to a barbarous kind of verse, worse for music than prose itself. Then one of its two constituent parts vanished, and the melody being uniformly dragged without any kind of measure, in notes of nearly equal lengths, lost, by being deprived of rhythm and cadence, all the energy which it received from them (*g*.) Hence plain song degenerated into a psalmody always monotonous, and often ridiculous; and yet such of these melodies as have been faithfully preserved, notwithstanding the losses they have sustained, afford

(*g*) In the Canto Fermo of the Romish church, as in our cathedral chanting, some syllables are sung so slow, and others pronounced with such rapidity, that both verse and prose are equally injured; and yet, the first Reformers of the church thought chanting to be too light, and like common singing; and that there would be more reverence and solemnity in making every syllable of equal length and importance; a practice which is still continued in parochial psalmody.

real

real judges valuable specimens of ancient music and it modes, though without measure and rhythm, and merely in the Diatonic genus, which can only be said to be preserved in all its purity in Canto Fermo. These modes, in the manner they have been retained in the ancient ecclesiastical chants, have still a beauty of character, and a variety of expression, which intelligent hearers, free from prejudice, will discover though formed upon a system different from that in present use."

Notwithstanding the imperfection of the scales, and little variety of keys in the ecclesiastical chants, secular music seems for many ages to have no other rules, but to have been strictly confined to a few keys in the Diatonic genus, without the liberty of transpositions. Hence came the timorous pedantry of excluding all other keys and scales but those used in the church; which kept every kind of melody meagre and insipid, and in subjection to the rules of ecclesiastical chanting. For it appears, that the only major keys used in Canto Fermo, are C and its two fifths F and G; and the only minor keys A, E, and D. And in four of these keys the scale is deficient, as there is no seventh or *note-sensible* to G, A, or D. This accounts for so small a number of the twenty-four keys which the *general* system, and scale of modern music furnishes, having been used by the old composers; as well as for the temperament of the organs by which these modes are afterwards accompanied. And as all music in parts seems, for many ages after the first attempts at counterpoint, to have been composed for the service of religion upon Canto Fermo and its principles; it likewise accounts for the long infancy and childhood of the art, till it broke loose from the trammels of the church, and mounted the stage as a secular amusement.

If imperfection in one place be perfection in another, let a mutilated scale be a meritorious characteristic only in the church; for on the stage and in the chamber, where zeal and gravity give no

no assistance to the composition or performance, every refinement and artifice are requisite to stimulate attention, and captivate the hearer. Let all the sharps, and six of the seven single flats be excommunicated; let them have no admission within the pale of the church; but let them not be cut off from all society elsewhere, or the anathema be extended beyond its limits.

But even so late as the present century this barbarism has had its partizans: for the late Dr. Pepusch was desirous of restoring music by the revival of these ecclesiastical scales, to its original *imperfection*, and has given rules (*h*) for composing in all keys without flats and sharps, in imitation, it should seem, of the Lipogrammatists of antiquity, who wrote long poems without the admission of a particular letter. The restrictions and mysteries of ancient modes are luckily abandoned in secular music, like the vain distinctions and occult qualities of the Aristotelian philosophy in the schools.

From the time of St. Gregory to that of Guido, there was no other distinction of keys than that of Authentic and Plagal; nor were any semitones used but those from E to F, B to C, and, occasionally, A to B b. But, at present, if the greatest master of modern harmony, with the most fertile genius for melody, were to torture his brain in order to compose in all the keys without the use of other sounds than those of the Diatonic scale of C natural; when, with the most unwearied labour and determined perseverance he had extracted the essence of these modes, and formed it into an elaborate composition, he would still have much more difficulty in finding lovers of music with dulness and patience sufficient to hear it performed, than he had in producing it.

(*h*) See *Treatise of Harmony*, and vol. i. p. 449.

The

The passages already cited from the fathers only manifest their approbation of music, but neither tell us of what kind it was, nor whether a regular ecclesiastical chant was universally established. It seems, however, as if the Liturgy was not settled by Canons, nor a uniformity of chanting ordained till the time of St. Gregory, though we find a very early distinction made between the manner of *singing* the hymns, and *chanting* the psalms. St. Athanasius, and Geronticus, a Monk of Alexandria, and many of the fathers of the fourth century, have left testimonies and admonitions concerning this distinction (*i*). It is, however, the opinion of the learned Padre Martini, to which the Prince Abbot of St. Blasius subscribes, that the music of the first five or six ages of the church, consisted chiefly in a plain and simple chant of unisons and octaves, of which many fragments are still remaining in the Canto Fermo of the Romish missals. For, with respect to *music in parts*, as it does not appear, in these early ages, that either the Greeks or Romans were in possession of *harmony* or *counterpoint*, it is in vain to seek it in the church. Indeed, for many ages after the establishment of Christianity, there is not the slightest trace of it to be found in the MS. *Missals*, *Rituals*, *Graduals*, *Psalters*, and *Antiphonaria* of any of the great libraries in Europe, which have been visited and consulted expressly with a view to the ascertaining this point of musical history.

After the most diligent enquiry concerning the time when *instrumental music* had admission into the ecclesiastical service, there is reason to conclude, that, before the reign of Constantine, as the converts to the Christian religion were subject to frequent persecution and disturbance in their devotion, the use of instruments could hardly have been allowed: and by all

(*i*) It seems as if the chief distinction was, that the hymns were frequently sung by single persons, and the psalms generally chanted in a chorus of the whole congregation,

that can be collected from the writings of the primitive Christians, they seem never to have been admitted. But after the full establishment of Christianity, as the national religion of the whole Roman empire, they were used in great festivals, in imitation of the Hebrews, as well as Pagans, who, at all times, had accompanied their psalms, hymns, and religious rites, with instrumental music.

The proofs *for*, and *against*, the early admission of musical instruments in the service of religion before this period, are so numerous, that to give them all, and discuss the point, would be an endless labour to the reader and to myself. The two following passages, however, from fathers of the church, seem conclusive as to the *private* use, at least, of instrumental music in the service of religion, before the time of Constantine, as well as its *public* admission into the church during the reign of that Emperor.

Clemens Alexandrinus (*k*) says, "Though we no longer "worship God with the clamour of military instruments, such "as the trumpet, drum, and fife, but with peaceful words; "this is our most delightful festivity; and if you are able to "accompany your voices with the lyre or cithara, you will "incur no censure. (*l*)" And afterwards, he says: "Ye shall "imitate the just Hebrew King, whose actions were accept-"able to God." He then quotes the Royal Psalmist;—Re-"joice, ye righteous, in the Lord—praise becomes the "just,—praise ye the Lord on the Cithara and on the Psaltery "with ten strings."

Eusebius, in his Commentary on the Sixtieth Psalm, mentions these instruments. He, likewise, in his Exposition of the Ninety-second Psalm, says, "When they (the Christians) "are met, they act as the Psalm prescribes: First, they con-

(*k*) *Lib.* ii. *cap.* 4. *Pedagogi.*

(*l*) Καν προς κιθαραν εθελησης ηλυραν αδειν τε και ψαλλειν μωμος σε εξιν. Suizerus, *Thes. Eccl.* v. Ὀργανον

"fess

" fess their sins to the Lord. Secondly, They sing to his name, " not only with the voice, but upon an instrument of ten " strings, and upon the Cithara."

Instruments, however, seem not to have had admission indiscriminately in the early ages of the church; the Harp and Psaltry only, as the most grave and majestic instruments of the time were preferred to all others. Neither Jews nor Gentiles were imitated in the use of Tabrets and Cymbals in the Temple service. The priests of Bacchus and Cybele, in their public processions and celebrations of religious rites, had rendered these instruments so odious to the Christians, that all the Fathers were very severe and peremptory in prohibiting their use (*m*).

Though modern ecclesiastical writers dissemble or deny the use of Dancing in the religious ceremonies of the church, yet the numerous anathemas against it, in the works of the Fathers, are sufficient proofs that it had been practised among the primitive Christians, as well as the Hebrews and Pagans. The following passage from St. Augustine's eighth sermon, not only proves that the early Christians made *dancing* a part of their Sunday's amusement, but puts it out of all doubt that the primitive and pious believers accompanied their sacred songs with instruments. " It is better to dig or to plough on the Lord's " Day, than to *dance*. Instead of singing psalms to the Lyre " or Psaltry, as virgins and matrons were wont to do, they " now waste their time in *dancing*, and even employ masters " in that art."

Father Menestrier (*n*), after speaking of the religious dances of the Hebrews and Pagans, observes that the name of *Choir* is still retained in our churches for that part of a cathedral

(*m*) According to Jamblicus, *De vita Pythag.* lib. i. cap. 25. these instruments were forbidden by the Samian Sage to be used by his disciples, to whom he only allowed the lyre.

(*n*) *Des Ballets, Anc. et Mod.* A Paris. 1682, p. 12. et seq.

where

where the Canons and Priests sing and perform the ceremonies of religion (*o.*) The choir was formerly separated from the altar, and elevated in the form of a theatre, enclosed on all sides with a balustrade. It had a pulpit on each side, in which the epistle and gospel were sung, as may still be seen at Rome in the churches of St. Clement and St. Pancratius, the only two that remain in this antique form. Spain, continues he, has preserved in the church, and in solemn procession, the use of dancing to this day; and has theatric representations made expressly for great festivals, which are called *Autos Sacramentales.* France seems to have had the same custom till the twelfth century, when Odo, Bishop of Paris, in his synodical constitutions, expressly orders the Priests of his diocese to abolish it in the church, cemeteries, and public processions *(p.)* The same author, however, in his Preface, informs us, that he himself had seen, in some churches, the Canons, on Easter Sunday, take the choristers by the hand, and *dance* in the choir, while hymns of jubilation were performing.

M. Tournefort, in his travels through Greece, remarks, that the Greek church had retained, and taken into their present worship, many ancient Pagan rites, particularly that of "carrying and *dancing* about the images of the saints, in their "processions, to singing and music (*q*)."

But the union of acting, *dancing*, and singing, will hereafter be shewn to have been allowed in the church, when the first *Oratorios* or sacred dramas, were performed there.

(*o*) The word comes from χορος a *dance*, or a *company of dancers.* The derivation is remarkable, and not one of those that can be suspected of proceeding from fancy, and accidental similitude of sound. One of the acceptations of the term χορος given by Suidas, is—το συστημα των εν ταις εκκλησιαις ᾀδοντων—a *company of singers in a church*; that is, a *choir.* It seems likewise to have been sometimes used, like our word *choir*, in the *local* sense: χορος says *Suidas* και οι χορευται και ο τοπος &c. that is *dancers*, and *the place* in *which* they *danced.* It is so used by Homer, Od. viii. 260. Δειναν δε χορον—They made smooth, or level, the *place* appointed for *dancing*.

(*p*) *Constitut.* 36.

(*q*) Tournefort, let. iii. 44.

Some

Some remains of this dancing spirit is still observable in the service of the Romish church, the priests continuing in motion during the whole celebration of the mass. Mr. Hume, in his account of the ceremonies used by Archbishop Laud, at the consecration of St. Catherine's church (*r*), tells us, that this prelate, who was a great venerator of ancient rites, and desirous of reviving the religious observances of the Catholics, "As he approached the Communion-Table, made many lowly "reverences; and coming up to that part of the table where the "bread and wine lay, he bowed seven times. After reading "many prayers, he approached the sacramental elements, "and gently lifted up the corner of the napkin in which the "bread was laid. When he beheld the bread, he suddenly let "fall the napkin, flew back a step or two, bowed three several "times towards the bread; then he drew near again, and "opened the napkin, and bowed as before."—He did the same by the cup in which was the wine.—If this is not leaping and jumping, as in common dancing, it amounts at least to such a degree of *gesticulation* as the ancient Romans comprehended under the term *Saltatio*.

Having furnished incontestible proofs of the early use of music, both vocal and instrumental, in the church, its *Notation* seems a subject of enquiry not unworthy the curiosity of musical readers.

Not only the Greek appellatives for the musical scale were in use during the time of Boethius, who died in 526, but the same kind of notation, by letters of the alphabet, in different forms and positions, which he has applied to the Diagram in his Fourth Book, chap. iii. (*s*).

(*r*) Hist. of Great Britain, vol. I. p. 200. 1st. edit. 4to.

(*s*) Some account of this celebrated musical writer, and his Tract, has been given in the first volume, p. 487. note (*u*); and in this I shall bestow a few words on his chapter concerning Notation; in which, though the title promises an exhibition of Greek and *Roman* musical characters, yet only the Greek are explained, nor does a single

Boethius, in his chapter on Notation says, that as his division of strings into concords will give a genealogy of the necessary sounds in the three genera, it becomes necessary for him to describe musical notes, that the name of every one may be known by those signs. "The ancient musicians, says he, in-"vented and published certain symbols of sounds by which "the name of every string was known, and of these there was "a different series for each genus and mode, in order to avoid "the repetition of the original and entire name of each sound "in the system. In this summary manner, a musician, who "wished to write a melody to verses, placed over the rythmi-"cal composition of metre these signs: so that by this inven-"tion, not only the words of the verses, which are formed of "letters, but also the melody itself, which is expressed by the "like signs, might be transmitted to posterity. Of these "modes we will speak, of the Lydian, and its signs in the *three* "*genera*.—"(*t*) He says nothing, in this chapter, of a Roman Notation; but tells us that he adheres to the *Grecian*, "as it "is his chief care *not to turn any thing out of the course of an-*"*tiquity:* there will be two rows of characters, says he, the "higher for the words, and the lower for the instrument that "accompanies the singer:" he there defines the characters in his Diagram, which consists of those to be found in Alypius, for the Lydian mode, and which have been explained in the Dissertation prefixed to the first volume, page 15. and page 30. note (*), in decyphering the melodies to the Greek hymns.

single Roman letter occur for a musical note, in the course of the whole chapter; the title of which, *Musicarum per Græcas et Latinas literas Notarum Nuncupatio*, is justly condemned and exploded by Meibomius, who, has prefixed a correct copy of it to his edition of Alypius, where he observes that the words *ac Latinas* are not to be found in the Selden MS. of Boethius, who only mentions the Greek alphabetic notes.

(*t*) Boethius, as well as every other Latin writer on music, thought it necessary to encumber his Treatise with definitions and calculations of the intervals *in all the genera*, though the *practice* of the chromatic and enharmonic was wholly unknown to the Romans.

Upon

Upon the whole it seems as if Boethius only used Roman letters as mere marks of reference in the divisions of the monochord, *not as musical notes or characters;* indeed, at the end of chap. xvi. book iv. he says, *sit bisdiapason consonantia hæc*, let the letters A, B, C, D, E, F, G, H, I, K, L, M, N, O, P, represent the concords in double octave. But these letters coincide with our scale only accidentally, which is manifest from the promiscuous use of them throughout the work, where A, for example, frequently happens to represent *hypate hypaton*, which corresponds with our B on the second line in the base.

And in book v. chap. xiii. he uses the letters R and X; and throughout, the Roman letters cannot, from the context, be regarded as the musical characters in common use, since Boethius, in his chapter on Notation, never mentions their being received as such, nor tells us that they were of one or two kinds, as he does of the Greek*.

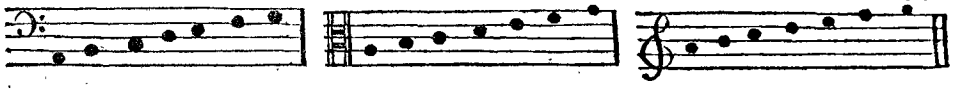
It seems, therefore, certain at least that the Roman letters were not used as musical characters during the time of Boethius, in whose Treatise no traces of them are to be found; but that such a notation had been adopted between the time of this author and St. Gregory, who, according to the unanimous suffrage of posterior writers on the subject of Ecclesiastical Chanting, reduced their number from fifteen to seven; which, by being repeated in three different forms, furnished

* I cannot quit Boethius without observing that his tract on Music, which, to read, was long thought necessary to the obtaining a musical degree in our universities; and which, with great parade, has been so frequently praised, quoted, and pronounced, by writers on that art, to be of the greatest importance to every musician, contains nothing but matters of mere speculation and theory, translated from Greek writers of higher antiquity; which, if necessary to be known at this time, would be more profitably studied in the original: but the theory of every art being vain and useless, unless it guide and facilitate practice, the definitions, calculations, and reveries of Boethius, are no more useful or essential to a modern musician, than Newton's *Principia* to a dancer.

a no-

a notation for three octaves; the gravest of which he expressed by capitals, the mean by minuscules, and the highest by double letters, thus: which in modern notes would constitute the following scale.

A B C D E F G a b c d e f g aa bb cc dd ee ff gg



And these letters are still retained in most parts of Europe, as *denominations* of musical sounds, though a different *entablature* and *notation* is used in practice. The solmization ascribed to Guido, however, was long preferred to this more precise and intelligible musical alphabet, which, at present, seems likely to become universal.

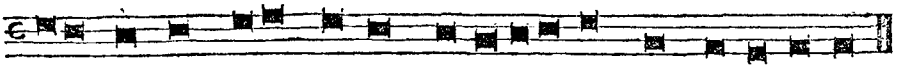
Mabillon *(u)* says, that before the ninth century letters were used for notes in Canto Fermo; and, about the middle of the ninth century, Agobard, Archbishop of Lyons, collected, as he tells us himself *(x)*, into one book, all the several chants, as they were sung throughout the year, in his own church, under the title of *Antiphonarium*. This passage seems to imply a musical notation in common use at this time, at least in France; but whether it was that of the letters of the Roman alphabet which St. Gregory is supposed to have first adopted, instead of the endless perplexities of the Greek notation, is uncertain.

In all the MSS. of the Micrologus of Guido, written two centuries after, alphabetic notes are used in the following manner; which are explained in Gregorian notes.

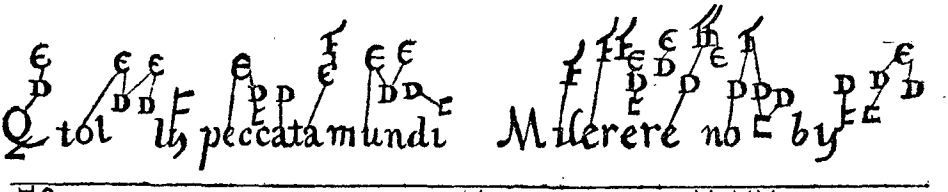
(u) *Annal. Benedict.* tom. iv. *Append.* No. vii. p. 632.

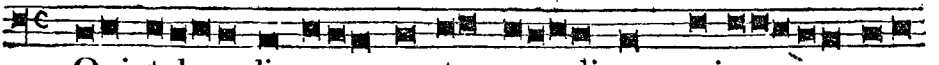
(x) *Agobard, de Divina Psalmodiæ.* Biblioth. pp. cit. tom. xiv. p. 321.

dc ♮ c de dc ♮ a♭c d a GFGG *(y)*.
Sit nomen Domini benedictum in sæcula.

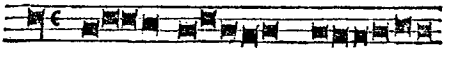


These letters had sometimes linear ligatures, of which a curious specimen is given by Padre Martini (*z*), from an ancient MS. of Guido, in the possession of that diligent historian.





Qui tol - - lis pec - ca - ta mundi mise - - - re -



re no - - - - - bis.

Besides the improvement in alphabetic notation, the invention of other kinds of notes has been attributed to St. Gregory: these consisted of lengthened points, placed at different elevations, over each syllable of the words that were intended to be sung in his *Antiphonarium*. Whether this expedient was first suggested by Gregory, or by succeeding transcribers of his Ritual, is uncertain. Eckehard, Jun. (*a*) seems to think that he only used the *literal notation*: for, speaking of Peter, one of the singers sent into France by Pope Adrian, at the request of Charlemagne, he says, that "this chanter first superseded the "use of alphabetic characters by certain notes (*b*) placed over "words that were to be sung; which Notker Balbulus after-"wards explained to a friend (*c*)".

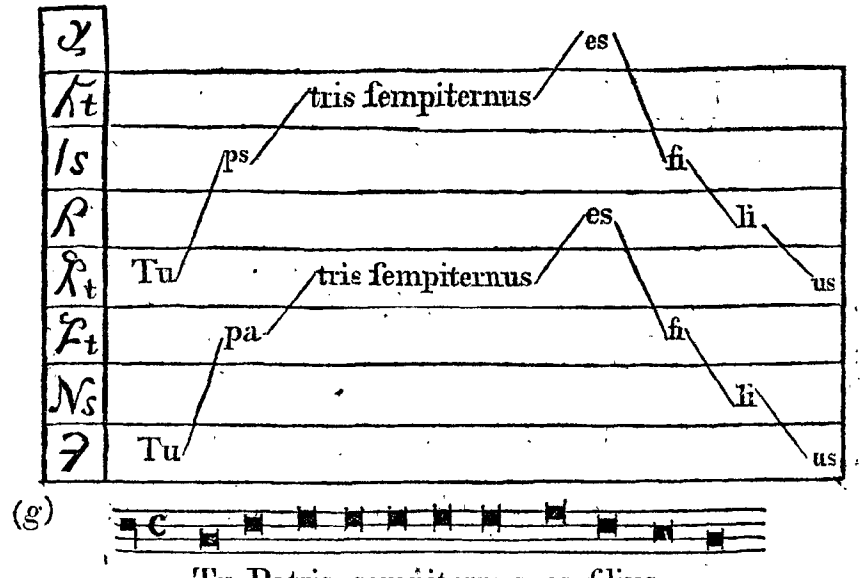
(*y*) From a MS. of Guido in the Laurenzinian Library, at Florence.
(*z*) *Storia della Musica*, tom. i. p. 178.
(*a*) *De casibus Sancti Galli, cap.* 4.
(*b*) *Notulis.*
(*c*) This work of Notkerus is still extant in the fifth vol. of *Antiq. Lect. Canisii*, part ii. p. 739.

The Gregorian Chant seems to have been expressed by notes different from the letters of the alphabet, if not by Pope Gregory himself, at least very soon after the death of that Pontiff. The Monk of Angoulême, author of the Life of Charlemagne, anno 787, says, that "The Antiphonarium "of Gregory was written by himself in *Roman notes*; and that "all the chanters of France learned the Roman, now called "the French note." One of these notes, says Du Cange, was placed over each syllable (*d*).

There is a beautiful MS. Psalter in the Library of Bennet Coll. Cambridge, supposed to have been brought from Rome by Austin the Monk, in the time of Pope Gregory. I had formed hopes, that in this some kind of notation would be found, but none appears. In the seventh chapter of the Statute Book of Aix la Chapelle, in the year 879, and in that of Charlemagne (*e*), it is, however, ordained, that "*notes*, chants, "and grammar, should be taught in every monastery and "Diocese."

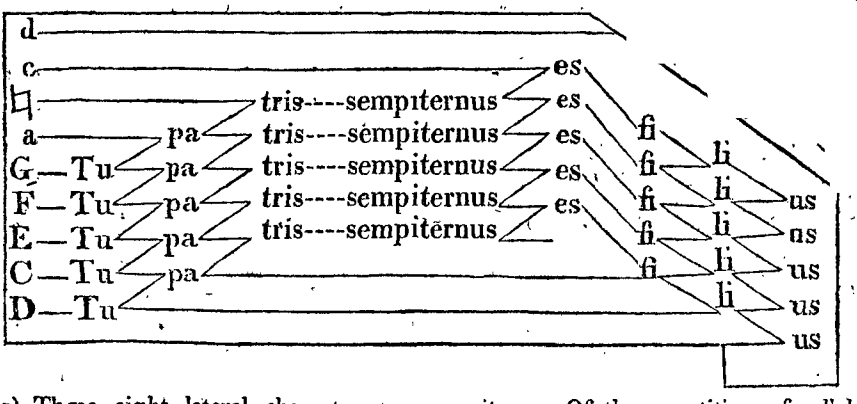
Lines began to be used in the tenth century, as appears from an ancient manuscript treatise on Music, by Odo the Monk, written about the year 920 (*f*). These were eight or nine in number. At first, the syllables of the psalm or hymn, that was to be sung, were placed in the spaces between these lines, thus:

(*d*) *Gloss. ad Script. Med. et Inf. Latini.*
(*e*) Lib. i. cap. lxviii. and lib. vi. cap. 277.
(*f*) *Trithem. de Scriptorib. Eccles.* N. 292.



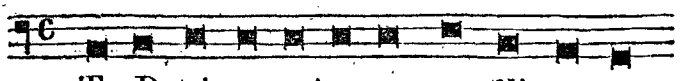
Tu Patris sempiternus es filius.

After this an alphabetic character was placed at the beginning of each line; capitals for the grave sounds, and minuscules for the acute; as may be seen in the following specimen from a MS. of Guido's Epistle to the Monk of Pomposo, in the Laurenzinian library at Florence, and in the British Museum, No. 3199, in which the melody is written in five different keys.

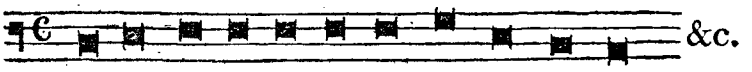


(g) These eight lateral characters, or ciphers, imply the eight tones of the church, D, E, F, G, authentic, and plagal; the small letters t, and s, tone and semitone. Of the repetition of syllables over each other, an account will be given in the next chapter.

Tu-

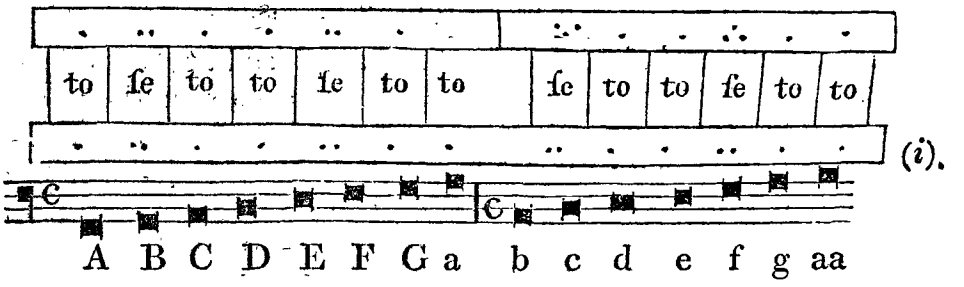


Tu Patris sempiternus es filius.



Tu Patris sempiternus es filius.

To this kind of notation succeed *Points*, a scale formed of which is given from a tract written by the great musical Monk Hubaldus (*h*), who flourished about the year 880. The MS. is still subsisting in the Malatesta Library of the Minor Conventual Fathers at Cevena, and in that of the King of France at Paris, No. 7202, of which last I procured a copy.



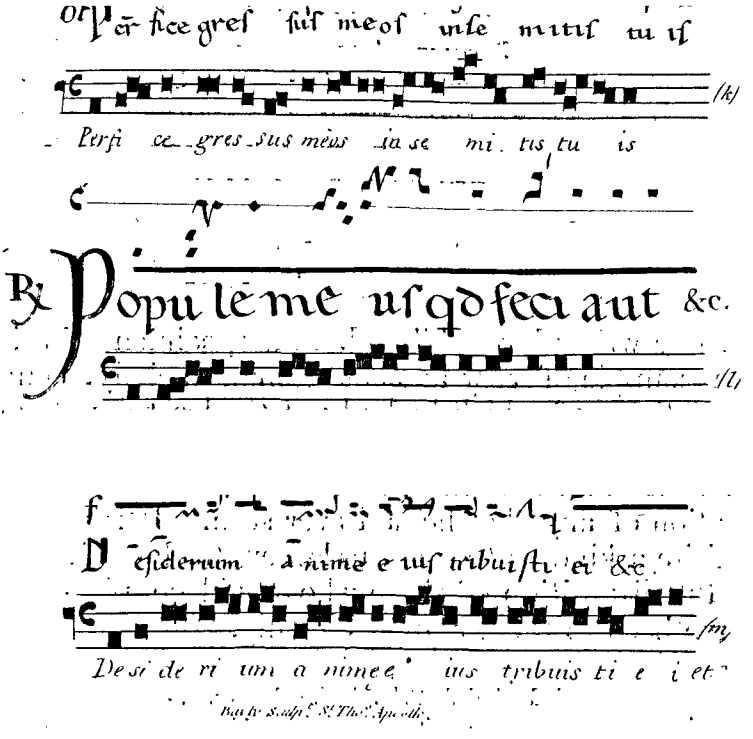
The three following examples of ancient notations by points, are given from P. Martini, tom. i. p. 184. in which only one line is used to ascertain the predominant sound of the chant: a red line for the clef F, and a yellow one for that of C. This seems to have been the first time that a line was drawn

(*h*) *Enchiridion Musicæ authore* Uchubaldo, *Francigena.*

(*i*) This example robs Guido of the glory of having invented *Points*, however double points, or *Counterpoint*, may belong to him; but this claim will be discussed in the next chapter; and it is but just to observe here, that the above species of notation seems never to have been in general use.

through

through notes of the same elevation, and the origin of clefs; which are only Gothic letters corrupted or disfigured.



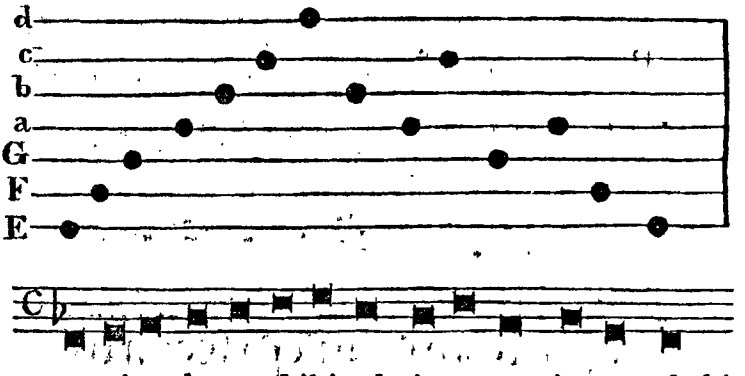
(*k*) From a fragment of an ancient Missal written about the year 900, which is preserved in the archives of the cathedral at Modena.

(*l*) From an ancient missal in the possession of P. Martini. Guido, in the prologue to his *Antiphonarium*, speaks of this kind of notation, where the red line implies the clef of F, and the yellow that of C.

Quasdam lineas signamus variis coloribus
Ut quo loco, qui sit sonus, mox discernat oculus;
Ordine tertiæ voces splendens crocus radiat,
Sexta ejus, sed affinis flavo rubet minio.

(*m*) From an ancient Missal.

Vincenzio Galilei *(n)* says, that a little before the time of Guido the *points* were placed on seven *lines*, only, without using the spaces; perhaps in imitation of the seven strings of the ancient lyre:

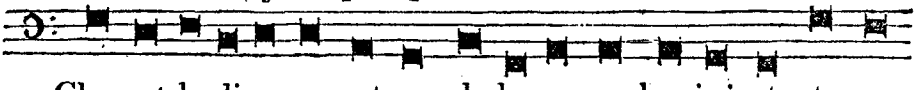


The same writer has exhibited, in a specimen of this notation, an example of very ancient Roman melody, concerning the authenticity of which he had not the least doubt, as it was communicated to him, he says, by a Florentine gentleman, who had found it in an extreme ancient MS. of the most perfect preservation of any that he had ever seen. It is not indeed of so exquisite a kind as to make us lament the loss of such music; though the disposition of those who could be pleased with it may have been to them a great blessing.

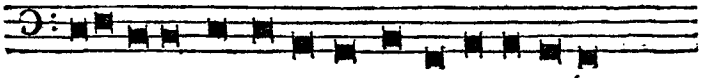
(*n*) Dial. della Mus. Anti. e Moder. p. 36.

Clanget hodi-e vox nostra melodum symphoni-a instant.

annua jam quia præclara solemnia, &c. (o.)



Clanget hodie vox nostra melodum symphonia instant annua

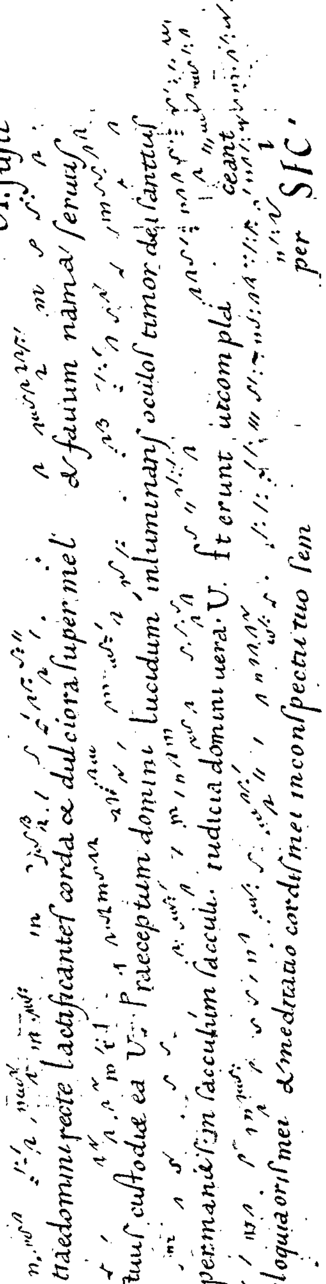


jam quia præclara solemnia, &c.

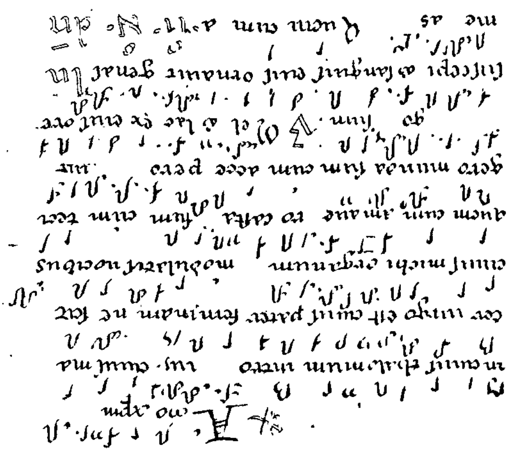
Few, however, of these methods of notation seem to have been *generally* received in cotemporary Missals, after the Greek characters were disused; for in the MS. specimens which I have seen, the marks placed over the words, in the middle ages, previous to the time of Guido, often appear arbitrary, and to have been adopted only in some particular church, convent, or fraternity.

Points were first used simple, afterwards with tails; sometimes detached, sometimes confluent; and sometimes united and distorted like hieroglyphics. I collected examples of this notation in the Ambrosian library at Milan, in the Vatican at Rome, at Antwerp, and in the libraries and convents of several other cities on the Continent: many of which are, indeed, unintelligible at present to the most learned librarians and antiquaries I consulted. Of these I shall, however, give specimens, more to convince the reader of the rude state of music in these barbarous ages, than to display its beauties, or my own sagacity in deciphering the characters.

(o) It was from these *Points* being placed over each other in the first notation of music in different parts, that the term *Contrapunctum, Counterpoint,* had its origin.



N° I.



N° II.

Of these two specimens of ancient Ecclesiastical Notation N° I is from a M.S. Missal of the 9th Century, in the Ambrosian Library at Milan.

and N° II from one of the 11th Century, with which I was favoured by Dr. Morton principal Librarian to the British Museum.

A few examples of such music will perhaps suffice to enquirers reasonably curious in Gothic antiquities; and, indeed, such as *can* be decyphered may comfort the reader of taste for the unintelligible state of the rest. The history of barbarians can furnish but small pleasure or profit to an enlightened and polished people: and the ecclesiastical chants of the early and middle ages of Christianity, have no other constituent part of good music than that of moving in some of the intervals belonging to the Diatonic scale; nor do any stronger marks of selection and design appear in them, than might be expected in a melody formed by a fortuitous concourse of musical sounds. And, indeed, these chants bear nearly the same proportion to a marked and elegant melody, as a discourse drawn from Swift's Laputan Mill would do with one written by a Locke or a Johnson.

The characters, however, in the last two specimens are not arbitrary marks, or signs of single sounds; but, like those used in some ancient Greek Missals, of which an account will be given hereafter, expressed different inflexions of voice, for which, in modern notation, several characters would be required. As lines seem first to have been used for the purpose of ascertaining the clef, and to intersect such notes as were of the same elevation, it would not be difficult to discover the melody intended to be expressed by these characters in ancient Missals, if their force was known, and their situation determined by lines drawn through them.

The appellations given to these characters were, in general, barbarous, though some of them seem intended, by their form, as well as import, to delineate the motion of the voice (*o*).

(*o*) The names of ten of the musical notes used in the middle ages occur in two Latin verses given by Du Cange, in his Glossary, from Theogerus, Bishop of

They seem, before lines were applied to them, to have been in general use from the ninth to the fourteenth century; as they are not only to be found in the MSS. above mentioned, but in innumerable others which are still preserved in the several libraries and convents of Europe, whence Walther has given specimens in his *Lexicon Diplomaticum*; and in these MSS. they differ no more than letters in the hand-writing of individuals of the same age and nation. In many of them particular words at the end of a verse or sentence, have groups of notes given to them, which, in modern musical language, would be called divisions. Some of these appear in the fragment from the Ambrosian MS.; and Walther (Tab. VI.) has deciphered a chant of the eleventh century, in which the second syllable of the verb *sanantur* has a *volata*, or flight of notes, set to it, consisting of near seventy different sounds.

The same diligent and ingenious antiquary has likewise ascertained the notation of a MS. of the twelfth century, by drawing lines through the characters, Tab. XII. and elsewhere has not only given proofs of this species of notation having been in use till the 14th century, but exhibited (Tab. XXIV.) an explanation of the *singing-clefs* and *musical notes* of the middle ages, with which I shall present my readers, in order to enable the studious in musical antiquities, to decipher the characters used in the Canto Fermo of the middle ages, wherever

Metz, *apud Bernardum Pez*, tom. i. *Anecd. Præfat.* p. 15. under the article *Heptaphonos.*

Is (Christus) *in ævum sit benedictus.*
Heptaphonos, strophicus, punctus, porrectus, oriscus,
Virgula, cephalicus, clinis, quilisma, podacus.

And the forms of some of them are likewise preserved in a MS. Latin tract on music, supposed to have been written in the twelfth century, which I saw in the Jesuit's college at Antwerp. See *Present State of Music in Germany*, &c. vol. i. p. 32. and 48, first edit. John Cotton, the author of this tract, who is supposed to be an Englishman, speaking of the different finals of the intonations of the Psalms says: *Tercius neumandi modus a Guidone inventus. Hic sit per virgas, clipes, quilismata, puncta, podatus, ceterasque hujusmodi notulas suo ordine dispostas.*

they

they shall find them, previous to the use of lines, Gregorian notes, or the invention of a time-table.

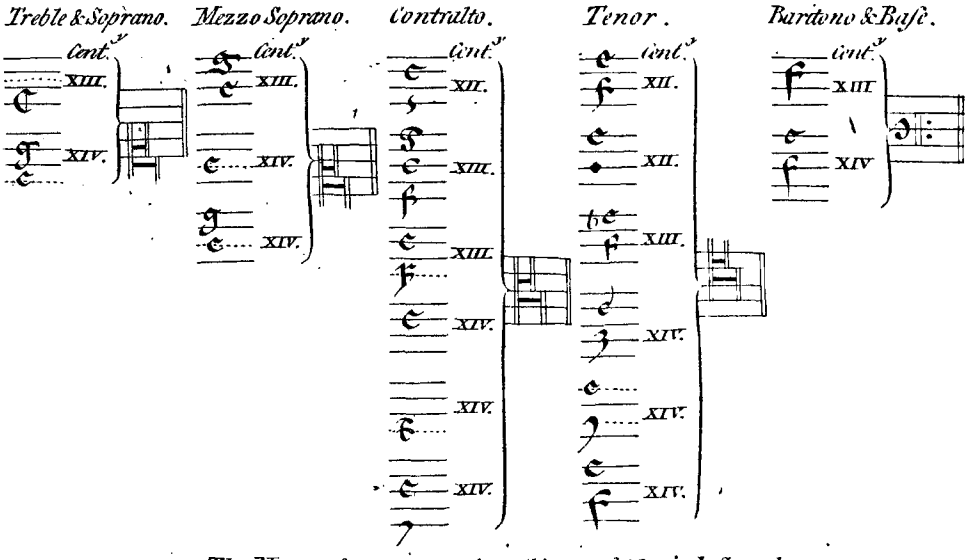
And as the learned abbot of St. Blasius (*p*) has given in his second vol. a plate of the metrical accents and characters for inflexions of voice used about this time, amounting to forty, with their several names underneath, in Hexameter verse, I shall insert a copy of this plate on the opposite page, as it will furnish appellations to the musical characters which Walther explains, and point out the meaning of others, which occur in both Latin and Greek Missals of the ages anterior to Guido, and the use of lines. Some of these characters, as their names imply, are grammatical, some metrical, some representatives of musical sounds, and others, perhaps, were appropriated to the graces or embellishments which were then used in melody.

But, it may be easily imagined, while these notes were used without lines to ascertain their exact situation, that they must have been very uncertain guides; and the author of the Antwerp MS. already mentioned, in speaking of these characters, as *Neumæ*, which was a termed applied to divisions upon a single vowel at the end of a psalm or anthem, as a recapitulation of the whole chant, justly observes, that "these irregular "signs must be productive of more error than science, as they "were often so carelessly and promiscuously placed, that "while one was singing a semitone or a fourth, another would "sing a third or a fifth (*q*)."

(*p*) *De Cantu et Musica Sacra*, p. 59, and pl. X. No. 2.

(*q*) *Qualiter autem istæ irregulares neumæ errorem pocius quam scientiam generent, in* virgulis *&* clinibus, *atque* podatis *considerari per facile est: quandoquidem & equaliter omnes disponuntur et nullus elevationis vel depositionis modus per eas exprimitur. Unde fit ut unusquisque tales neumas pro libitu suo exaltet aut deprimat, ut ubi tu semitonium vel diatessaron sonas, alius ibidem ditonum vel diapente faciat. Cap.* 21.

SINGING CLEFS of the MIDDLE AGES.



The Names & correspondent Signs of Musical Sounds.

Scandicus & salic. climacus torcul. anc.

Pentason. strophicus gnomo. porrect. oriscus.

Virgula. cefalic. chinis. quilisma. podatus.

Pandula. pinnosa. guttralis. tramea. cemr.

Proslam. baromenon. trigon tetradius. ygon.

Pentadicon & trigonicus & frauculus orix.

Bisticus & gradicus. tragicon diatm. exon

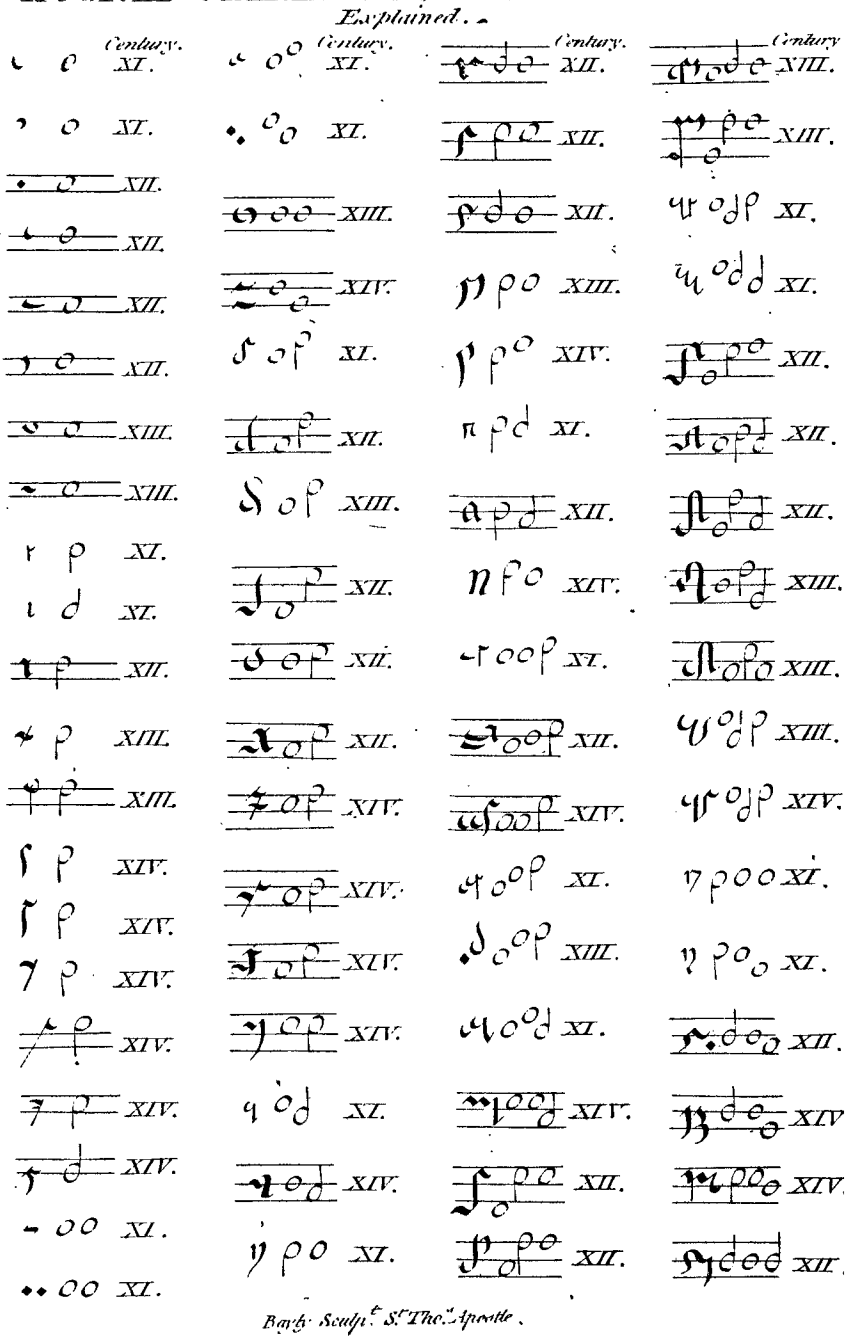
Ypodic. centon. agradat. atticus astus.

Et pressus minor & maior n̄ plurib. utor.

Neumarx signis erras qui plura refingis.

Barly Sculp.t S.t Tho.s Apostle.

MUSICAL CHARACTERS in ANCIENT MISSALS Explained.



It may easily be imagined, that neither this nor any other notation could instantaneously become general; improvements in arts long remain local in every age and country; and it is natural to suppose that the characters in question were long unknown, or of but small use, in some parts of Europe, while they were received and successfully practised in others.

Though the most ancient melodies used in the church may have been adopted from the Pagan Greeks, it seems as if they had been at first retained by memory, and handed down to distant ages by tradition; for no monuments remain, either in the Eastern or Western church, of music written in characters similar to those in Alypius, or of the Greek hymns inserted in the Dissertation prefixed to the first volume of this work. For though Meibomius has set such notes to *Te Deum Laudamus*, in his preface to the seven ancient Greek writers on music, yet he does not pretend to have found them in that form in any MS. of antiquity; his sole design in applying them to this venerable chant, being to shew how perfect a master he was of the ancient Greek notation.

The schism between the Greek and Latin churches, which happened in the ninth century, prevented such changes as were made in the Roman Ritual, after that period, from being adopted; and the notation used before, seems long to have been continued in the Greek church. In Russia, however, all the Rituals were called in at the beginning of the last century; and a uniform liturgy was established, in which the modern method of writing music was received. But in the Greek isles a notation peculiar to its inhabitants is still in use, which is not only as different from ours as their alphabet, but totally unlike that in the ancient Missals.

In examining the most ancient of these in the Vatican library, which were written in capitals, the first notation I could discover

discover consisted chiefly of accents; and when small letters were afterwards used, these accents were only somewhat lengthened. In the tenth and eleventh centuries, they very much resemble the characters to be found in cotemporary Latin Missals. However the melodies in the lower ages became more elaborate, and the notes more numerous than in those of higher antiquity.

St. John Damascenus, who lived in the eighth century, is celebrated by the writers of his life, and by ecclesiastical historians, as the compiler and reformer of chants in the Greek church, in the same manner as St. Gregory in the Roman. And Leo Allatius (*r*) under the title *Octoëchus* (*s*), tells us, they were composed by J. Damascenus. Zarlino goes still farther, and informs us, (*t*) that in the first ages of Christianity, the ancient Greek notation by letters having been thrown aside, John Damascenus invented new characters, which he accommodated to the Greek ecclesiastical tones; and that these characters did not, like our's, merely express single sounds, but all the intervals used in melody: as a semitone, tone, third minor, third major, &c. ascending and descending, with their different duration. This resembles, in many particulars, the notation, just exhibited from the ecclesiastical books of the Romish church, before the time-table and characters in present use were invented, or, at least, generally received.

The Abate Martini of Venice, with whose friendship I was honoured when I visited that city in 1770 (*u*), having visited the Greek isles in hopes of acquiring such a knowledge of the music practised there at present, as would enable him to judge, whether any of the miraculous powers attributed to it by their ancient inhabitants still remained, as well as to compare

(*r*) *De Libris Eccles. Græcorum.*
(*s*) Οκτωηχος: *Eight Tones.*
(*t*) *Instit. Harm. 4ta. parte. cap.* viii.
(*u*) See Present State of Music in France and Italy, p. 154. first edit.

its

its excellence with that of his own country; and as this learned and sagacious enquirer confided to me his papers on that subject, this seems the time to communicate to my readers a sketch of their contents.

The system of modern Greek musical notation, according to the Abate Martini, seems much more complicated and obscure than the ancient. The characters convey nothing to the mind either by their form or names, the greatest part of which cannot be construed; and the rest are construed to no purpose. Their signification, as words, does not point out their meaning, as musical characters; and all that I can discover is, that some of them seem descriptive of gesticulations; such as ὑράνισμα, which, perhaps, directed the priest to look up, or stretch his hands towards heaven. Ὀταυρος, which might direct him to make the sign of the cross, or to carry the cross. Λυγισμω, *flexio*, *contortio*. Indeed, it is said in the papers, that some of these characters are for the Χειρομια, or *Legerdemain*, and not δια φωνην, for the *voice*. This is the more likely, as the Greek service abounds in gesticulations and manual dexterity.

The Abate was informed, that though the oriental Greeks have signs for musical sounds equivalent to ours, they sing more by tradition than science. However, the distinctions for the duration of sounds, such as our time-table furnishes, are still wanting. The Abate procured an extract from a tract upon the music of the modern Greeks, written by Lampadarius; but who he was, or when he lived, no one could inform him. In this it appears, that the characters amount to more than fifty; among which, most of the names of those musical terms given by Du Cange, from a MS. treatise on the ecclesiastical music of the Greeks are to be found (x).

To

(x) *Gloss. Med. et Inf. Græcitatis.* Du Cange, who has so amply collected and explained the characters used by the modern Greeks in chymistry, botany, astronomy,

To insert these here, and endeavour to explain them, will perhaps be conferring but a small favour on my readers; for from the scarcity of music written in such characters, so few will be their opportunities of making use of any knowledge they may acquire by the study of them, that it would be like learning a dead language in which there are no books, or a living language without the hope of either reading or conversing in it.

I shall, however, for the gratification of the curious in these matters, exhibit here fourteen musical characters which occur in Greek MSS. of the Evangelists, written in capitals during the seventh, eighth, and ninth centuries, though, at present, they are wholly unintelligible, even to the Greeks themselves. I have already observed that the more ancient the MSS. the fewer and more simple are the notes: the *Codex Alexandrinus*, in the British Museum has none; and the *Evangelisteria* MSS. in the Harleian Collection, 5785, 5598, both of the tenth century, have only such as these, which were copied in Greece by the Abate Martini.

nomy, and other arts and sciences, is silent as to their musical notation; nor have I been able to acquire any information on that subject, except what the Abate Martini has supplied me with. The title of the Treatise, by *Lampadarius*, is the following. Τεχνολογια της μυσικης τεχνης The extract from it, which is in my possession, is too long for insertion here; nor would it be of much use could I allow it room, as no equivalents to the Greek characters are given in our own notation. But with respect to the author, I find among the memorandums which I made in the King of Sardinia's library at Turin, an account of a Greek MS. of the fifteenth century, No. 353. *b*. I. 24. in which *Lampadarius* is often mentioned as author of the music to the hymns and prayers it contains. Fabricius, likewise, Bibl. Græc. vol. ii. p. 369. 564, and 586, speaks of a MS. in the Selden Collection at Oxford, and another in the Jesuits library at Louvain, in which there are explanations of the notes used by the modern Greeks, and musical compositions by several authors particularly *Lampadarius*. In the patriarchal church of Constantinople, there are four singers, who are placed on the right and left sides of the choir: the first on the right hand is called Πρωτοψαλτης, the principal singer; the first on the left Λαμπαδαριος, *Lampadarius*; the two others who assist the principals are called *Domestici*. It is probable that Lampadarius, who flourished about the year 1300, either took his name from the office he filled; or, on account of his eminence in music, that his name was given to the office.

The

The *Codex Ephrem.* in the King's library at Paris, of the fifth century, has likewise the same kind of musical notes; and it is assigned as a reason for the *Codex Alexandrinus* not having them, that it was written for private use, not for the service of the church.

Kircher (*y*) undertakes to give his reader an idea of modern Greek Music and its characters; and has indeed collected a great number of notes and their names, but pretends not to furnish equivalents in the music of the western world. And to insert such barbarous names, and more barbarous characters here without explanation, would no more help to initiate a student in the mysteries of Greek music, than the Hebrew or Chinese alphabet. At the first glance they very much resemble the characters used in *Choregraphy*, an art invented about two hundred years ago to delineate the figures and steps of dances. They are too numerous and complicated to be all inserted and explained here; however, to the following, as they most frequently occur, I shall give the names, and correspondent notes in our own music, by the study of which the musical reader would be able to form some idea of the melody they are intended to express.

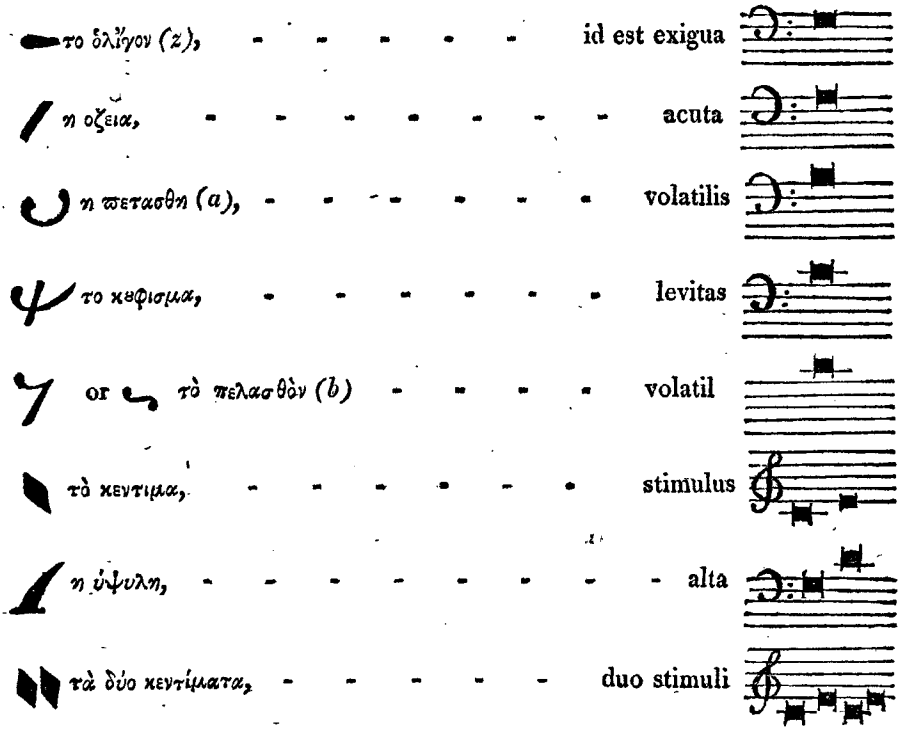
There are eight ascending and six descending characters, some for single sounds, and others for wider intervals, as thirds and fifths, such as Zarlino, in the passage mentioned above, had imagined were invented by J. Damascenus; and all these have their particular *Chironomia*, or signs for the gestures with which the priest is to accompany the inflections of voice.

ισον. The beginning, or first note of every chant, is called *Ison*, which is equivalent to the key or tone in which any melody is sung.

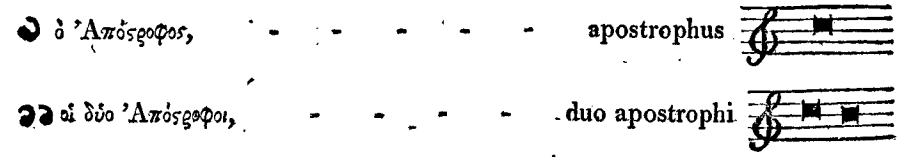
(*y*) *Musurgia, Tom.* 1. *p.* 72.

Ascending

Ascending Notes.



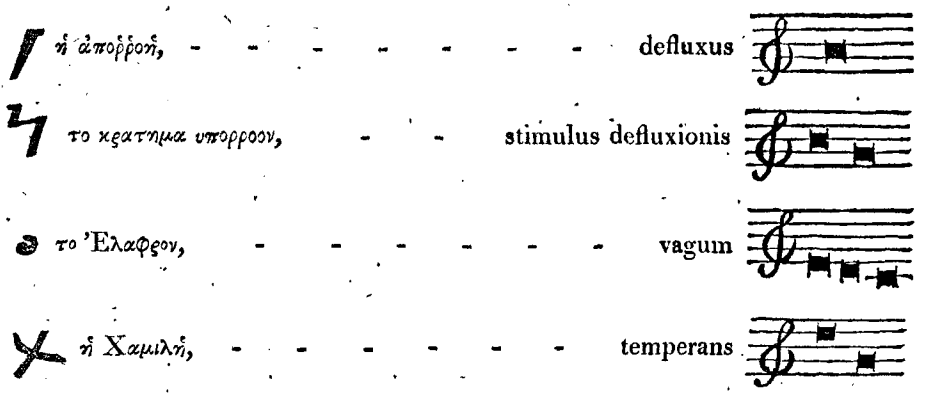
Descending Notes.



(z) Kircher, to whom even Egyptian hieroglyphics are easy, has resolved the names of these Greek notes into Latin. Musurg. *ubi supra,*

(a) Perhaps πετασις.
(c) πεταστον.

defluxus



The octaves to all these sounds are expressed by different characters.

The Abate Martini heard the Greeks, in Passion Week, sing several tropes or modes, which they now term ἤχοι, in four parts, in the style of Palestrina; and this kind of music they call *Cretan*, but why, is not easy to divine, unless they learned counterpoint while the Venetians were masters of the island (*e*).

The Abate says, that he often heard the common people of Greece sing in concert, and observed that they made frequent use of the *fourth; della consonanza che noi chiamiamo oggi quarta*. By this he must mean that he used it as a concord in two parts, or if there were more than two parts, in positions where our harmony forbids the use of it; otherwise it would not have affected his ear as a singularity.

The fact is curious; and I find it confirmed by Zarlino, who observed the same practice in the Greek church at Venice. The fourth we shall find was in such favour during the time of Guido, as to be preferred in descant to every other concord, and thought to constitute the most pleasing harmony. This

(*e*) The Venetians were in possession of Crete, or Candia, from the beginning of the thirteenth century till 1669, when they were driven thence by the Turks, after a siege of more than twenty years.

partiality

partiality may probably have arisen from the importance of *fourths* in the ancient Greek system, and the want of a temperament to render thirds and sixths more agreeable; but the improvements in harmony soon brought it into disgrace in Italy, while, from a contrary cause it has kept its ground to the present time in Greece, at least among the populace. And indeed, even in Italy, it seems to have retained a part of its ancient privileges long after the time of Guido, and when harmony was thought to be in great perfection: for Zarlino says, that Jusquin, and the other old Flemish masters, used it frequently in their compositions: *nella parte grave, senza aggiungerle altro intervallo* (*d*).

The present state of Greek music, indeed, does not confirm or favour the opinion of Dr. Brown, who asserts, with his usual courage (*e*), that "about four hundred years after Guido, the "debauched art once more passed over into Italy from Greece: "certain *Greeks*, who escaped from the taking of Constantino-"ple, brought a refined and enervate species of music to "Rome, &c." As many travellers assert that the modern Greeks have no music in parts, we may suppose, that in those places where it was heard by the Abate Martini, it had been brought thither by the Venetians, during the time that they had possessions in the Archipelago.

That the Greek music has undergone many alterations since the ancient treatises that are come down to us were written, is certain from the change and increase of its vocabulary. Bryennius (*f*) has given, as names of intervals, a list of barbarous terms not to be found in any preceding writer within my knowlege; and in the Greek Glossary of Du Cange, and the

(*d*) *Instit. Harm.* p. 152. and *Dim. Harm.* p. 88.

(*e*) *Dissert.* on Music and Poetry, p. 209.

(*f*) Lib. iii. sect. 3.

Abate Martini's papers, a great number occur that are not to be found either in writers of high antiquity, or in Bryennius (*g*).

The technical language of the Greeks has always been copious, and in music perhaps its seeming redundance is more conspicuous than in any other art or science. But in other arts and sciences Words are representatives of Things existing; whereas, in denominating the tones and inflexions of voice, which to realize, require new creation, there can be no correspondence between the type and substance. The colours, the forms, and objects, which a painter wishes to represent, are in nature; and the poet, in all the ebullition of wild enthusiasm and fervid imagination, describes what he has seen and felt, or what *is* to be seen and felt, and for which common language must supply him with symbols. But it has never entered the thoughts of man to give names to all the minute shades of colour between black and white, or to the gradations by which light is propagated between the time of total darkness and the sun's meridian. And yet, in a scale of sounds, from the lowest musical tone in the human voice to the highest, where octaves are not represented by similar signs and appellatives, the names and characters must be numerous. The lines and clefs of the European music have certainly freed it from many perplexities with which it was embarrassed, even in the artless times of Canto Fermo.

But however flowery the Greeks may have made their ecclesiastical melody, or however they have multiplied its charac-

(*g*) Manuel Bryennius flourished under the elder Palæologus about the year 1320. It is probable that he was a descendant of the house of *Brienne*, an ancient French family, that went into Greece during the Crusades, at the beginning of the thirteenth century. (Fabric. *Bib. Gr.* Du Cang. *Fam. Byzant.*) In this author, *lib.* iii. *sect.* 4. the words ηχος, and πλαγιος, appear for *tonus* and *obliquus*; and πρωτος, δευτερος, τριτος, τεταρτος, are used to distinguish the modes or tones: a proof that he was a modern Greek. Padre Martini is of opinion that these terms were first introduced in church music, to exclude the Pagan titles of Dorian, Phrygian, Lydian, &c.

ters,

ters, the desire of permanence in the heads of the Western church, with respect to all sacred matters, long kept music in the plain and simple state in which it was left by Pope Gregory the Great; for we do not find, till the invention of counterpoint, that it received any material change or improvement. Our own Bible and liturgy, if they remain in their present state five or six hundred years, will, perhaps, be unintelligible to the vulgar, though written in the best language of this country when they were introduced into the church. And the Greek and Roman languages, which were so well understood by the primitive Christians, became dead and obsolete by degrees, to all but the learned in after-ages. The preclusion of change or innovation in sacred concerns which has occasioned permanence, has likewise been the cause of inelegance and obscurity.

But I shall now quit the subject of church music among the Greeks and Romans, and close this chapter with an account of its establishment in England and France.

It is the opinion of Bishop Stillingfleet (*h*) that St. Paul himself visited this island, and that the Gospel was propagated here during the time of the apostles. He speaks of Dioclesian's persecution; of its being stopt by Constantius; and of the flourishing state of the British church under Constantine. He treats likewise of the great antiquity of episcopal government here; of the ancient endowment of churches, even before the time of Constantine, and of the privileges granted by that Prince. He gives an account of the schools of learning established here by Germanus and Lupus, early in the fifth century; of the public service of the British church; and of the difference between the Gallican and Roman service. But the part of his work, which more immediately concerns the pre-

(*h*) *Origines Britannicæ*, 1685.

sent

sent enquiries, in his account of the arrival of Augustine the Monk in England; and what he says of the manner of performing the mass by the early Christians, and of the superiority of the ancient Roman church music over that of all the other Western churches. I shall not however croud my pages with long quotations from a work of which so many copies are disseminated throughout the island; but content myself, and, I hope, my readers, with merely pointing it out to their perusal.

We learn from Venerable Bede, and from William of Malmsbury, that Austin the Monk, commonly called the English apostle, who was sent from Rome by Pope Gregory the Great, to convert the Saxons, instructed them in ecclesiastical music.

The account which Bede gives (*i*) of the conversion of the Saxons in 596, being inserted in all the histories of this country, it does not seem necessary to give it a place here. However, there are a few circumstances in this narration, which are too much connected with the establishment of music in the English church to be omitted. Bede tells us, that when Austin, and the companions of his mission, had their first audience of King Ethelbert in the isle of Thanet, they approached him in procession *singing Litanies;* and that, afterwards, when they entered the city of Cauterbury, they sung a *Litany*, and at the end of it, *Allelujah.*

But though this was the first time the Anglo-Saxons had heard the Gregorian Chant, yet Bede likewise tells us (*k*), that our British ancestors had been instructed in the rites and ceremonies of the Gallican Church by St. Germanus, and heard him sing *Alleluja* many years before the arrival of St. Austin.

Several letters, which passed between that Pontiff and him, during his mission, are still extant. He was the first Archbishop of Canterbury. "The principal difference, says

(*i*) *Eccles. Hist. lib.* i. *cap.* 25. (*k*) *Lib.* i. *cap.* 20.

"Bishop

" Bishop Stillingfleet (*l*), between the Roman and Gallic " Ritual, which the Britons had adopted before the arrival " of Austin, was in the *Church Music*, in which the Romans " were thought to excel other western churches so far, that the " goodness of their music was the principal incitement to the " introduction of their offices."

Milton relates, from the Saxon annals, that in the fourth year of the reign of Egbert, 668, by means of Theodore, a learned Monk of Tarsus in Greece, whom Pope Vitalian had ordained Archbishop of Canterbury, the Greek and Latin tongues, with several liberal arts, as arithmetic, *music*, astronomy, and the like, began first to flourish among the Saxons (*m*).

Venerable Bede was himself an able musician, and is supposed to have been the author of a short musical tract, *De Musica Theorica, et Practica, sue Mensurata* (*n*). Of the two parts of this Treatise ascribed to Bede, the first *may* have been written by him; the second, however, is manifestly the work of a much more modern author; for we find in it, not only the mention of music in two or three different parts, under the name of *Discant*, but of instruments never mentioned in writers cotemporary with Bede; such as the *organ*, *viole*, *atola*, &c. A *notation* too of much later times appears here, in which the *long*, the *breve*, and *semibreve* are used, and these upon *five lines* and spaces, with equivalent rests and pauses. The word *modus* is also used for *time*, in the sense to which the term *mood* was applied after it ceased to mean *key*. Upon the whole it seems as if this last part of the tract attributed to Bede, was written about the twelfth century; that is, between the time of Guido and John de Muris.

Bede, however, informs us (*o*) that, in 680, John, Præcentor of St. Peter's in Rome, who was sent over by Pope

(*l*) *Orig. Brit.* p. 237.
(*m*) Milton's Hist. of Engl. b. iv. p. 65.
(*n*) Vide Edit. Coll. 1688. vol. i. p. 344.
(*o*) *Vit. Abbat. Wiremoth, & Eccles. Hist. lib.* iv. *cap.* 18.

Agatho to instruct the Monks of Weremouth in the art of singing, and particularly to acquaint them with the manner of performing the festival services throughout the year, according to that which was practised at Rome. And such was the reputation of his skill, that "the masters of music from all "the other monasteries of the North came to hear him; and "prevailed on him to open schools for teaching music in other "places of the kingdom of Northumberland."

These are marks of grace and modesty which our neighbours the French could not boast, even in such early times of ignorance and simplicity. For we have, from cotemporary writers, the relation of a serious quarrel between Gallic and Roman musicians, so early as the time of Pope Adrian and Charlemagne, concerning superiority of taste and knowledge; a quarrel which has been since often renewed, but which, had it been left to the reference of unprejudiced and intelligent judges of other nations, would have been soon determined without ever coming to a second *trial* or combat. The French, however, after every defeat, revive with still greater clamour their pretensions to a *Titular Sovereignty*, without having the least claim to it, either from inheritance, conquest, or former possession.

The story of this ancient musical quarrel is somewhat long, but the necessity of inserting it here at full length seems the greater, as it not only shews the antiquity of the ridiculous rivalry and hatred still subsisting between French and Italian musicians, but is a convincing proof that the English were not the only people obliged to the Romans for the method of chanting the Psalms, and singing the Hymns in their cathedral service. Musical missionaries were sent, at this time, from Rome to other parts of Europe, to instruct the converts to the Gospel in the church service; which accounts for that similarity and almost identity of melody, observable in the sacred music of

of all the countries of Europe at the time of the Reformation, till when, little other music was known or practised than that of the church.

"The most pious King Charles having returned to celebrate "Easter at Rome, with the Apostolic Lord, a great quarrel "ensued, during the festival, between the Roman and Gallic "singers. The French pretended to sing better, and more "agreeably, than the Italians: and the Italians, on the con- "trary, regarding themselves as more learned in Ecclesiastical "Music, which they had been taught by St. Gregory, accused "their competitors of corrupting, disfiguring, and spoiling the "true chant. The dispute being brought before our sovereign "Lord the King, the French, thinking themselves sure of "his countenance and support, insulted the Roman singers; "who, on their part, emboldened by superior knowlege; "and comparing the musical abilities of their great master, St. "Gregory, with the ignorance and rusticity of their rivals, "treated them as fools and barbarians. As their altercation "was not likely to come to a speedy issue, the most pious "King Charles asked his chantors, which they thought to be "the purest and best water, that which was drawn from the "source, at the fountain-head, or that, which, after being "mixed with turbid and muddy rivulets, was found at a great "distance from the original spring? They cried out, unani- "mously, that all water must be most pure at its source; upon "which, our Lord the King said, Mount ye then up to the "pure fountain of St. Gregory, whose chant ye have mani- "festly corrupted. After this, our Lord the King applied to "Pope Adrian for singing masters, to correct the Gallican "Chant, and the Pope appointed for that purpose Theodore "and Benedict, two chantors of great learning and abilities, "who had been instructed by St. Gregory himself: he like- "wise granted to him *Antiphonaria*, or Choral Books of that

"Saint,

" Saint, which he had written himself in Roman notes. Our " Lord the King, at his return to France, sent one of the two " singers, granted to him by the Pope, to Metz, and the other " to Soissons; commanding all the singing masters of his king- " dom to correct their *Antiphonaria*, and to conform in all " respects to the Roman manner of performing the church " service. Thus were the French Antiphonaria corrected, " which had before been vitiated, interpolated, and abridged, " at the pleasure of every Choir-man; and all the chantors of " France learned from the Romans that chant which they now " call the French Chant. But as for the beats, trills, shakes, " and accents of the Italians, the French were never able to " execute or express them; nor, for want of sufficient flexibility " in the organ of voice, were they capable of imitating, in these " graces, any thing but the tremulous and guttural noise of " goats *(p)*. The principal school of singing was established " at Metz, and in the same proportion as the Roman chant " exceeded that of this city, the singers of Metz surpassed all " those of other French schools. The Roman chantors like- " wise instructed those of French in the art of *Organizing (q)*; " and our sovereign Lord Charles having, besides, brought " with him into France masters in grammar and arithmetic, " ordered those arts to be cultivated throughout his dominions;

(*p*) *Chevrotter, et far una tosse di capra*, are expressions applied in France and Italy to such singers as have a bad shake.

John Diaconus, in his Life of St. Gregory, gives in queer and barbarous Latin, scarcely to be translated, a curious account of the vocal abilities of the ancient Germans and French, who, in attempting to sing the Gregorian Chant, were wholly unable to express its sweetness; "injuring it by barbarous changes, suggested, says he, either by their natural ferocity or inconstancy of disposition. Their figures were gigantic, and when they sung it was rather thunder than musical tones. Their rude throats, instead of the inflexions of pleasing melody, formed such rough sounds, as resembled the noise of a cart jolting down a pair of stairs."—*Quasi plaustra per gradus confuse sonantia, rigidas voces jactant.* Vita S. Greg. cap. ii.

(*q*) *Arte* Organandi. This term will be explained in the next chapter.

" for,

" for, before the reign of the said Lord the King, the liberal " arts were neglected in France *(r)*."

Among the Anglo-Saxon Benedictines, who contributed to the establishment of the Gregorian Chant in this island, was Benedict Biscop, the preceptor of Venerable Bede; who, having been five times at Rome, and well received by Pope Agatho, acquired a perfect knowledge in the monastic rules, the *Choir Song*, and all ecclesiastical rites. His disciple Bede, who wrote his Life, informs us, that it was chiefly from him that the *Roman Chant* was so well known in the manasteries of his founding in the Bishoprick of Durham, Girwy, and Weremouth; in the last of which Bede ended his days *(s.)*

Adrian, Stephen, Monk of Canterbury; Friar James, and many others, are celebrated by Bede for their skill in singing after the Roman manner. It was then the custom for the clergy to travel to Rome for improvement in music, as well as to import masters of that art from the Roman college. At length the successors of St. Gregory, and of Austin his Missionary, having established a school for ecclesiastical music at Canterbury, the rest of the island was furnished with masters from that seminary. Indeed, Roman music and singing were as much in favour here, during the middle ages, when there

(r) *Et reversus est Rex piissimus Carolus*, &c. Vide Annal. & Hist. Francor. ab an. 708, ad an. 990. Scriptores Coetaneos. Impr. Francofurti 1594. Sub vita Caroli magni. Charlemagne died in 813.

The Abbe Velly, who, in his *Hist. de France*, tom. i. p. 53. gives the same account of the establishment of the Romish chant in France, adds; that "the monarch was " likewise desirous of introducing into his " churches the Liturgy, or Mass, as used " at Rome; but here he met with greater " difficulties.—The French clergy, jealous " of their ancient usages, opposed, in a " body, this measure, as an innovation; " the royal authority, however, at length " prevailed."—After such an account of Charlemagne, it is hardly possible to read the following passage without amazement. " Charles confirmed the instrument with " his hand, that is to say, by *making his* " *mark*; for it is to be observed, that this " Prince, one of the most learned men of " his age, *could not write!*" According to Mezeray, the addition to the signature of this prince, at the bottom of each treaty, must have been *engraved*; for he there says, " I have signed it with the " pommel of my sword, and promise to " maintain it with the point."

(s) Biscop died 703, and Bede 735.

were no operas or artificial voices to captivate our countrymen, as Italian compositions and performers are at present.

It was at the latter end of the ninth century, that our Alfred flourished; a Prince, whom all his historians celebrate, not only as a great sovereign, legislator, warrior, politician, and scholar, but as an excellent musician. And Asser, Fryer John, Grimbald the Monk, all his cotemporaries, speak in high terms, not only of his own performance, but of the encouragement he gave to music, among other sciences, in the University of Oxford.

During this period music, such as it was, must have been thought a most important part of a learned education, as it was one of the sciences which constituted the *Quadrivium*, or highest class of philosophical learning: consisting of music, arithmetic, geometry, and astronomy, as the *Trivium* did of grammar, rhetoric, and logic. But the methods of teaching both the theory and practice of music, were so dark, difficult, and tedious, before its notation, measure, and harmonial laws were settled, that youth generally spent nine or ten years in the study of it, seemingly to very little purpose. But, under all these disadvantages, it appears to have been so much more agreeable to the Monks than their other studies, that they seem to have cultivated it in retirement, at the exclusion of almost every thing else that was connected with reason and philosophy. Innumerable are the musical treatises to which these studies gave birth, during this dark period, and torpid state of the human mind; while homicide was the first secular virtue, and while, among ecclesiastics, the best singer was esteemed the most learned man (*t*.)

So destitute of literature was this island, during the youth of Alfred, that he was twelve years old before a master, properly

(*t*) Fabricii, Bib. Lat. tom. i. p. 644.

qualified,

qualified, could be procured, in the western kingdom, to teach him the alphabet. But, while yet unable to read, he could repeat a variety of Saxon songs, which he had learned in hearing them sung by others, who had themselves, perhaps, only learned them by tradition *(u.)* His genius, indeed, is said to have been first rouzed, and stimulated by this species of erudition, which has often made a considerable progress even among barbarians.

The well known story of Alfred entering and exploring the Danish camp, in the disguise of a harper *(x)* or minstrel, and being musician sufficient to impose on the enemy for many successive days, is related by Ingulf, Henry of Huntington, Speed, Malmesbury, Sir. H. Spelman, Milton, and almost all the best modern historians *(y)*. And this excellent Prince not only encouraged and countenanced the *practice* of music, but, in 886, according to the Annals of the Church of Winchester, and many ancient writers, founded a Professorship at Oxford for the cultivation of it as a *Science*; and the first who filled the chair was Friar John of St. David's, who not only read lectures upon music, but logic and arithmetic.

St. Dunstan is mentioned by several German writers not only as a great musician, but as the inventor of music in four parts: A mistake that has arisen from the similarity of his name with that of *Dunstable*, one of the earliest writers on Counterpoint in this country; at least it is certain, that music in four parts was not only unknown here, but throughout Europe, in the

(*u*) Flor. Vigorn. sub ann. 871. Brompton, Chron. in ALFR. p. 814. and MS. Bever. MSS. Coll. Trin. Oxon. No. 47. f. 82.

(*x*) Alfred translates the Latin word *Plectrum* into Heapp-nægel, Sax. by which it should seem, that the harp, in the time of this royal musician, was played like the ancient lyre, with a *plectrum*. Nægl, is likewise Saxon for a nail of the finger or toe. Heapp-nœglar, also implies the pins or pegs of a harp.

(*y*) See *Archæologia*, vol. ii. p. 100. et seq. 1773. 4to.

tenth

tenth century, during which Dunstan flourished (z). Indeed, almost all the Monkish writers thought it necessary to make a *conjurer* of this turbulent prelate. Fuller (a), who has consulted them all, tells us, that he was an excellent musician, which, according to this writer, was a qualification very requisite to ecclesiastical preferment; for, he informs us, that, "preaching, in those days, could not be heard for singing in "churches." However, the superior knowledge of Dunstan in music, was numbered among his crimes; for being accused of *magic* to the King, it was urged against him, that he had constructed, by the help of the Devil, (probably before he had taken him by the nose), a harp, that not only moved of itself, but played without any human assistance (b). With all his violence and ambition, it may be supposed, that he was a man of genius and talents; since it is allowed, by the least monkish among his historians, that he was not only an excellent musician, but a notable painter and statuary, which, says Fuller, "were two very useful accomplishments for the furtherance of Saint-worship either in pictures or in statues."

Indeed, it is expressly said, in a MS. life of this prelate (c), that among his sacred studies, he cultivated the arts of writing, *harping*, and painting. It is likewise upon record, that he cast two of the bells of Abingdon abbey with his own hands (d). And according to William of Malmesbury, who wrote about the year 1120, the Saxons had organs in their churches before the Conquest. He says, that Dunstan, in the reign of King Edgar, gave an organ to the abbey of Malmesbury; which, by

(z) Dunstan died 988, aged 64.

(a) *Church History*, 1666.

(b) If the modern Merlin had lived in an age so ignorant of mechanics, he would have been thought a far greater magician than his name-sake of King Arthur's days, and to have deserved a faggot much more than either St. Dunstan or Friar Bacon.

(c) *Vit. St. Dunstan.* MSS. Cott. Brit. Mus. FAUSTIN. b. xiii.

(d) *Monast. Anglic.* tom. i. p. 104.

his

his description, very much resembled that in present use (*e*). William, who was a monk of this abbey, adds, that this benefaction of Dunstan was inscribed in a Latin distich, which he quotes, on the organ pipes (*f*).

As Dunstan is said, by several writers, to have furnished many English churches and convents with *Organs*, this seems the place to speak of the origin of that ecclesiastical instrument, and of its first introduction into the church.

The most ancient proof of an instrument resembling a modern organ blown by bellows, and played with keys, very different from the Hydraulicon, which is of much higher antiquity, as has been already shewn in the first volume of this work, p. 512, is a Greek epigram in the Anthologia, attributed to the Emperor Julian the Apostate, who flourished about 364.

I shall here give a literal translation of this epigram, which, though it contain no very beautiful or poetical images, will answer the historical purpose of ascertaining the existence of an instrument in the fourth century, which, in many particulars, resembled a modern organ (*g*).

" I see reeds of a new species, the growth of another and a " brazen soil; such as are not agitated by our winds, but by " a blast that rushes from a leathern cavern beneath their roots; " while a *robust* mortal (*h*), running with swift fingers over

(*e*) *Organa, ubi per æreas fistulas musicis mensuris elaboratas, dudum conceptas follis vomit anxius auras.*

(*f*) *Vit. Aldhem.* Whart. Ang. Sacr. ii. p. 33. *Osb. Vit. S. Dunst.*

(*g*) I shall insert the original here, for the satisfaction of the learned reader, from the Anthol. lib. i. cap. 86, 8.

Αλλοιην ορωω δονακων φυσιν ηπω απ αλλης
Χαλκειης ταχα μαλλον ανεελαστησαν αρυρης,
Αγριοι δ' ανεμοισιν υφ ημετεροις δονεονται,
Αλλ υπο ταυρειης ταροθορων σπηλυγγος απνοης,
Νερθεν ευτρητων καλαμων υπο ριζαν οδευει.
Και τις ανηρ αγερωχος εχων δοα δακτυλα χειρος,
Ισαται αμφαφων κανονας συμφραδμονας αυλων
Οιδ απαλον σκιρτωντες αποθλιβεσιν αοιδην

(*h*) αγερωχος, a tall, sturdy fellow, alluding to the force necessary to beat down that kind of clumsy *carillon* keys of this rude instrument of new invention.

" the

"the concordant *keys* (*i*), makes them, as they smoothly "dance, emit melodious sounds."

Nothing material is omitted in the version of this epigram, or rather enigma, upon the organ, though not a very ingenious one; for the word αυλων, the *pipes*, discovers the whole mystery.

At the time of Cassiodorus, who flourished under King Vitigas the Goth, in 514, the Hydraulicon, or water-organ, began to lose its favour, and the wind-organ, blown by hand-bellows, became common; of which he gives the following description: "The organ, says he, is an instrument composed "of divers pipes, formed into a kind of tower, which, by "means of bellows, is made to produce a loud sound; and in "order to express agreeable melodies, there are, in the inside, "movements made of wood, that are pressed down by the "fingers of the player, which produce the most pleasing and "brilliant tones (*k*)."

Several ecclesiastical writers mention the organ as an instrument that had very early admission into the church, at periods somewhat different in different parts of Europe. To Pope Vitalian is ascribed its first introduction at Rome in the seventh century; and ancient annalists are unanimous in allowing, that the first organ which was seen in France was sent from Constantinople as a present from the Emperor Constantine Copronymus the Sixth, in 757, to King Pepin (*l*); which, as well as Julian's epigram, gives the invention to Greece, where the Hydraulicon had likewise its origin (*m*).

Venerable Bede, who died 735, says nothing of the use of organs, or other instruments, in our churches or convents,

(*i*) The rules of the pipes, αυλων; literally, *keys*.

(*k*) Organum *itaque est quaque turris quædam diversis fistulis fabricata, quibus* flatu follium *vox copiosissima destinatur; & ut eam modulatio decora componat, linguis quibusdam ligneis ab interiore parte construitur, quas disciplinabiliter* magistrorum digiti *reprimentes,* grandisonam efficiunt et suavissimam cantilenam. In Psalm. CL.

(*l*) Mabill. *Annal. Benedict.*

(*m*) See vol. i. *ubi supra.*

when

when he is very minutely describing the manner in which the Psalms and Hymns were sung.

However, in a celebrated Missal of the tenth or eleventh century, among the *Barberini* MSS. at Rome, No. 1854, where directions for the performance of the several parts of the service are given, in the midst of the lesson from *The Song of the Three Children*, after the 27th verse: "Neither hurt nor "troubled them," are these words: *Here the priest begins to sing* WITH THE ORGAN (*n*).

And, according to Mabillon and Muratori, organs became common in Italy and Germany during the tenth century, as well as in England; about which time they had admission in the convents throughout Europe. And music, long before this period, having been received into churches and religious houses, under the sanction of Fathers, Popes, Prelates, and other ecclesiastical rulers, by whom it was incorporated into the Liturgy, it would naturally employ much of the leisure and meditation of those devoted to a monastic life; soften the rigour of a religious discipline; animate zeal, and keep off langour and apathy in the monotonous task of daily devotion, on which the mind could not at all times apply itself with equal fervour. And being the only, or at least the most pleasant and rational amusement which a religious profession allowed, its effects were more likely to operate powerfully upon such as were sensible of its charms in convents and religious houses, where few other pleasures came in competition with it; than upon persons in the gay world, where the frequency and multiplicity of delights, and the facility with which they are obtained, often bring on satiety and indifference.

It does not appear in the dark ages of ignorance and superstition that the Anglo-Saxons, who then possessed the chief

(*n*) *Nec quidquam molestiæ intulit,* Hic canere insipit cleris cum organis.

part

part of our island, were more barbarous than the inhabitants of the rest of Europe, Italy excepted. Indeed, no works of taste or genius, in the polite arts, appear to have been produced at this time in any part of it; and as to music, consisting merely of such chants as were applied to the Psalms and Hymns of the church, it seems to have been practised as much, and as successfully, in our own country as in any other: for since the time that Austin, the first Archbishop of Canterbury, and his successor, Theodore, the First Primate of all England, with his assistant, Adrian the Monk, established the Roman Chant in England, our Canto Fermo, if we may believe the Monkish historians, was cultivated and taught by a great number of the most ingenious clergy of the time, who, they tell us, were *well skilled* in music (*o*). Of what this skill and this music consisted, if examples were to be given, they would, perhaps, not exalt the fame of our Saxon ancestors: and it seems more for their advantage, and for the credit of our country, to let them rest in peace, and to rely on the favourable character given of their musical talents by cotemporary writers, than to sweep off the cobweb veil, and shew what was then the nakedness of the land (*p*). Indeed, I have had but little leisure for the study of Saxon antiquities, though I have collected many, nor should

(*o*) Pope Gregory, who, according to Bede, *Eccles. Hist.* l. ii. c. 1. first ordered *Alleluja* to be sung in Britain, died 605, after reigning thirty years. Theodore, Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Abbot Adrian, came from Rome, as the same writer informs us, in 668. These introduced the Roman manner of singing in all our churches, which before had been only practised in Kent. The first singing master in Northumberland, except John, was Edde, sirnamed Stephen, who was sent thither out of Kent by Wilfred, Primate of all England.

(*p*) One observation I must make relative to the cultivation of music by our British and Saxon ancestors, which is; that among the representations of musical instruments which have been found and published by the diligent Mr. Strutt, almost every one is to be seen that was practised by the Greeks and Romans in their most flourishing state. But this, however, does not convince me that the natives of this island either invented or knew the use of these instruments; which it is most probable were brought hither by our conquerors the Romans, for the amusement of their voluptuous commanders, and other great personages appointed to keep us in subjection; and therefore the representations of these instruments, whether in painting or sculpture, must have been copied from Roman models, which had likewise

I have had space for such illustrations of them as concern my subject, if I had been sufficiently qualified for such a task. But Saxon antiquities have lately been so well explored by the learned members of the Antiquarian Society, by Mr. Strutt, and by several other writers, possessed of the necessary erudition, leisure, and diligence for such investigation, that it is hoped a deficiency in these particulars will be the more readily pardoned.

likewise been previously constructed from those of Greece. Cicero, in a letter to Atticus, seems to speak very contemptuously of our ancestors, with respect to the progress they had made in arts and sciences, for, after mentioning Cæsar's expedition into Britain, he says, "News "is daily expected from that island. The "coasts, however, are well defended by "forts, and it has been discovered that "the silver mines which were expected to "be found there, are merely imaginary; "so that the whole booty the place affords "will consist in slaves, among whom I "do not believe any will be brought that "are well skilled either in music or litera-"ture."

——*In illa insula, neque ullam spem prædæ, nisi ex mancipiis: ex quibus nullos puto te literis aut* musicis *eruditos expectare.*

Ep. l. iv. c. 16.

CHAP. II.

Of the Invention of Counterpoint, and State of Music, from the Time of Guido, to the Formation of the Time-Table.

THE ingredients which I have now to prepare for the reader, are in general such as I can hardly hope to render palatable to those who have more taste than curiosity. For though the most trivial circumstances relative to illustrious and favourite characters become interesting when well authenticated, yet memory unwillingly encumbers itself with the transactions of obscure persons.

If the great musicians of Antiquity, whose names are so familiar to our ears, had not likewise been poets, time and oblivion would long since have swept them away. But these having been luckily writers themselves, took a little care of their own fame; which their brethren of after-ages gladly supported for the honour of the *corps*.

But since writing and practical music have become separate professions, the celebrity of the poor musician dies with the vibration of his strings; or if, in condescension, he be remembered by a poet or historian, it is usually but to blazon his infirmities, and throw contempt upon his talents. The voice of acclamation, and thunder of applause, pass away like vapours; and those hands which were most active in testifying temporary approbation, suffer the fame of those who charmed away their care and sorrows in the glowing hour of innocent delight, to remain unrecorded.

If it be true that the progress of music in every country depends on the degrees of civilization and culture of other arts and

and sciences among its inhabitants, and on the language which they speak, the accents of which furnish the skeleton and nerves of all vocal melody; great perfection cannot be expected in the music of Europe during the middle ages, when the Goths, Vandals, Huns, Germans, Franks, and Gauls, whose ideas were savage, and language harsh and insolent, had seized on its most fertile provinces. All the dialects that are now spoken in Europe are a mixture of Celtic and Latin; and as the inhabitants of Italy preserved the Roman language longer than those of other countries remote from the seat of empire, more vestiges of the Latin tongue still remain in Italy than elsewhere. For though there are many terms in it that they were forced to receive from the Barbarians who invaded them, yet the chief part of the language is still Latin corrupted, and sometimes softened and improved. And as literature, arts, and refinements, were encouraged more early in Italy at the Courts of the Roman Pontiffs, than in any other country, modern music has thence been furnished with its Scale, its Counterpoint, its best Melodies, its religious and secular Dramas, and with the chief part of its Grace and Elegance. Italy, in modern times, has been to the rest of Europe what ancient Greece was to Rome; its inhabitants have helped to civilize and polish their conquerors, and to enlighten the minds of those whose superior force and prowess had frequently enslaved them.

Few persons who speak or write on the subject of the present system of music express the least doubt of *Counterpoint* having been invented by Guido, a monk of Arezzo, in Tuscany, about the year 1022. But there is nothing more difficult than to fix such an invention as this upon any individual: an art utterly incapable of being brought to any degree of perfection, but by a slow and gradual improvement, and the successive efforts of ingenious men during several centuries, must

must have been trivial and inconsiderable in its infancy; and the first attempt at its use necessarily circumscribed and clumsy.

Guido, however, is one of those favoured names to which the liberality of posterity sets no bounds. He has long been regarded in the empire of music as *Lord of the Manor*, to whom all strays revert, not indeed as chattels to which he is known to have an inherent right and natural title, but such as accident has put into the power of his benefactors; and when once mankind have acquired a habit of generosity, unlimited by envy and rival claims, they wait not till the plate or charity-box is held out to them, but give freely and unsolicited whatever they find without trouble, and can relinquish without loss or effort.

But, in order to ascertain with some degree of method and accuracy how much modern music has been indebted to this celebrated monk, it seems necessary to give a list and analysis of the writings that have been attributed to him. The tract which is most frequently mentioned, and, except by the few that have seen it, is supposed to contain all the inventions with which Guido has been invested, is the MICROLOGUS (*q*). Of this work there are three copies among the MSS. in the King of France's library at Paris: the most ancient of which, No. 7211, is of the twelfth century; and of this I obtained a copy, which was collated with the other two. It is a short treatise in monkish Latin, and full of obscurities, containing an account of the author's method of teaching boys to sing, with rules for the proper performance and composition of the plain chant.

Though it is natural to expect to find in this treatise an account of the inventions and improvements commonly attri-

(*q*) Μικρολογος, an epitome, or compendium.

buted

buted to him (r); yet it is vain to seek them. He does not expressly claim any of the inventions; and his expressions are ambiguous, even where he seems to speak as an inventor: it is always—*nos* ponimus—*nostris* notis—*nostram* disciplinam. Sometimes this seems to be only the dignified egotism of an author, and sometimes it seems literal. One of the additions to the scales of the ancients he seems however clearly to disclaim. The account is that he added the Greek *gámma* at the bottom of the scale; but in his treatise his account of the notes begins thus: "In primis ponitur Γ Græcum *á modernis ad-* "*jectum*" (s).

Another expression seems to imply that the distinction of B flat and B natural was not of his invention: for he says (t), "b vero rotundum—adjunctum vel molle *dicunt*:" they call. Yet, in his second chapter, where he gives the notes, he seems to speak as if this invention was his own: "between a and ♮, says he, we put another b, which we make round; but the first we make square, as a. b ♮. c. &c (u)."

His invention of the hexachords must have been posterior to this treatise: for when he gives the scale he never mentions them; nor is the term once used in the whole manuscript.

His scale is always mentioned as going up to e e; but in the Micrologus he only gives it up to d d. The other note I suppose was added afterwards when his scale was arranged into hexachords.

He seems by his expression to claim the honour of having

(r) "Thus far go the improvements of "*Guido Aretinus*, and what is called the "Guidonian system; to explain which he "wrote a book he called his *Micrologum*." Malcolm, p. 558.

(s) Zarlino seems to allude to this, *Istit. Harm.* p. 103. & 148. in speaking of Guido's *Introduttorio*, by which the Italians generally mean his Micrologus.

(t) Cap. VIII. *de Aliis affinitatibus et* b *et* ♮.

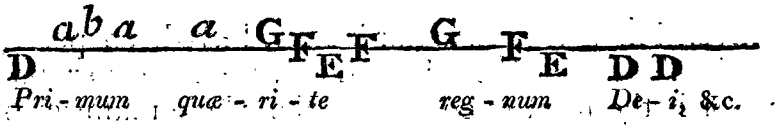
(u) The *natural* in MS. musical tracts for many centuries after the time of Guido, was expressed by a Gothic B, thus: ♮, and the flat by an Italic b; whence one was called B *quadrum*, and the other B *rotundum*.

added

added the tetrachord *superacutarum* as he calls it; for he says, "*addimus*, hic eisdem literis, sed variis figuris, tetrachordum superacutarum, &c." These notes, says he, many call superfluous. "*Nos*, autem, maluimus abundare, quam deficere."

The invention of the syllables *ut, re, mi, fa, sol, la,* must likewise have been posterior to this treatise; for they are not once mentioned in it.

His invention of points upon parallel lines, instead of the letters, is not to be found in the Micrologus. All his musical examples are given in the letters Γ A B, &c. added to the vowels a, e, i, o, u. However, the manner of placing some of them seems to present a kind of embryo of that invention. For over the words a line is drawn, and the letters, like the characters described in the preceding chapter, are placed at different elevations with respect to that line, according to their different degrees of acuteness or gravity.



In most of the examples, however, the letters are placed of an equal height, and without a line; but perhaps this was the transcriber's fault, and to save time. Indeed the lines are not wanted to ascertain the literal notation so much as that by characters; and both seem to have been in use in Guido's time, as he himself informs us in another work (*x*); for speaking of the notes used by the Abbot Odo, he says "though signs are used for sounds in the Enchiridion, yet, letters commonly answer the purpose of notation."

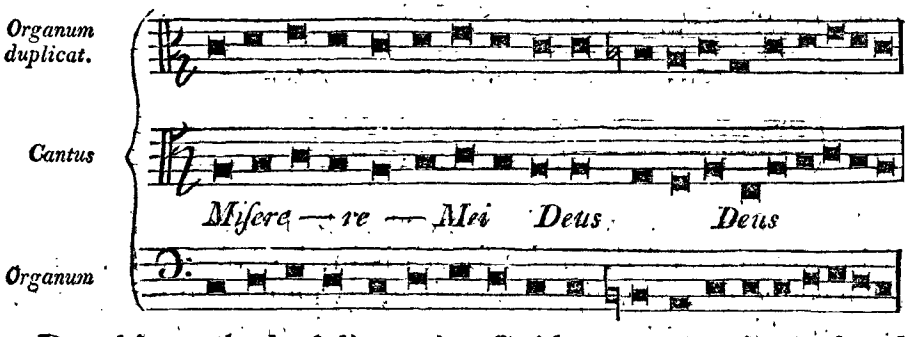
The most curious part of the Micrologus is the chapter *De*

(*x*) *De Divis. Monochor. secund. Boetium*, ex Cod. Medic. Laurent. apud Martinum.

Diaphonia,

Diaphonia, et Organi jura; as it shews the state of music at the time it was written, and gives such specimens of the first rude attempts at harmony as may be safely pronounced authentic.

By *Diaphonia*, Guido only means discant; which says he, we call *organum (y)*. This consisted in singing a part under the plain-song, or chant. Some used only fourths for this purpose, but it was allowable to double either the plain-song or the *organum*, by octaves, *ad libitum*. The following is the example which he gives of the *organum*, or under part being doubled; in which there is a continued series of 4ths, 5ths, and 8ths. The sounds are expressed by letters in the Micrologus; as C F c, D G d, &c. but, for the convenience of the reader, I shall write them in Gregorian notes.

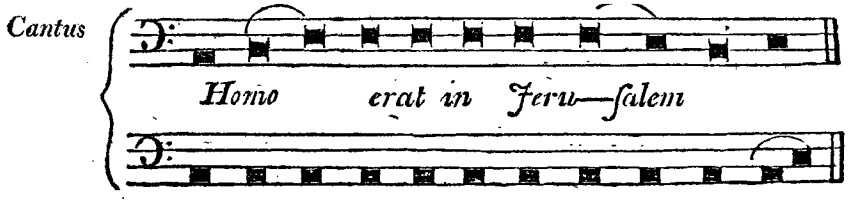


But this method of discanting Guido seems to reject as harsh, and substitutes for it an improved method, perhaps, of his own

(y) The late M. Rousseau's account of *organizing* does not exactly agree with the examples given by Guido, which far from being confined to 3ds, scarcely ever admit that pleasing concord; but Rousseau took his ideas of it from the Abbe Lebeuf's specimens of the early attempts at counterpoint in France, which, at first, consisted only of a minor 3rd to the 7th of the key before a close, and for a concord so simple and easily formed, says Rousseau, the singers who *organized* had extraordinary pay. *Organum* has frequently been imagined the instrument so called, not a vocal part added to the chant or plain song; and some have even been so absurd as to make Guido in this part of the Micrologus talk of the *Organist*.

invention;

invention; but his expression, as usual, is ambiguous. *Superior Diaphoniæ modus durus est; noster vero mollis.* This smoother and more pleasing method of under-singing a plain-song consists in admitting, besides the fourth, and the tone, the major and the minor thirds; rejecting the semitone and the fifth (*z*). The under part might sing in any of these four intervals with the upper, according to certain rules which he gives; but in a language almost totally unintelligible. He annexes examples, which, though they appear confused, and are probably very incorrectly transcribed (*a*), may be regarded as curious exhibitions of nearly the best harmony which seems to have been known in Guido's time; though very little superior to that he had just censured as harsh. The following is a specimen:



All the examples are in the same wretched *falso bordone* (*b*); and in every one of them the fourth is in the greatest favour of all the concords: *principatum obtinet*, as he had laid it down. In spite of his disapprobation the *organum* in consecutive fourths is still frequently admitted; and indeed few other concords are

(*z*) Though Guido so seldom admits the ditone or major 3d in his counterpoint, yet he has the merit of having first exalted it to the rank of a concord; it being invariably numbered with the discords by the ancients.

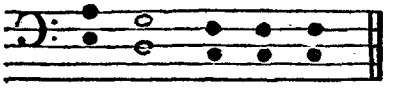
(*a*) For instance, several 5ths occur; an interval which he expressly forbids, *under* the plain-song.

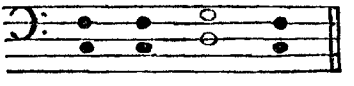
(*b*) This term, which the French call *faux-bourdon*, and the old English writers *fa-burden*, was applied in the early days of discant to such counterpoint as had either a drone-base, (*bourdon* is French for a drone) or some part moving constantly in the same intervals with it: as in three parts, when the treble moves in 6ths with the base, the middle part will consist of no other intervals than 3ds.

used

used till the last example, when 3ds, which before seem to have been only touched by accident, or as passing notes, are now honoured with an important part in the *Discant*.

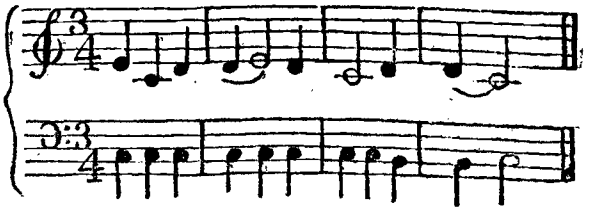
The most singular circumstance in this counterpoint is the rejection of the *fifth*: a rule to which he adheres even where the 5th below is to our ears the natural and the fundamental base:





But it would be as absurd, as hopeless, to try these first wild essays of Harmony by the improved rules of modern composition. This chapter, however, upon the Diaphonia, and the examples annexed, sufficiently enable us to judge with what truth it has been so often asserted that Guido was the inventor of Counterpoint, or music in parts; what improvements he might afterwards make are not known; but he must have taken

(c) This harmony, if performed in triple time, would not offend modern ears: I write the *organum* an octave lower than Guido, for the convenience of keyed instruments.



large strides, if from these uncouth and feeble attempts he advanced into the regions of pure harmony; or indeed produced any thing that the ear could now tolerate. Nothing can be more pleasant, after seeing these specimens, than the pomp with which Dr. Brown presents this Monk to his readers. "After "many centuries had passed in darkness, GUIDO AROSE! and "with a force of genius surpassing that of all his predecessors, "invented the art of counterpoint, or composition in parts (*d*)."

The method Guido pursued in teaching boys to sing, was by making them practise with the monochord (*e*), for the division of which he gives some plain and easy rules, cap. 3. But here it is of importance to observe that he suggests no other than the old division of Pythagoras. The title of his tract just quoted p. 5. on the division of the monochord, tells us that he follows the principles of Boetius, who was a Pythyagorean in harmonics. The *diatonum ditonicum*, which the Abbé Roussier so much prefers to all others, and in which the fourth consists of two major tones and a limma: $\frac{8}{9}\times\frac{8}{9}\times\frac{243}{256}$ (*f*), is the arrangement with which the ear of Guido was satisfied; nay, he says no other division can be found. He never seems to have heard of Ptolemy's division into major and minor tone and semitone: which, indeed, forms the only intervals that are consistent with harmony, or with the major third being admitted as a concord.

In his chapter *De Diapason*, &c. he assigns a reason for using seven lettters; and says that some moderns still adhered to the old Greek system of tetrachords so far, as to use but four characters, which they repeated from tetrachord to tetrachord, as we do from octave to octave.

This was solmisation *à la Grec.* τα, τη, τω, τε, and the English, in general, make use of only four of the six syllables of the hexachords: *mi, fa, sol, la.*

(*d*) Dissert. on Poetry and Music, p. 198.

(*e*) The instrument which Guido recommends had probably a neck, and was *fretted;* as bridges, like those on a common monochord, could not, without much practice, have been moved quick enough.

(*f*) See Vol. I. p. 460.

It

It has already been observed (g), that Guido, in speaking of the ecclesiastical tones, which he explains in his Micrologus, c. xiv. assigns to them the same power over the human affections, as the ancients did to their modes. And now, having given a general idea of the contents of this celebrated manuscript, I shall proceed to enumerate the other writings that have been attributed to Guido.

In the King of France's library at Paris, besides three copies of the Micrologus, the following tracts, No. 7211, go under his name: *De sex motibus vocum à se invicem, et dimensione earum. Ejusdem Rhythmus. Ejusdem Liber de Musica.* Part of these MSS. were transcribed in the eleventh, and part in the thirteenth century.

In the Vatican, a Dialogue on Music, which begins, *Quid est Musica?* is given to Guido; but I found it afterwards to be the *Enchiridion* of Odo, Abbot of Cluny.

Padre Martini, in his *Saggio di Contrappunto*, p. 32, gives a long passage from a tract by Guido: (*Formulæ Tonor.* ex Codice Mediceo Laurent. XLIX.) "*Sunt præterea alia Musicorum, genera aptata,*" &c. This work is called by Guido himself, in his letter to Michael the Monk of Pomposa, *Antiphonarium*, and is frequently quoted under that title by others.

And in the list of authors, annexed to his first volume, the same author, p. 457, includes: *De artificio novi Cantus, et Mensura Monochordi* Guidonis, apud Pez. Thes. Anecd. nov. T. VI. (h). He likewise, in the same volume, quotes *Epist. ipsius Guidonis ad Michaelem Monachum Pomposianum, ex Cod. Ambros.*

There is a small volume of MSS. in the British Museum, No. 3199, which contains fifteen of the twenty chapters of

(g) P. 22. of this volume.

(h) These are two distinct tracts, the latter of which is likewise in the Laurent. library at Florence, under the title, *De Divisione Monochordi, secund. Boetium.*

Guido's

Guido's *Micrologus*; a short tract, *De Constitutionibus in Musica*, which seems to belong to that in which the famous passage occurs that was so severe on the singers of his time, and which has since been often quoted with pleasure, as applicable to their successors: *Temporibus nostris super omnes homines* Fatui *sunt Cantores.*

Guido, in the prologue to his *Antiphonarium*, (apud Gerbutum, tom. II. p. 68.) speaks of singers with still more bitterness, in the following lines.

Musicorum et cantorum
Magna est distantia,
Isti dicunt, illi sciunt,
Quæ componit Musica.
Nam qui facit, quod non sapit,
Definitur bestia.
Cæterum tonantis vocis
Si ludent (al. Laudent) *acumina,*
Superabit philomela,
Vel vocalis asina.
Quare eis esse suum
Tollit dialectica.
Hac de causa rusticorum
Multitudo plurima,
Donec frustra vivit, mira
Laborat insania
Dum sine magistro nulla
Dicitur antiphona.

Between a Singer and Musician
Wide is the distance and condition;
The one repeats, the other knows,
The sounds which harmony compose.

And

And he who acts without a plan
May be defin'd more beast than man.
At shrillness if he only aim
The nightingale his strains can shame;
And still more loud and deep the lay
Which bulls can roar and asses bray.
A human form 'twas vain to give
To beings merely sensitive,
Who ne'er can quit the leading-string,
Or psalm, without a master, sing.

Here Guido speaks of lines and spaces, and of coloured lines. Here also is the hymn *Ut queant laxis resonare fibris*, in old ecclesiastical notation; and *Tu patris sempiternus es filius*, written in the same manner as it is printed in this volume, p. 35. This tract is of considerable length, and clears up several points which the Micrologus had left disputable. In sect. 3d, *Quid est Armonia?* he gives a fair definition of harmony in the sense it is now understood: *Armonia est diversarum vocum apta coadunatio*, &c.—and speaks of *Organum* as synonymous with *symphonia* and *diaphonia*, distinct from the instrument called an *organ*. But here, in treating of *symphonia vocum*, no 3ds are mentioned, and his harmony in four parts consists only of 4ths, 5ths, and diapasons, or 8ths.

In completing the scale, or septenary, he quotes Virgil: *Orpheus Obloquitur numeris septem discrimina vocum*. Then, after giving rules for *diatessaroning* and *diapenting*, or organizing in a regular series of 4ths and 5ths, he enumerates the ecclesiastical tones, and finishes by calling them by their Greek names: as *primus tonus vocatur Hypodorius, secundus Hypophrygius*, &c.

Guido, both here and in the Micrologus, uses the terms *authentic* and *plagal* for the modes, and likewise the Greek dis-

tinctions of *protus*, *deuterus*, *tritus*, and *tetrardus* (*e*). I find in the Monks Hubald and Odo, who are both more ancient writers than Guido, these terms, and many others, which are still retained in the music of the modern Greeks; a proof, that, before the separation of the two churches, the Romans had their chants from the Greeks.

There is likewise in the same volume a short tract, *De Tonis*, which I should have supposed to have been Guido's *Antiphonarium*, if I had not unsuccessfully tried to find in it some remarkable passages of that work which I remembered to have seen quoted elsewhere.

There are so few means by which a Monk devoted to an obscure and tranquil state can arrive at celebrity without quitting the plain path which piety and the duties of his profession have marked out for his pursuit, that Guido seems to have excited the envy of his brethren by attempting it. Luckily the study of music was not incompatible with the rules of his order; and while he seems to lament the malignant effects of that enmity which his successful studies had created, he established a reputation among the liberal and candid part of mankind, which has lasted more than seven hundred and fifty years. It was perhaps a stimulus to excessive devotion that the Monks seldom exercised their pens but in endeavours to swell their legends, by transmitting to posterity the actions of those insane mortals, who by anticipating infernal torments, were honoured with the venerable title of saints. But these lives have long ceased to be read, even where the mind has little else to feed on; while the fame of those who have bequeathed to their descendants some durable memorial of their existence, which interests tradition, will never fade away; and had the life of Guido been written,

(*e*) Τεταρτος barbarized.

though

though pregnant with few events, it would have been perused with avidity as long as the art, whose powers he extended, shall afford pleasure to mankind.

But concerning the life of this musical legislator little is known, except that he was a Monk of the order of St. Benedict when he first distinguished himself, and afterwards Abbot of the Holy Cross at Avellano, near Arezzo. Yet, luckily for his fame, he has himself recorded perhaps the most important and honourable event of his life, in a letter to his friend Michael, a Monk of Pomposo, which Cardinal Baronius has inserted in his Ecclesiastical Annals, vol. xi. p. 74, and introduced it with an account of his having invented "a new method of teaching music, by which a boy might make a greater progress in a few months, than a man of intelligence and assiduity used to do in several years." This author likewise informs us that the singular service which Guido had rendered music, having been communicated to Pope Benedict the VIII. that Pontif sent for him to Rome, and treated him with great kindness: a circumstance which happened, according to Baronius, in the year 1022.

It seems, however, as if Guido had not been so far dazzled by the splendour of a court or the honours he had received at Rome as to remain long in that city; for Benedict dying in 1024, we find by his own letter to the Monk Michael, that his successor, John XX. or, as some say, the XIXth. had sent three messengers to invite him to return to Rome. On his arrival there a second time, his reception from the new Pontif was still more flattering than from his predecessor. He frequently condescended to converse with him freely on the subject of his musical discoveries; and when Guido first shewed him his *Antiphonarium*, or notation of the Mass for the whole year*, his Holiness regarding it as a prodigy, would not quit his seat till he had learned to sing a chant in it by Guido's new method, and had by this means accomplished that himself

See p. 10, and 34.

which

which he hardly believed possible when it was reported to have been done by others.

The Pope, desirous to retain him in his service, pressed him to continue at Rome; but Guido, finding himself unable from the bad state of his health to bear the approaching heat and bad air of that city during summer, left it, upon a promise of returning thither in winter, to explain his new system in a more ample manner to his Holiness.

When he quitted Rome he made a visit to the Abbot of Pomposo, a town in the duchy of Ferrara, who so strongly solicited him to settle in his convent, that at length he consented, in hopes, as he says, "of extending the fame of that "great monastery by his future labours."

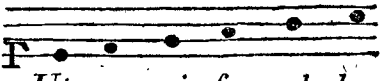
It was here that he composed several of his musical tracts, and, some imagine, his Micrologus, which he dedicated to Theobald, Bishop of Arezzo, and which, according to a memorandum found on the back of the original MS. he finished in the thirty-fourth year of his age. But if the Micrologus were written after his second journey to Rome, and his acquiring so much fame for his new method of teaching to sing by the syllables *ut*, *re*, *mi*, &c. it is difficult to account for his utter silence about them throughout that work, where a literal notation is constantly used.

It now remains, either by passages from his own works, or the testimony of writers nearly cotemporary, to ascertain the inventions that have been attributed to him. And these shall be considered separately, under the following heads: *Gammut*, or the Greek gamma added to the scale; *Lines* and *Clefs*; the *Harmonic-Hand*; *Hexachords*, and *Solmisation*; *Points*, *Counterpoint*, *Discant*, and *Organizing*; and the *Polyplectrum*, or spinet. I shall be thought too minute, perhaps; but however dull such disquisitions may appear to miscellaneous readers, they certainly constitute the *Business* of my History. These are facts, the rest but flourishes; for it is unfortunate with respect to the music

music of the middle ages as well as of the ancient Greeks and Romans, that when so little is known there should still remain so much to be said.

Mere music, however, says nothing to eyes that cannot read, or ears unable to hear it. To such, therefore, as are both blind and deaf to musical signs and sounds, and contentedly ignorant of both, I fear this chapter will be very far from amusing. But as there are many things belonging to a work of this kind, which though few will read, yet, if omitted, many would miss, I shall endeavour to animate myself with the hopes that the few will at least have curiosity and perseverance sufficient to travel with me to the dusty shelves of Gothic lore, and to the gloomy cells of Monks and Friars, where I am forced with great toil, and small expectation, to seek my materials.

Menage, in his *Origine de la Langue Françoise*, gives the following derivation of the word Gammut. "Guido Aretinus, "a Benedictine Monk, who had been employed to correct "the ecclesiastical chants, about the year 1024, composed a "scale, conformable to the Greek system, adding to it a few "sounds above and below. And discovering afterwards that "the first syllable of each hemistich in the hymn to St. John "the Baptist *(f)*, written by Paul Diaconus, who lived about "the year 774, formed a regular series of six sounds ascending:



Ut, re, mi, fa, sol, la.

"he placed at the side of each of these syllables one of the first "seven letters of the alphabet, A, B, C, D, E, F, G, and be- "cause he accompanied the note which he added below the an- "cient system with the letter gamma, the whole scale was called "GAMMUT, a name by which it is distinguished to this day."

(f) Ut queant laxis resonare fibris
Mira gestorum famuli tuorum
Solve polluti labii reatum
Sancte Johannes!

The Abbé Lebeuf *(g)* gives a derivation of the word gammut, which does not seem so happy as many of his other conjectures. He thinks it probable, that after the seven sounds in ascending had been expressed by the letters A, B, C, D, E, F, G, the second octave was indicated by Greek characters, on which account Γ gamma, the Greek G, appeared at the top of the page or monochord, and by this means, gammut became the general name of all the notes. But this conjecture is not confirmed by the Micrologus of Guido, nor by any of the ancient MSS. of musical treatises that I have seen.

It has been imagined likewise by the Abbé du Bos, with as little foundation, that Guido gave the name of gamma to the first note of his scale, because the same sound was expressed by that letter in the Diatonic genus of the Greeks; but upon examining the diagrams of Alypius, and the other Greek theorists, it appears, that this sound would have been below the proslambanomenos, or most grave sound in all their systems; nor does the note which we call G, or gammut, occur in any one of the Greek diagrams, except in Aristides Quintilianus, who says, p. 25, that whenever a sound was wanted below the proslambanomenos of the Hypodorian mode, it was expressed by the letter omega ϗ, recumbent, as the last or lowest sound in all the systems. This, says Meibomius, in his notes, p. 240, accounts for Guido's placing the sound G or Γ below A in his system, but gives no reason for the preference of that letter to every other in the alphabet.

Poor Guido, like other ancient authors, is often praised, and sometimes censured, for ideas which never entered his head: and in the present instance, Messrs. Menage, Lebeuf, Du Bos, and Meibomius have been bestowing their ingenuity on the *dent d'or*, before they were assured of its existence; for, alas! the Greek letter gamma had been used by Odo, the Monk of Cluni, in his Enchiridion, for the lowest sound of the musical scale, a century before the writings of Guido were known;

(g) *Traite du Chant Eccl.* p. 155.

and

and he speaks of it himself, in his Micrologus, as a note added by the moderns (*h*).

The Abbot Berno, too, who wrote several tracts on music about the beginning of the 11th century, says, that the moderns placed the Greek letter at the beginning of the scale out of reverence to the Greeks, from whom music was derived (*i*).

But when a lower sound than proslambanomenos, which the Romans had expressed by the letter A, was found necessary to complete the scale, as octaves were represented by the same letters in different forms, it was natural to use the Greek Gamma for that purpose; and as to the intention of expressing gratitude to the Greeks, that thought seems more likely to have occured to those who were guessing at a reason afterwards, than to have been in the minds of those who added it to the diagram.

Parallel lines have already been proved of higher antiquity than the time of Guido; but the regular staff of four lines was not generally used in the church till the thirteenth century. The description, however, which Guido has given of different coloured lines to ascertain the sound of C and F has encouraged an opinion of his having first suggested the idea; but even that contrivance is not indisputably his property: for in the Magliabecchi library at Florence I found a MS. missal, said to be of the tenth century, in the old ecclesiastical notation, with two lines, the one red, and the other yellow. Sometimes indeed there was but one line, which was red. I made a fac-

(*h*) The *Enchiridion* of Odo, Abbot of Cluni, written about the year 920, is still extant in the king of France's library, in the Vatican, and in the library of Baliol Col. Oxon. It is a dialogue between a master and a scholar*, beginning, *Quid est musica?* The Vatican copy however is said to have been written by Guido; but it is a tract which Guido himself quotes, more than once. The title of this tract has been mistaken by Sigebert, *De Script. Eccles.* cap. 109. for the name of the author, and as such it is inserted in Brossard's List of Writers on Music; but this is less surprising than that Muratori, tom. i. p. 496. should so far deviate from diligence and accuracy as to copy such a blunder.

(*i*) *Græca litera in graviori introductorii parte locatur, ad Græcorum reverentiam; a quibus musica defluxit.* De Musica seu de Tonis, *apud* Gerbert.

* *Incipit Explanatio Actis Musicæ sub Dialogo.*

simile of two fragments, which I would have had engraved for this place, had not the subject of ancient notation been already illustrated with a sufficient number of examples in the preceding chapter.

Kircher (*k*) speaks of Guido using five lines and five spaces; but without authority. Indeed he seldom discovers the source of his information, and it would have been difficult to authenticate many of the wonderful things he relates from mere tradition and common report. But as he gives *liberally* to Guido, he is as little scrupulous in taking away: for he tells us that points were used long before the time of Guido, and instances a most ancient MS. in the monastery of Vallombrosa, where the melody to the famous hymn *Salve Regina* is written in points on and between two lines only. It is not certain that Guido invented points, but it is generally allowed that this hymn was written by Hermannus Contractus, who died in 1054: that is, thirty years after the Micrologus was finished. He asserts likewise, with equal ill luck, that Guido claims the invention of the syllables *ut*, *re*, *mi*, &c. in his letter to the Monk Michael, published by Baronius; in which letter, however, not the least mention or allusion to these syllables is discoverable. He asserts roundly too that he not only invented polyphonic music, or counterpoint, but the polyplectrum, or spinet, for which there is not the least support to be found in Guido's writings. Kircher's Musurgia is a huge book, but a much larger might be composed in pointing out its errors and absurdities.

But though lines without spaces, and spaces without lines had been used before the time of Guido, he seems to have first suggested the use of lines and spaces together: and thus the lines, which by some had been made as numerous as the notes, were reduced to four; a number which in missals and rituals of the Romish church has never since been exceeded. Indeed the use of a line for each note, in the manner exhibited page 38, may never have arrived at the knowledge of Guido, who speaks the language

(*k*) *Musurgia*, p. 114.

of

of an inventor, with respect to lines and spaces, more than on any other occasion. For in the prologue to his Antiphonarium he says, "By Divine assistance, I have pointed out such a me- "thod of notation, that, by a little help from a master at first, "an intelligent and studious person may easily acquire the rest "by himself. And if any one should suspect my veracity in "this assertion, let him come to our convent, let him make "the experiment, let him examine the children under my "care, and he will find, that, though they are still severely "punished for their ignorance of the psalms, and blunders in "reading, they can now sing correctly, without a master, the "chants of those psalms of which they can scarce pronounce "the words (*k*). He then proceeds to explain the use of lines and spaces, and to inform his friend Michael the Monk, to whom he addresses his Antiphonarium, that "whatever notes "are placed on the same line, or in the same space, must have "the same sound (*l*)." "And that the name of the sound is "determined either by the colour of the line, or by a letter of "the alphabet placed at the beginning of it:" a rule of such consequence, "that if a neuma or melody be written without a "letter or coloured line, it will be like a well without a rope; in "which, tho' there be plenty of water, it will be of no use (*m*)."

Whoever examines the ancient ecclesiastical notes without lines or letters, will perceive no exaggeration in what Guido says of his invention, or at least improvement, of the old method of notation, by applying lines to the letters and characters which he found in use. And if he be allowed the invention of

(*k*) *Taliter enim Deo auxiliante hoc Antiphonarium notare disposui, ut post hac leviter aliquis sensatus et studiosus cantum discat: et postquam partem ejus per magistrum bene cognoverit reliqua per se sine magistro indubitanter agnoscet. De quo si quis mentiri putat, veniat, experiatur, et videat, quod tale hoc apud nos pueruli faciunt, qui pro Psalmorum et vulgarium literarum ignorantia sæva adhuc suscipiunt flagella, qui sæpe et ipsius antiphonæ, quam per se sine magistro recte possunt cantare verba et syllabas nesciunt pronunciare.*

(*l*) *Quanticumque ergo soni in una linea, vel in uno spacio sunt, omnes similiter sonant. —Et in omni cantu quantæcunque lineæ vel spacia unam candemque habeant literam vel eundem colorem, itta ut omnia similiter sonant, tanquam si omnes in una linea fuissent.*

(*m*) *Tale erit, quasi funem dum non habet putens,*
Cujus aquæ, quamvis multæ, nil prosunt videntibus.

lines and spaces, clefs will of course accompany them. For these were originally nothing more than the letters of the alphabet placed opposite to notes of the same name; and it was certainly about the time of Guido that the *claves signatæ*, as they were called, were reduced to two, F and C, at the distance of a fifth from each other; leaving, till more lines were pressed into the service, the rest of the notes to be divined by their situation (*n*). This therefore is the mystery of unknown song, of which Guido so frequently speaks in his epistle to the Monk Michael: *Regulæ de ignoto cantu;—argumentum novi cantus inveniendi;* by which expressions he claims the merit of having first taught the method of discovering musical intervals with certainty by the eye; and of singing melodies with which the ear had not been previously made acquainted.

No proof can be found in the writings of Guido that the Harmonic Hand was of his construction; writers however mention it by the name of the Guidonian hand, soon after his time (*o*). And, when his system was digested and the hexachords were arranged, to teach the names of the notes by the joints of the fingers of the left hand seems to have been a common expedient; in which, however, the syllabic names of the notes do not follow in an order sufficiently regular or remarkable to be of much use in forming the hexachords, or discriminating the mutations. Such an expedient would have been more clear and useful in teaching the tetrachords, by appropriating a finger to each of the five, in the great system, or disdiapason of the Greeks. And by imagining the five fingers of each hand to represent the five lines and spaces of the base and

(*n*) See the plate, p. 44. for the form of the several clefs used from the twelfth to the fifteenth century.

(*o*) Sigebert, *In Chronico, ad ann.* 1028; and John Ægidius, a musical writer of the thirteenth century, quoted by the Abbot of St. Blasius, say that those who are not possessed of a monochord, might supply the want of that instrument by the Hand, which may represent the scale and musical intervals; and as there are various monochords, so the Hand is variously used. The harmonic hand is likewise recommended by John Cotton, cap. I. and by Franchinus, *Pract. Mus.* lib. I. cap. i.

treble

treble clefs, children may likewise be taught to name the notes in the scale much sooner than solmisation by the harmonic hand. Henry Faber (*p*) has arranged the notes in the harmonic, or Guidonian hand, in a better manner than any other author within my knowledge, by placing a clef at the top of the three middle fingers, as beacons or land-marks, and making each finger the representative of a tetrachord (*q*). D'Avella (*r*) exhibits a great number of harmonic hands, in which the notes of the scale are differently disposed; one of the hands, I know not why, he calls Boethian, another he gives to Plato, and a third to Aristotle!

In all my enquiries after the writings of Guido in the several libraries of Europe, I have never been able to find, in the tracts attributed to him, any other representation of the hexachords, or solmisation, of which he is said to be the author, than the following, which may be seen in the Museum MS. No. 3199, and which I find agrees exactly with the MS. whence the Abbot of San-Blasius has given a fac-simile. It is in the Epistle *De Artificio Novi Cantus*, prefixed to his Antiphonarium, and addressed to the Monk Michael. This epistle was first published imperfectly, by Baronius; next, and more fully, by Mabillon, L.LV. *an.* 324; and, lastly, still more correct, by Bernard Pez (*s*). In some MSS. this epistle is prefixed to the Micrologus, and by some writers quoted as a part of it; in others, however, only the two epistles dedicatory to Theobald, Abbot of Arezzo, are found; which are certainly all that originally belonged to that celebrated work. The following may be regarded as the germ, or first sketch of solmisation.

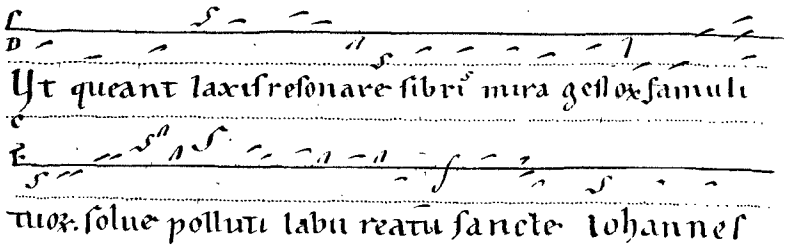
(*p*) *Ad Musicam Praeticam Introductio* Mulhus. 1571.

(*q*) See the plate, p. 95. No. I.

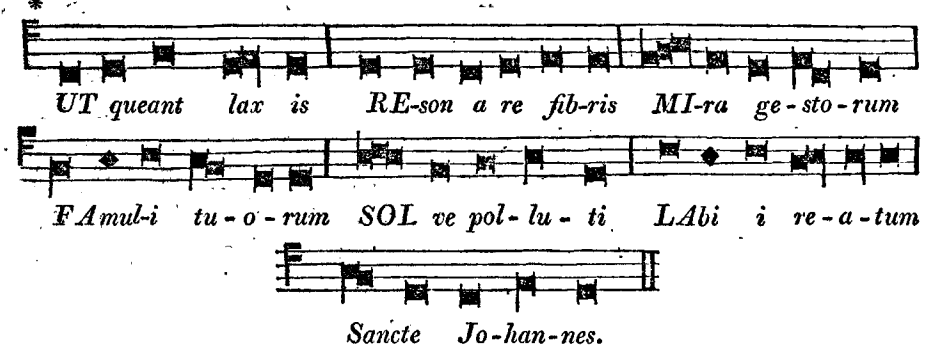
(*r*) *Regole di Musica*, Roma, 1657, folio. A book full of prejudices in favour of old rules, and many peculiar to the author; which render what was before dark and difficult, still more unintelligible. From his ignorance of history and the little that is known concerning the music of the ancients, he advances innumerable absurdities; one of which is, that, "St. Gregory ordered "that no other Gammut should be used in "the church, than that of Guido," who lived five hundred years after him.

(*s*) *Thesaurus Anecd. Noviss.* Tom. V.

Rous-



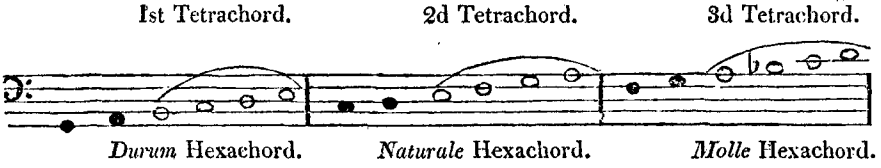
Rousseau has given the same melody, in Gregorian notes, from an ancient MS. in the Chapter Library at Sens, as it was probably sung in the time of Guido, and in which each of the six syllables is exactly applied to the correspondent sound of the gammut.



Innumerable are the representations of this hymn by writers posterior to the time of Guido, who have expressed the melody in letters, sometimes with lines, and sometimes without, as well as in Gregorian notes. They all tend to the same purpose of ascertaining and articulating the sounds of the six notes of the scale in the key of C; and if it be true, as with great probability has been suggested, that Guido did not pretend to invent a new scale, but to revive that which had been long used by the Greeks and Romans, it was very natural, after forming one tetrachord of the Greeks into a hexachord, for him to proceed in making the same addition to all the tetrachords in the great system of the ancients. These,

* This is the ancient form of the *Tenor* Clef, which is only a Gothic C.

as has been shewn in the first section of the Dissert. vol. I. were of three kinds, and so are the hexachords.



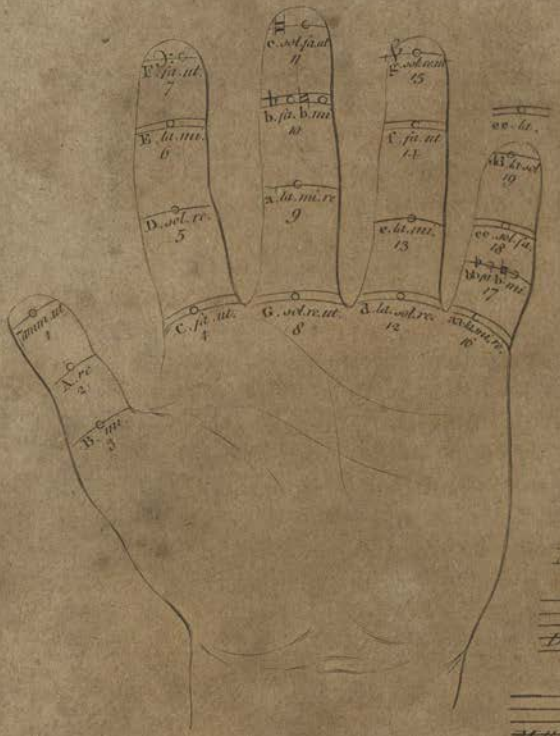
and each of these being repeated an octave higher will extend the scale to dd, the last note in Guido's Diagram (*t*).

But it is only by a view of the whole Guidonian system disposed into hexachords, rising one out of the other, that the use of several different syllables being given to a single note can appear; and to those who have never studied the scale and hexachords in their several relations, the names of Gammut, *A re, B mi, C fa ut, D sol re, E la mi, F fa ut, G sol re ut*, &c. must seem mere gibberish. But their use is manifest in the Diagram on the next page, No. 2, which shews the contexture and relation of the keys; and that where more than one syllable is added to the literal name of a note, it is on account of its appertaining to more than one hexachord: as the sound G *sol, re, ut*, for instance, belongs to all the three original keys, or hexachords of C, F, and G. For it is *sol*, as 5th of the key of C; *re*, as 2d of F, and *ut*, as the key note of G. Hence arise the *Mutations* or changes of names in solmisation: as the sound G, for example, while C is the key, is constantly called *sol*; when F is the key it is called *re*, and when the modulation passes into the key or hexachord of G, it is called *ut*, or according to the Italians, *do* (*u*).

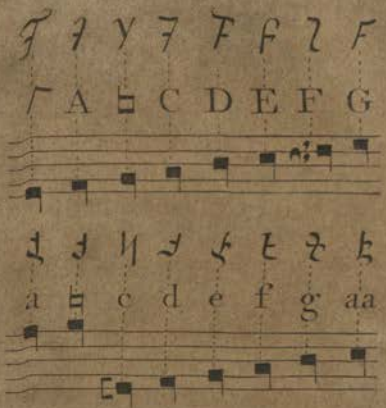
(*t*) In the *Canto Fermo*, or ancient chants of the Romish church, F was not allowed to be made sharp in the key of G; which rendered B, as tritonus to F ♮, harsh and difficult: hence the hexachord of G was called *durum*; that of C, in which the B flat was unnecessary, *naturale*; and that of F, in which the B flat was indispensable, *molle*, soft; as it removed the harshness which the *tritonus*, or sharp 4th, consisting of three whole tones between F and B ♮, would have occasioned. The durum hex. is sometimes called by the Italians, the hex. of B *quadro*, and by the French B *quarre*, or B ▭.

(*u*) The first mention I find of the syllable *do* being used instead of *ut* is by Gio. Maria Bononcini, father of the celebrated composer and rival of Handel, in his *Musico Prattico*, published in 1673, p. 35,

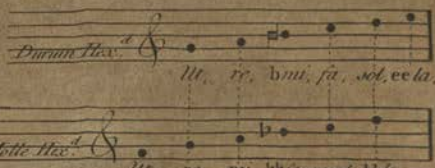
N°1. Guidonian Hand.

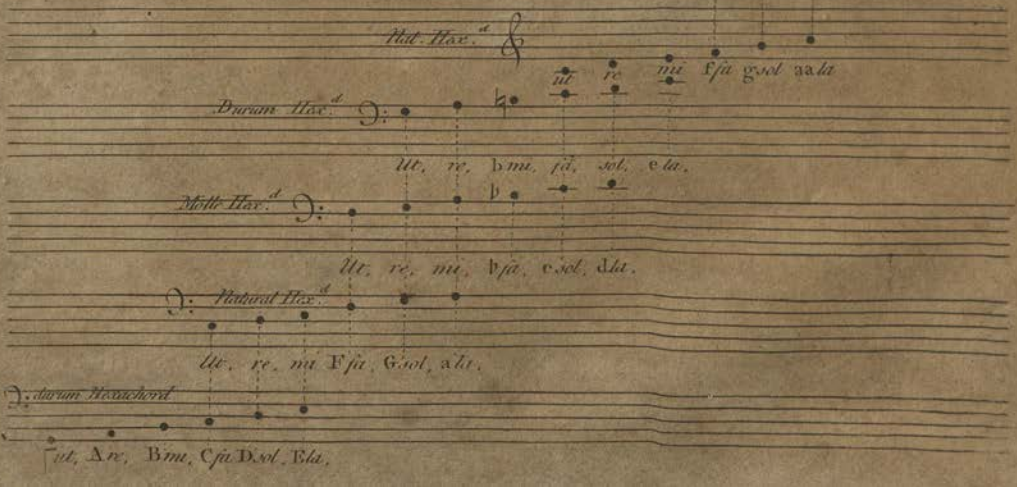


N°3. Notation of Hubald & Odo.



N°2. Diagram of the Hexachords.





Though the system of solmisation does not appear to have been wholly developed in the writings of Guido, the invention is ascribed to him by writers very near the period in which he lived: for Sigebert, a Monk of Gemblours, in the diocese of Namur, in Brabant, in his Chronicle under the year 1028, as well as in his account of ecclesiastical writers, says, that "he "had excelled all his predecessors; as by his method children "were taught to sing new melodies, with more facility than "by the voice of a master, or the use of an instrument: for by "only affixing six letters or syllables to six sounds, all that "music admits of, regularly, and distinguishing these sounds "by the joints of the fingers of the left hand, their distances "ascending and descending through the whole diapason, are "clearly presented both to the eye and the ear (*x*)."

Now as Sigebert was nearly cotemporary with Guido, his testimony in favour of the discoveries attributed to him have more weight than any proofs that can be adduced from such of his own writings as are generally known (*y*).

who says, "*S'avverta, che in vece della sillaba ut i moderni si servano di* Do, *per essere piu risuonante.*

The Guidonian syllables were taught at full length to children in my own memory, without explaining their relations to different hexachords. About the year 1740, being at Chester grammar-school, Mr. Baker, then organist of the cathedral in that city, who had studied music under Dr. Blow, while he was confined to his house by a fit of the gout, undertook to enable me to become his assistant in the most summary way he thought possible, by setting me the *syllabic*, not literal *gammut*. But though I learned in a few days to play two or three chants on the organ at the cathedral, it was many years before I regarded the words G *sol re ut, a la mi re*, &c. but as mere jargon, or was able to assign to each syllable its place in the different hexachords.

(*x*) *In hoc prioribus præferendus, quod ignotos cantus etiam pueri et puellæ facilius discant vel doceantur per ejus regulam, quam per vocem magistri aut per usum instrumenti, dummodo sex literis, vel syllabis modulatim appositis ad sex voces quas solas* regulariter *musica recepit: hisque vocibus per flexuras digitorum lævæ manus distinctis, per integrum diapason se oculis et auribus ingerunt intentæ et remissæ elevationes vel depositiones earundem vocum.* In Chronico ad ann. 1028, et in Libro Descript. Eccles. cap. 144.

The word *regulariter* in this passage is worth remarking, as it accounts for the exclusion of *si*, or the sharp 7th of a key, for which there was no appellation provided. And it seems to have been regarded by Guido and his followers as an irregular and licentious note of taste. Indeed the *tritonus* or sharp 4th has been a rock of offence to Greeks, Chinese, Scots, and savages; and is still so to rustic singers, as all those who have ears, in every country congregation throughout the kingdom, experience every Sunday.

(*y*) The Chronicle of Sigebert begins at 181, and is continued to 1112. He died the year after.

John

John Cotton, who lived about a century after Guido, in the first chapter of his MS. tract on Music, says, that solmisation by the six syllables, *ut*, *re*, *mi*, *fa*, &c. was practised by the English, French, and Germans; but adds that the Italians made use of other syllables (*z*): an assertion the more extraordinary, as Italy had given birth both to Guido and his invention.

Carpentier, in his Supplement to the Latin Glossary of Du Cange, art. *Gamma*, the *Musical Diagram*, gives a passage from the Chronicle of Tours, under the year 1033 (*a*), which puts Guido in full possession of the scale and solmisation. "Guido Aretine, a wonderful musician, flourished in Italy "about this time. He constructed the gammut and rules for "singing, by applying those names to the six sounds, which "are now universally used in music. For, before, practition-"ers had no other guide than habit and the ear."

Henry Faber (*b*), a clear and instructive writer for the age in which he lived, quotes Guido fairly, and as if he had read him. And it is his opinion that he certainly applied the syllables *ut*, *re*, &c. to the ancient literal names of notes.

Dominico Pedro Cerone, in an elaborate work, written in the Spanish language, and published at Naples 1613, has taken great pains to throw a light upon this subject, which he says he found, by his own experience, extremely dark and difficult (*c*). He minutely goes through all the seven hexachords, shews their connexion with each other, and gives scales to manifest the mutations, which, in ascending beyond a Hexachord are made by the syllable *re*, and, in descending, by *la* (*d*).

(*z*) *Itali autem alias habent.*

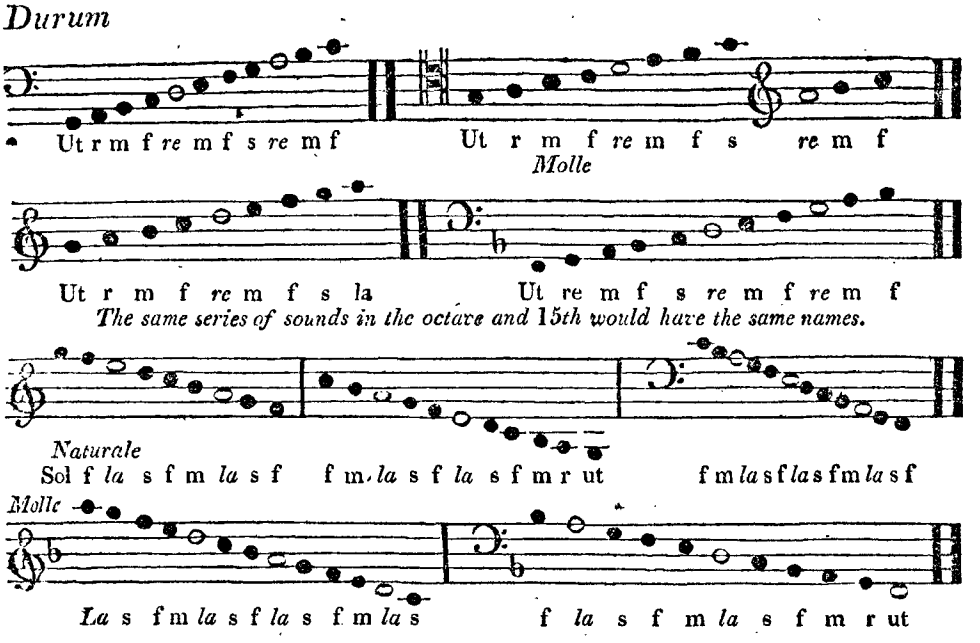
(*a*) Apud Marten. Tom. V. Collect. coll. 999.

(*b*) *Ad Musicam Practicam Introductio.* Mulhusii Duringorum, 1571.

(*c*) "Y es cierto, que una de las cosas "que hasta agora a muchos ha hecho de-"ficultad & impedimento para cantollano "y organo, ha sido las mutancas, come "por esperiencia vemos cada dia." Melopeo. lib. v. cap. 2. *De las mutancas*, p. 398.

(*d*) In modern language the whole mystery of *mutations* might be resolved into this short rule: "That the best way of "modulating into the immediate note "above or below any key, is by the 5th; "that a transition, for instance, from G "to F, or F to G is forbidden, unless it "is through the key of C; but from C,

Durum



In justice to Guido it must be allowed, that his Hexachords provided for all circumstances of solmisation in the ecclesiastical modes, which were subject to no accidents of flats and sharps, and in which no other sounds or keys were used but those which the different species of octave in C natural furnish. Guido himself takes notice of this (*e*), and declares, that he writes merely for the church, where the pure Diatonic genus was first used. Transported keys, however, from *c* natural major and *a* natural minor, which are only imagined to change their pitch, when represented by other sounds in the same relation to the key-note, and all the accidents to which modern

" that it is warrantable to pass either into " G or F, indifferently."

(*e*) *Sunt præterea et alia musicorum genera aliis mensuris aptata,* (meaning the Chromatic and Enarmonic.) *Sed hoc genus musicæ quod nos exposuimus,* (which is the simple diatonic,) *peritissimorum musicorum virorum ractione* (*f* ratione) *suaviori et veraciori et naturali modulacione constat perfectum,* Tract. Form. Tonor. ex Cod. Medeceo. Laurent. xlix. plutei 29.

modulation is subject, should be provided for. To do this in a clear, simple, and practicable manner, would require great meditation. It has frequently been attempted by men of science, as well as by practical musicians, who though they have obviated some former inconveniences, and supplied a few of the defects which have been complained of, have generated others that have been found far more difficult to vanquish; so that the business still remains to be done. And before I terminate this long article, to which very few readers will, perhaps, wish me to return, it seems necessary to mention the attempts that have been made at *multiplying* and *diminishing* the number of syllables used in Solmisation according to the Hexachords.

The authors of musical tracts discover but little discontent on this subject till the latter end of the sixteenth century, when the pretended reformers enlisted under two banners; the one erected in France, espoused the cause of *Addition*, and the other, in England, maintained the side of *Substraction*. Of the former party a long account is given by Mersenne, in his *Harmonie Universelle (f)*, and by Rousseau in his Dictionary. These wished to have distinct and invariable appellations for all the sounds of the octave, of which Guido had only furnished six; and after various experiments, and proposals to the public, the syllable *Si*, about the end of the last century, was universally received in France for the seventh of the key of C. This new syllable is generally ascribed to Le Maire, a singing-master at Paris; but it was not received when Mersenne published his *Harm. Univ.* 1636: for he there says *(g)*, "that to avoid "the mutations, Le Maire, who had published a musical "tract, invented the syllable *za* after *la*, to complete the "octave." Indeed the defect had been pointed out, and methods suggested for supplying it, long before the time of

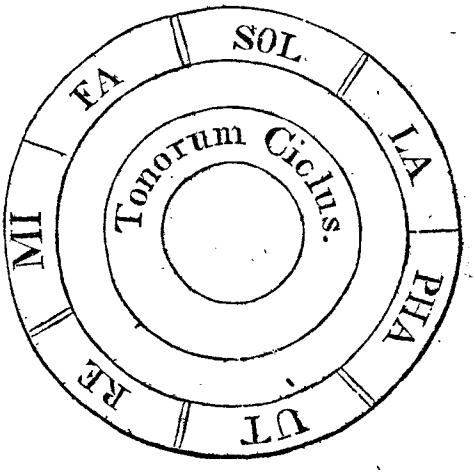
(f) *Des Genres*, lib. iii. p. 192.

(g) Liv. vi. 342. *Art. de bien chanter.*

Le

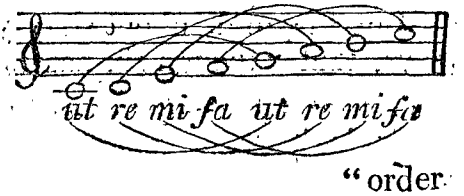
Le Maire (*h*). This method, however, provided for no transpositions, as *c*, whether natural, flat, or sharp, is invariably called *ut*; *d*, flat, natural, and sharp, *re*, &c. So that the musical student receives no more assistance from it, with respect to the semitones in the other eleven keys, than from the literal appellations used by the Germans.

Mr. Charles Butler, in his *Principles of Musick*, published 1636, is the earliest English writer that I have read who mentions the omission of *ut* and *re* in solmisation. "The perpetual



(*h*) Zacconi, *Pratica di Musica*, tom. ii. lib. i. c. 10, says, that Anselmo Fiamingo, musician to the Duke of Bavaria, proposed the completion of the octave, by adding the syllables *Si* and *Bo*. Zacconi's work was published in 1596, and Mersenne (*Quæst. et Comment. in Genesim*, p. 1623) tells us from Maillard, a French writer on music, that an anonymous author in Flanders, perhaps the same Anselme Fiamingo, proposed the two additional syllables *Si* and *Bo*, for the completion of the octave, so early as 1547.

Guido, *Microl.* cap. 5, speaking of there being only seven different notes, says, "On this account, according to *Boetius* "and ancient musicians, we figure, or "express, by seven letters all our sounds." *Hac nos de causa omnes sonos secundum Boetium et antiquos musicos septem literis figuramus.* "While some moderns less judici- "ously use only four characters, figuring "each fifth by the same *sign*." Meaning, doubtless, what has been already said in this chapter, that some musicians used only four characters, in which case every fifth in the octave will have the *same* sign:



"order

" order of the notes in the Gammut," says he, p. 12, as of the " moons in the year, is most fitly exemplified in that figure " which has no end."

" These names," continues he, " though they are still taught " in schools, according to the first institution, among other " principles of the art; yet the modern vulgar practice com- " monly changes *ut* and *re* into *sol* and *la*: so that for the " seven several notes they use but four syllables; which greatly " hinder learners, both in singing and setting. But let those " who wish to retain this change, attend to the following short " direction: after *mi*, sing *fa*, *sol*, *la*, twice upwards; and *la*, " *sol*, *fa*, twice downwards, which will lead both ways to *mi* " in the same clef or key."

Botempi recommends this kind of solmisation by the tetrachords *mi*, *fa*, *sol*, *la*, to his countrymen the Italians (*i*); by whom, however, it does not appear to have been adopted.

After the time of Butler, notwithsanding the censure just quoted, which he supports by cogent reasons, the *ut* and *re* were rejected by all the English singing-masters. For though the hexachords had governed solmisation in most parts of Europe, from the time of their first arrangement till the latter end of the last century, the English musicians differing from all others, exploded the two last syllables *ut*, *re*, and only used in their solmisation the remaining four, *mi*, *fa*, *sol*, *la*; which was reducing the scale to *tetrachords*, like the ancient Greeks: for these moderns invented nothing new, and only recurred to the very practice that was in use during the time of Guido, which he condemned, and laboured to reform by his hexachords.

Morley, indeed, derives all his rules of solmisation from the hexachords, and yet when he exceeds their limits he never uses *ut* or *re* (*k*).

But Playford, about sixty years after Morley's publication, says, that "though six names for the notes, in singing, were

(*i*) P. 124 of his *Storia della Musica*, published in 1695.

(*k*) A plain and easie Introduction to Practical Musicke, 1597.

" used

"used during many ages, yet only four are now mentioned (*l*)." And Dr. Holder, Dr. Wallis, and every writer on the subject of music in this kingdom, were unanimous in excommunicating these two syllables, till the arrival of Dr. Pepusch, who endeavoured, and not unsuccessfully, to have them again received into the pale of the church (*m*).

The Neapolitans still adhere to the hexachords and mutations, denominating every key-note with a major third DO, and with a minor third *re*; and accidental flat *fa*, and sharp *mi*. Mr. Galliard, in his translation of Tosi on Florid song (*n*), gives the following short and clear rule for finding the *mi* and *fa* in all keys: "Where flats and sharps are marked at the clef, if "there be no flat, that is *fa*; if more flats, the last. If one "sharp, that is *mi*; if more, the last."

Of the several attempts that have been made at augmenting the number of syllables in solmisation, in order to furnish a distinct name for every accidental flat and sharp, none have, as yet, been generally received. The only addition to the six Guidonian syllables that has been adopted, and that chiefly in France, is the *Si* for the seventh of the key. But till every note in the system has a fixed and certain appellation, no provision can be made for the accidents of flats, sharps, and transpositions. However, the Italians, in general, more frequently teach singing by the *vowels* than *syllables*; which they call *vocalizzare* instead of *solfeggiare*; and the friends of this method say, that too frequent articulation in the first forming of the voice impedes its passage, occasioning a want of steadiness in the *portamento*, and a convulsive motion in the mouth, which can never after be corrected. Nice observers pretend to discover this imperfection in singers of the Neapolitan school.

(*l*) Introduction to the Skill of Musick, eleventh edit. 1687, p. 2. The first was printed in 1655.

(*m*) A Treatise on Harmony, 1731, second edit.

(*n*) Page 18, in a note upon § 12.

In 1746 was published at Venice a small pamphlet, entitled, "Reflexions upon the manner of learning to sing, with a new "method of solmisation by *twelve syllables*, providing for all "the keys, and the accidents to which they are subject (*o*)" For those who wish to retain the ancient names of the notes, with the additional syllable *Si*, used by the French, this is an ingenious and useful little tract; as the author has so far respected what had been long received in practice, that he has changed nothing: and the additional syllables are only for such sounds as had before no appellations assigned to them but what belonged to other notes, which occasioned confusion, tautology, and difficulty.

The first six natural sounds from C to *A*, he calls, as usual, *ut*, *re*, *mi*, *fa*, *sol*, *la*; and to the seventh of this key he applies the syllable *Si*: it is, therefore, only to the five short keys of the harpsichord, which serve occasionally both for flats and sharps to the long keys, that he has furnished names. The sounds in the natural scale of C, by this means, retain their ancient appellations, invariably, whether they are wanted for flats, sharps, or naturals.

C	*c*♯*d*♭	D	*d*♯*e*♭	E	F	*f*♯*g*♭	G	*g*♯*a*♭	A	*a*♯*b*♭	B
Ut	*pa*	Re	*bo*	Mi	Fa	*tu*	Sol	*de*	La	*no*	*Si*

The author, to assist the memory of the musical student, has formed his twelve syllables into four ideal words: *Utparè*, *Bomifà*, *Tusoldè*, *Lanosì*, which comprehend the whole scale of semitones from C to *c* exclusive. By this method the names of the sounds upon a harpsichord, or other keyed instruments, are invariable; and the several combinations of the six syllables commonly used in solmisation, which, being calculated, amount-

(*p*) *Riflessioni sopra alla maggior facilita che trovasi nell apprendere il canto con l'uso di un solfeggio di* dodici monosillabi, *atteso il frequenti uso degl'accidenti.* The author concealed himself under the seemingly affected name of *Euchero pastore Arcade*, by which it was implied, that he was a member of the Academy of Arcadia at Rome.

ed

ed in ascending and descending to 137, are reduced to twelve immutable names.

This method is rendered respectable by the approbation of the celebrated composer Hasse, and by that of Signor Giambatista Mancini, singing-master to the Imperial family at Vienna, who, in his admirable *Practical Thoughts and Reflections upon Florid Song (p)*, recommends it in the following manner:

"Upon conversing with the famous Signor Hasse, on the "subject of solmisation, when he was called to Vienna, in "order to set the opera of *Alcide al Bivio*, in 1761, he recom- "mended a new method of naming the notes, which he had "reen used with great success by the Canonico Doddi of Cor- "tona; and upon my expressing a desire to acquire a full "knowledge of this method, he was so obliging as to write to "his friend at Cortona, who favoured me with a copy of it, "under the following title: *Practical Instructions for Solmisa- "tion in all the Keys of Music, without Mutations.*" Signor Mancini then explains the method just described, without appearing to know that it had ever been printed; and concludes with acknowledging it to be easy and ingenious, and that he himself experienced its utility in practice.

Guido Aretinus has been mistaken by Mersennus, Vossius, and others, for Guitmond, monk of St. Lufrid, in the diocese of Evreux in Normandy, afterwards bishop of Aversa, who wrote against the heresies of Berenger; he has been confounded by some Italians, likewise, with Guitton d'Arezzo, the poet, and one of the founders of the Italian language, who flourished about the time of Dante (*q*), by whom he is celebrated, as well

(*p*) *Pensieri e Riflessioni pratiche Sopra il canto figurato.* p. 56, El Seq. in Vienna, 1774.

(*q*) *Alcuni han confuso* GUITTONE *con Guido Aretino Inventore delle sei note musicale, monaco, ed abate dell'Avellana—Egli e certo che Guido Monaco fiori nel* 1030; *e particolarmente sotto il governo di Tedaldo Vescovo d'Arezzo, zio della gran Contessa Matilda, a cui dedico l'opra sua; non e pero vero, ch'ei fosse lo stesso che il nostro autore (Fra Guittone), il quale viveva, nel* 1293. Dedicat. alle Lettere di Fra Guittone d'-Arezzo, Roma 1745.

as

as by Petrarca, Redi, and almost all the poets of Italy (*r*). But Signor Serra (*s*) has thrown such doubts upon Guido's having been the author of the Micrologus, as Signor Eximeno, author of a musical treatise, which is written in a very masterly style (*t*), allows to be of difficult solution (*u*). For Signor Serra having found in the Vatican Library, among the Queen of Sweden's MSS. a musical treatise, entitled, *Tractatus Guidonis Augiensis*, which corresponds, in every particular, with the Micrologus; he imagines the author of that famous work to have been a native of *Auge* in Normandy, and not of Arezzo in Tuscany, as has been supposed for so many centuries. But as no such Guido appears in the annals of literature, either in biographical dictionaries, or other accounts of writers of the middle ages; and as the French have never yet laid claim to the Micrologus, or its author, it seems a frivolous reason for depriving Italy, and the Monk of Arezzo, of productions which they have so long possessed in quiet. But as many writings have been bestowed on Guido to which he was not entitled, it is not extraordinary that he should be robbed of one to which he has so just a claim. As no mention is made of the Solmisation and Hexachords in the Micrologus, Signor Serra supposes them to have been the invention of some younger writer than Guido Aretinus, and says, that "neither Gafurio, nor any other author, who "attributes the Hexachords to Guido, has ever cited a single "passage from his writings to confirm his title to them."

It would, indeed, answer a purpose to Signor Serra that Solmisation by the syllables *ut*, *re*, *mi*, *fa*, &c. should not be

(*r*) According to Crescembeni, he was inventor of the *Sonetto*; though it is the opinion of the critics, that the Sonnet was originally constructed by the Proveneal poets. The notes to Fra Guittone's letters, and to Redi's *Bacco in Toscano*, furnish a considerable share of useful knowledge concerning the state of literature and the arts in Italy, from the thirteenth to the fifteenth century.

(*s*) *Introduzzione Armonica* Sopra la nuova serie de'Suoni modulati oggidi. Roma 1768.

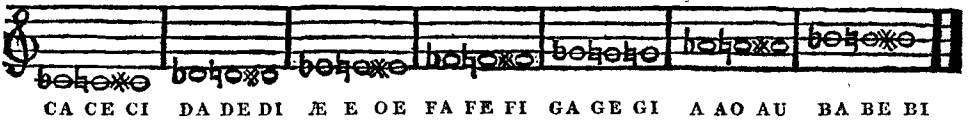
(*t*) See p. 21.

(*u*) "*Parlo di Guidone Aretino sul com-*
"*mum supposto, ch'egli sia l'autore delle*
"*opere, che gli vengono attribuite; lasci-*
"*ando nel lor vigore l'erudite prove, colle*
"*quale ha messo in dubbio quel supposto il*
"*Signor D. Paolo Serrâ, Cantore della*
"*Capella Pontificia nella sua Introduzzione*
"*Armonica.*" Dubbio di D. Ant. Eximeno sopra il *Saggio di contrapunto* del Padre Martini, p. 88. In Roma, 1775.

supported

supported by such ancient and respectable authority as that of Guido, as he had a new method of his own to propose to public favour; which, with a few exceptions, was to name the notes in singing by the seven first letters of the alphabet, distinguishing the flat, natural and sharp notes, by the addition of the three first vowels to the seven letters, as *ca*, *c* flat, *ce*, *c* natural, and *ci* for *c* sharp, by which means the student is disembarrassed from all the mutations, and every sound in the scale has a specific and invariable name appropriated to it.

C D E F G A B



CA CE CI DA DE DI Æ E OE FA FE FI GA GE GI A AO AU BA BE BI

This method had the approbation of several of the best masters in Rome, who have signed a certificate of its effect upon the studies of a young singer of the name of Benedetti, who was rendered capable by it, in less than a year, of singing at sight any vocal music that was put before him even without accompaniment. Benedetti has since sung the first man's part in the operas of several of the principal cities of Italy; and, perhaps, his genius may be such, as would have enabled him to have done the same by any other method, with equal study and practice. Instrumental performers, at present, are not plagued with the ancient names of the notes and mutations, but learn them by the simple letters of the alphabet; and yet I have never heard of one that has been able to play at sight in a year's time.

Upon the whole, the alphabetic names of the notes seem the most simple and useful for every purpose but that of exercising the voice, which is best done by the vowels; and it may be said that to *syllabize* in quick passages is little more than to speak, but to *vocalize* is to sing. However, I was told by a scholar of the famous Durante, that while he was in the Conservatorio of St. Onofrio, at Naples, when the boys used to be tormenting themselves about the mutations, and the names of notes in transposed keys with double flats and sharps, Durante cried out, "*Queste note intonatele, chiamatele poi anche diavole se vo-*

"*volete, ma intonatele.*" Meaning, that if they did but hit the intervals right, and in tune, he did not care what they were called. And, perhaps, what Pope says of different forms of government, may be more justly applied to these several methods of singing:

What'er is best administer'd is best."

As in the use of any of them, whoever has the best master, and seconds his instructions with the greatest degree of intelligence and industry, will be the most likely to succeed. And when we recollect the great abilities and enchanting powers of many singers of past times, who have been obliged to articulate every note of their *solfeggi* in the most rapid movements, we may apply to the new systems what Mr. Rosseau said with respect to their own (*x*): "That the public has done very wisely "to reject them, and to send their authors to the land of vain "speculations." For innovators will always find, that a bad method, already known, will be preferred to a good method that is to learn.

After this minute, and, perhaps, too circumstantial history of the vocal alphabet, or solmisation, which was first suggested by Guido, it is time, when I have fairly summed up the account of debts due to him from posterity, to proceed in my enquiries concerning the further progress that was made in the art of music by his successors.

Though historical integrity has stripped Guido of some of the musical discoveries that careless enquirers had bestowed on him, and though his claims to others are rendered doubtful, yet his name should still remain respectable among musicians for the services he did their art, in the opinion of his cotemporaries, and others who have given testimonies of their approbation very soon after the period in which he lived. These must be far better judges of his merit than we can be now, who no longer want his assistance, and are scarcely able to understand what he intended to teach. But an obscure monk, whose merit

(*x*) Dict. Art. *Caractere de Musique.*

could

could penetrate the sovereign pontiff's palace, without cabal of interested protectors; whose writings in less than a century should be quoted as authorities for musical doctrines in parts of Europe very remote from the place of his residence; at a time too when the intercourse between one nation and another was not facilitated by travelling, commerce, or the press, and during one of the darkest periods of the human mind, since it has been enlightened by religion and laws; such a one must have conferred benefits on society which cannot be esteemed inconsiderable, since, in spite of all these disadvantages, they could so suddenly extend their effects, and interest the most polished and intelligent part of mankind.

It now remains, under the several denominations of *Diaphonia*, *Organum*, *Discant*, and *Counterpoint*, to trace the origin and progress of modern harmony, which has been so long ranked among the inventions of Guido. However, by the few specimens of his compositions that have already been given from his Micrologus, it does not appear that practical harmony, such as is now understood by music in different parts, had made any considerable advances towards perfection when that tract was written. And yet such attempts at simultaneous harmony as he has exhibited, rude, feeble, and indigested as they appear, are to be found in treatises that have been preserved of much earlier writers.

Many ecclesiastical historians tell us that the organ was first admitted into the church at Rome by Pope Vitalian, 666, the same pontiff who two years after sent singers into Kent, to finish the work which Austin, the first Roman missionary, had begun. In 680, according to Bede, John, the præcentor of St. Peter's in Rome, was sent over by Pope Agatho to instruct the monks of Weremouth in the manner of performing the ritual, who opened schools for teaching music in other places of the kingdom of Northumberland. This may reconcile to probability some part of the following account, which Giral-

dus

dus Cambrensis gives of the peculiar manner of singing that was practised by the Welch, and the inhabitants of the North of England, about the end of the twelfth century (*y*).

"The Britons," says he, "do not sing in unison, like the "inhabitants of other countries; but in many different parts. "So that when a company of singers among the common peo- "ple meets to sing, as is usual in this country, as many dif- "ferent parts are heard as there are performers, who all at "length unite in consonance, with organic sweetness. In the "northern parts of Great Britain, beyond the Humber, on "the borders of Yorkshire, the inhabitants use the same kind "of symphonious harmony; except that they only sing in "two parts, the one murmuring in the base, and the other "warbling in the acute or treble. Nor do these two nations "practise this kind of singing so much by art as habit, which "has rendered it so natural to them, that neither in Wales, "where they sing in many parts, nor in the North of Eng- "land, where they sing in two parts, is a simple melody "ever well sung. And, what is still more wonderful, their "children, as soon as they attempt using their voices, sing in "the same manner. But as not *all* the English sing in this "manner, but those only of the North, I believe they had "this art at first, like their language, from the Danes and "Norwegians, who used frequently to invade and so occupy, "for a long time together, those parts of the island (*z*)."

This

(*y*) Giraldus Cambrensis, archdeacon, and afterwards bishop of St. David's, was born about the middle of the 12th century, and died after the year 1220.

(*z*) *In musico modulamine non uniformiter ut alibi, sed multipliciter multisque modis et modulis cantilenas emittunt, adeo ut in turba canentium, sicut huic genti mos est, quot videas capito, tot audias carmina discriminaque vocum varia, in unam denique sub B mollis dulcedine blanda consonantiam et organicam convenientia melodiam. In Borealibus quoque majoris Britanniæ partibus trans Humbrum, Eboracique finibus Anglorum populi qui partes illas inhabitant simili canendo symphoniaca utuntur harmonia: binis tamen solummodo tonorum differentiis et vocum modulando varietatibus, una inferius sub murmurante, altera verò superni demulcente pariter et delectante. Nec arte tantum sed usu longævo et quasi in naturam mora diutina jam converso, hæc vel illa sibi gens hanc specialitatem comparavit: Qui adeo apud utramque invaluit et altas jam radices*

This extraordinary passage requires a comment. And first, it may be necessary, before we reason upon the circumstances it contains, to be certain of their authenticity. Giraldus Cambrensis is indeed an author who has been often supposed inaccurate and fabulous (*a*); and the glaring improbabilities in the above account, with the manifest ignorance of the subject in question, by no means contribute to augment his credibility. For whoever is acquainted with the laws of counterpoint, or with the first difficulties attending the practice of singing in parts, can have no exalted idea of the harmony of an untaught crowd, *turba canentium*, or suppose it to be much better than the dissonant pæans of a good-humoured mob; in which the parts would be as various as the pitch of voices of which their chorus was composed. But how all these united at last in the consonance of *organic melody*, and the soft sweetness of *B mollis*, will long remain an impenetrable secret (*b*):

"As true no meaning puzzles more than wit."

With respect to what he asserts of the people in Northumberland singing in *two parts*, it is more reconcileable to probability, from the circumstances just mentioned, of the cultivation of music in

dices posuit, ut nihil hic simpliciter, ubi multipliciter ut apud priores, vel saltem dupliciter ut apud sequentes, melliùs proferri consueverit. Pueris etiam (quod magis admirandum) et fere infantibus, (cum primum a fletibus in cantus erumpunt) eandem modulationem observantibus. Angli vero quoniam non generaliter omnes, sed boreales solum hujusmodi vocum mutant tropum modulationibus, credo quod a Dacis (al. Danis) et Norwagiensibus qui partes illas insulæ frequentius occupare ac diutius obtinere solebant, sicut loquendi affinitatem, sic canendi proprietatem contraxerunt.*

Cambriæ Descriptio, cap. xiii.

(*a*) "Girald Cambrensis deserves no manner of regard or credit to be given him; and his Chronicle is the most partial representation of the Irish history that ever was imposed on any nation in the world. He has endeavoured to make the venerable antiquities of the island a mere fable; and given occasion to the historians that came after him, to abuse the world with the same fictitious relations."—*Keating*, part i. p. 13 *Dr. Nicholson, Bishop of Derry's, Irish Historical Library*, 1st. edit. *Dubl.* 1724.

(*b*) If by *melodia organica* he meant *organized*, or *harmonized*, melody, we may suppose that the Cambro-Britons, in the time of Giraldus Cambrensis, had acquired some knowledge in *diaphonics, or discant*; which, according to John of Salisbury, an elder writer, was practised to great excess in the 12th century.

* The word *Danis* must certainly have been changed for *Dacis*, by some careless or ignorant transcriber; for though the *Danes* so often invaded England, who ever heard of the *Dacians* visiting this country?

that part of the world under Roman masters, who may probably have first brought over the art of *discant*, or *double singing*, which the newly invented organ had suggested, by the facility it afforded of sounding two or more notes at a time; which art, when practised by voices, was thence called *organum*, *organizare*. But as to what Giraldus says of children naturally singing in this manner as soon as they were out of the cradle, the reader will afford it what degree of weight he pleases; for my own part, I must own that it is not yet admitted into my musical creed.

If, however, incredulity could be vanquished with respect to the account which Giraldus Cambrensis gives of the state of music in Wales during the twelfth century, it would be by a Welch MS. in the possession of Richard Morris, Esq. of the Tower, which contains pieces for the harp that are in full *harmony* or *counterpoint*: they are written in a peculiar notation, and supposed to be as old as the year 1100; at least, such is the known antiquity of many of the songs mentioned in the collection. But whether the tunes and their notation are coeval with the words, cannot easily be proved; nor is the counterpoint, though far from correct or elegant, of so rude a kind as to fortify such an opinion.

Some part of "This MS" according to a memorandum which I found in it, "was transcribed in the time of Charles "the first, by Robert ap Huw, of Bodwigen, in the isle of "Anglesea, from William Penllyn's Book (*c*)." The title given to these pieces, is MUSICA *neu* BERORIAETH: and a note, in English, informs us, that the manuscript contains "the music of the Britons, as settled by a congress, or meet-

(*c*) The name of William Penllyn is recorded among the successful candidates on the harp, at the *Eisteddfod*, or session of the bards and minstrels, appointed in the ninth year of Queen Elizabeth, at Caerwys in North Wales, where he was elected one of the *Chief Bards and Teachers of Instrumental Song*. Pennant's Tour in North Wales, 1773, printed 1778.

"ing

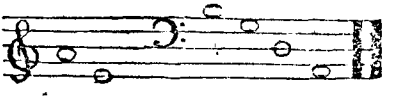
"ing of masters of music, by order of Gryffydd ap Cynan, "prince of Wales, about the year 1100, with some of the "most ancient pieces of the Britons, supposed to have been "handed down to us from the British bards."

This music is written in a notation by letters of the alphabet, somewhat resembling the tablature for the lute; but without lines, except a single line to separate the treble from the base (*d*).

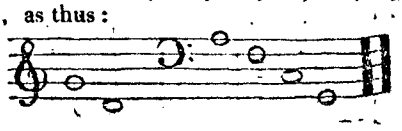
In the notation, double *ff* seems the lowest note; then the first seven letters of the alphabet are written thus, g_1, a_1, b_1, c_1, $\mathfrak{d}_1$, $\mathfrak{d}_1$, fi; and the next septenary thus, with a dash over each letter, $\bar{f}$, $\bar{g}$, $\bar{a}$, $\bar{b}$, $\bar{c}$, $\bar{d}$, $\bar{e}$. If these letters represent the same sounds as at present, we find some such chords as are admitted in modern harmony; but others frequently occur that are mere jargon.

Many of the bases, or accompaniments to the melodies begin with the chord of C inverted: $\frac{\mathfrak{d}_1}{c_1}$ These chords and melodies are lessons for young practitioners on the harp; and are said to be the exercises and trial-pieces which were required to be performed by the candidates for musical degrees, and for the silver harp. Among the first twenty-four lessons of this kind, some few are easy to decypher, as No. XI. and XVII. which I shall give here as specimens of this notation, explained in modern musical characters.

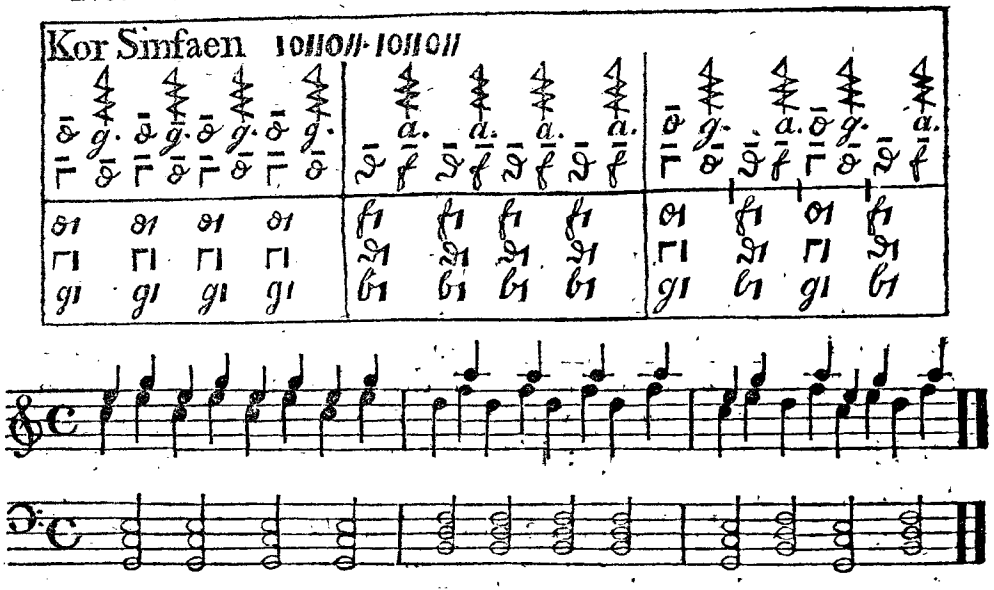
(*l*) The lines made use of in the tablature for the lute, and formerly for the guittar, the viol da braccia, and the viol da gamba, are representations of the strings of those instruments; the letters imply the frets which divide the finger-board into semitones; and the notes over the lines point out the time of each sound in the melody. The first, or highest string, is sometimes A, in unison with the second string of the violin, and sometimes G below it. If A be the pitch, the following is the *accordatura*, or tuning:



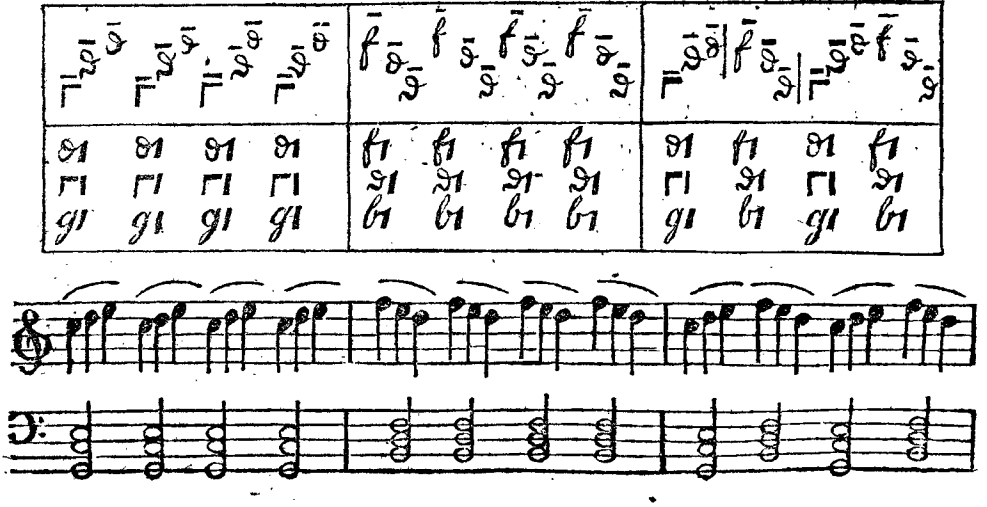
If G, the distance between the strings is the same: that is, 4th, 4th, 3d, 4th, and 4th, as thus:

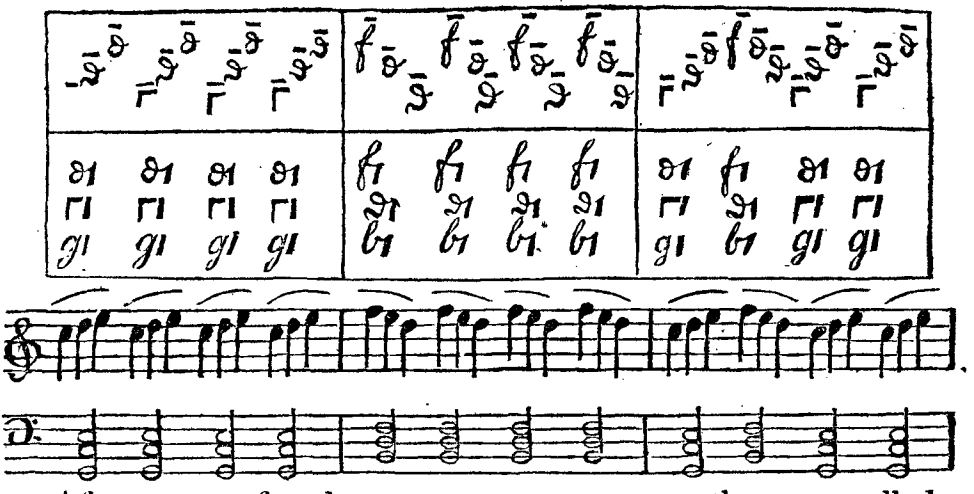


No. XI.

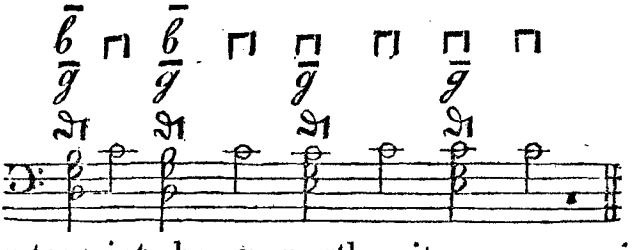


No. XVII.





After twenty-four lessons, or measures, as they are called, of this kind, there follow twelve variations on a ground base.



This counterpoint, however artless it may seem, is too modern for such remote antiquity as is given to it. The false 5th, from B to F, in the first example, has not been long allowed in harmony; and the unprepared 7th, from B to A, in the second example, is a crudity that has been but very lately tolerated.

That the ancient inhabitants of Wales were great encouragers of poetry and music, cannot be disputed, as many specimens of Cambro-British versification of undoubted antiquity still subsist; and that these poems, as well as those of ancient Greece and Rome, were originally *sung* and accompanied with instruments, is very natural and reasonable to believe; but that a

rude and uncivilized people, driven into a mountainous and barren country, without commerce or communication with the rest of Europe, should *invent counterpoint*, and cultivate harmony, at a period when it was unknown to the most polished and refined inhabitants of the earth, still remains a problem of difficult solution.

I shall give a farther account of this curious MS. when I come to speak of *national music*, and the establishment of musical games or contests in Wales, before any other music seems to have been much cultivated in the rest of the island, except the Ecclesiastical or Gregorian chant, which the Britons, driven into the mountains of Wales by the Saxons, seem to have been very unwilling to receive from the Roman missionaries that were sent over to convert their conquerors (*e*).

It will be much easier to trace the art of counterpoint in France, than in Italy or England, as the French have preserved more monkish records than either of the other countries. For the Italians, who both speak and write less than the French on common and familiar subjects, have besides had their towns and monasteries more frequently pillaged and destroyed by invaders. And in England, at the time of the reformation, and during our civil wars in the last century, every thing which had the most minute connexion with Popery was devoted to the flames.

The first organ we hear of in France was of Greek construction, and sent thither in 757, as a present to King Pepin, father of Charlemagne, by the Emperor Constantine VIth, (*f*).

(*e*) The British annals and songs ascribe, with great resentment, the slaughter of the monks at Bangor, by Ethelbert, king of Kent, to the instigation of Austin the monk, on account of their having refused to submit to the jurisdiction of Pope Gregory, and the regulations he proposed.

(*f*) See p. 66. This fact may perhaps be rendered more worthy of credence, by the assertion of Walter Odington, of Evesham, a musical writer of the 13th century, who, in his tract *De Speculatione Musicæ*, says, that *Anno Domini 757, venit Organum primo in Franciam missum a potissimo Rege Græcorum Pipino imperatori.* Of this MS. which is in Bene't Coll. Camb. a more particular account will be given hereafter.

This

This instrument seems to have been regarded in France as a very extraordinary enchanting piece of mechanism; for we are told by Notker, the monk of St. Gal, in Switzerland, a writer of the tenth century, that Charlemagne, in order to procure another, sent ambassadors to the Emperor Michael, at Constantinople, purposely to solicit so precious a gift. And this organ, after its arrival, is described in such a manner as not to be mistaken. Indeed it seems to have had imitative powers equal to those produced by different stops in modern organs (*g*).

It is the opinion of Mabillon (*h*), that "this instrument "contributed greatly to the perfecting the Gregorian chant in "France, as it is certain that the use of the organ passed from "the king's chapel, where that had been placed, which came "from Constantinople, to different churches of the kingdom, "before it was common in Italy, England, or Germany." However, the reception of this kind of instrument into the church at Verona, during the same reign, is recorded in some charters mentioned by *Ughello (i)*.

It may be supposed that this oriental organ was neither imitated in its construction, nor used with any great skill, immediately after its arrival; so that its effects in suggesting counterpoint could scarcely have appeared before the arrival of the musicians sent into France by Pope Adrian at the latter end of the eighth century. After which time, however, frequent attempts at a bagpipe-kind of harmony are preserved in ancient missals and musical tracts, of which I shall give some account.

The Abbé Le Beuf, who, in the year 1734, was appointed by the archbishop of Paris to correct and superintend the

(*g*) *Addeuxerunt etiam iidem missi omne genus* organorum, *sed et variarum rerum secum——et* præcipue illud musicorum organum præstantissimum, *quod doliis ex ære conflatis, follibusque taurinis, per fistulas æreas mire perflantibus, rugitu quidem, tonitrui boatum, garrulitatem vero lyræ vel cymbali, dulcedine coæquabat.* (De Carolo Magno, cap. 10.)

(*h*) An. I. 23. n. 28, 29.

(*i*) Tom. v. p. 604. 610. *apud* Du Cangium, *Gloss. Lat.*

chants,

chants in the new edition of a breviary and missal for the use of his diocese, published, in the year 1741, an admirable *Historical Treatise on Ecclesiastical Chanting*, which he drew up while he was visiting different parts of the kingdom, in order to collate MSS. and restore purity to the corrupted melodies of the church. This writer has neither evaded nor slightly discussed points of difficult solution, but, on the contrary, has sedulously sought, and, with no less sagacity and learning than diligence, generally explained them to the satisfaction of his readers. Indeed, he is one of the few writers on the subject, whom I have examined, who has sought information at the source, and not contented himself with the muddy stream of second-hand science.

With the assistance of this diligent and judicious writer, it is not difficult to form a kind of genealogical chain, or series of ecclesiastical musicians, from the time of Charlemagne, when the Roman chant was first established in France, to that of Guido; that, from the eight to the eleventh century.

Remi of Auxerre, the most learned personage in the Latin church at the end of the ninth century, has left behind him a Commentary on the Musical Treatise of Martinus Capella, which is still subsisting among the MSS. in the king of France's library, No. 5304. He acquired his science from Heric. Heric was the disciple of Rabanus, and Hayman of Halberstadt, who had conversed with the Roman singers sent into France by Pope Adrian.

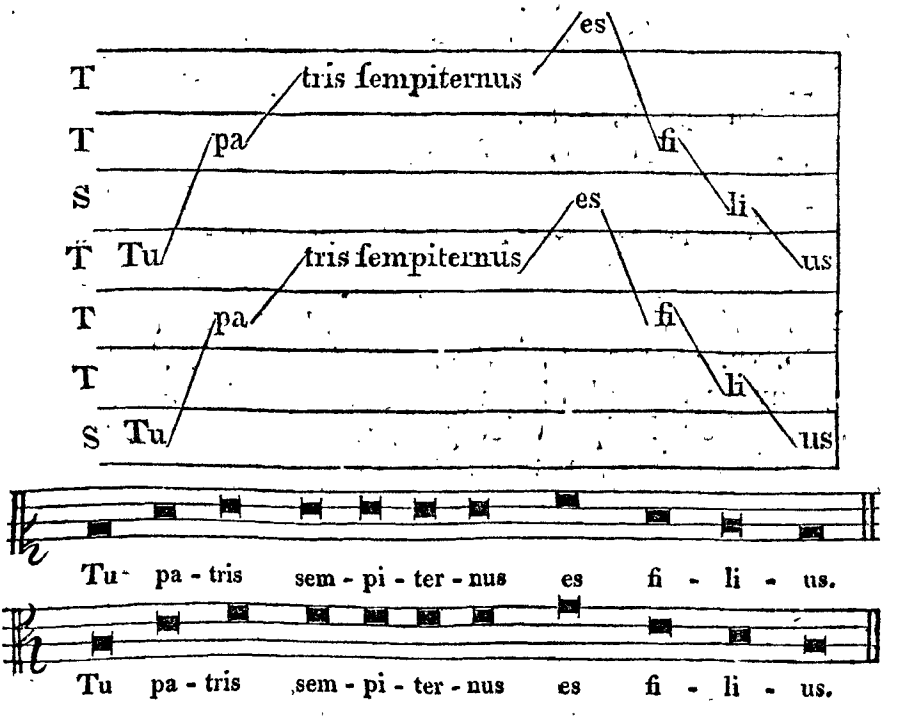
Hubald, Hucbald, or Hugbald, a monk of St. Amand, in Flanders, who preceded Guido more than one hundred years, was cotemporary with Remi, and author of a treatise on music, which is still subsisting in the king of France's library, under the title of *Enchiridion Musicæ*, No. 7202, transcribed in the eleventh century. In this work there is a kind of gammut, or expedient for delineating the several sounds of the scale, in a way wholly different from his predecessors (*k*); but the method

(*k*) *See* p. 36. of this vol.

of

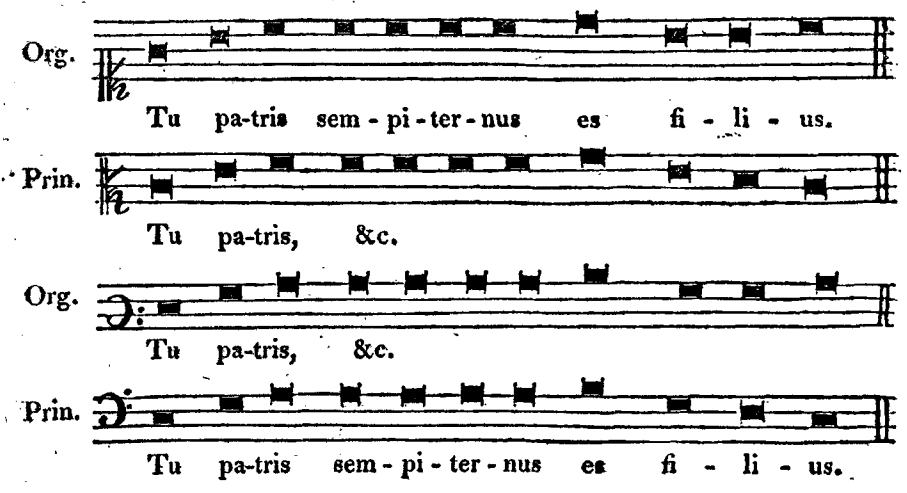
of Guido not only superseded this, but, by degrees, effaced the knowledge and remembrance of every other that had been adopted in the different countries and convents of Europe. However, the aukward attempts at singing in consonance, which appear in this tract, are curious, and clearly prove that Guido neither invented, nor, rude as it was before his time, much contributed to the improvement of this art.

Hubald places the whole force of his *diaphonics*, or harmony, upon fourths and fifths. The following fragment of canto fermo has been already given, p. 35, as an example of *notation*, by Odo. I did not then suspect that the syllables, placed over each other between the lines, were meant as counterpoint, till I saw them given as such, and reduced to common notes by the prince abbot of St. Blaise (*l*), who truly observes, that it is such harmony as will not only offend the ear, but set our teeth on edge.



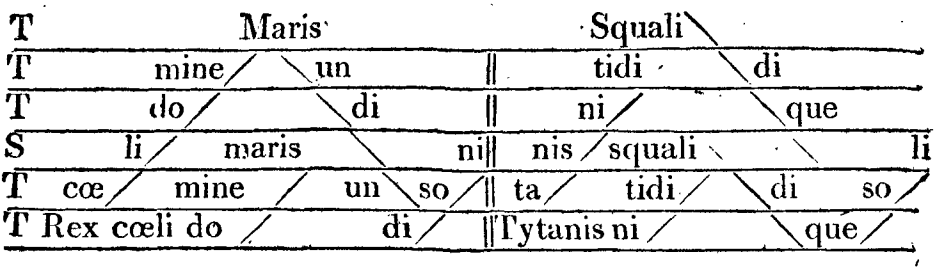
(*l*) *De Musica* Eccl. tom. iii. p. 112.

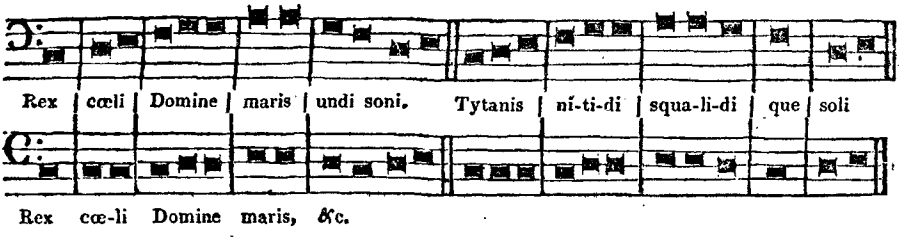
The good monk says, if to these two parts, two more are added in the octave, the harmony will be complete: and then writes, after his manner, the same fragment of melody over again, with a very small change at the end in the accompaniment, which he calls *organum*. Though it is easy for a professed musician to divine what a strange effect such a combination of sounds would have, yet I shall present it in score, for the satisfaction of others, who may have a greater reverence for antiquity.



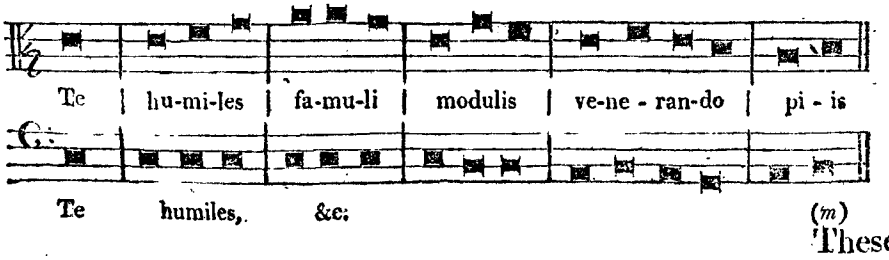
After giving this example, he grows bolder by degrees, and in chap. xv. ventures to make a transient use of a 2d and 3d; then, having feasted his ears with a succession of seven 4ths, he makes the principal voice part, and what he calls the *organum*, end in unison, as thus:

Rex





At length, growing still more daring, in the eighteenth chapter, the question is, " How much higher the principal melody " may go than the *organum ?*" And he determines the point, that while one voice remains in the same tone, the other may wander about at its pleasure. The succession of four thirds in the following example, renders it more like music of this world, in point of harmony, than any of the rest; and, indeed, a very few alterations in the under part would make the whole fragment supportable to modern ears.



(*m*) These

(*m*) Hubald, the respectable author of these curious specimens of crude harmony, was not only a musician, but a poet; and an idea may be formed of his patience and perseverance, if not of his genius, from a circumstance related by Sigebert, the author of his life, by which it appears that he vanquished a much greater difficuly in poetry

These examples will sufficiently shew the infant state of counterpoint, previous to the time of Guido, and enable the reader to judge whether it was much improved by his discoveries.

No writer of eminence, on the subject of music, of whose works we have any remains, appears between the time of Hubald and Guido, except Odo, the abbot of Cluni, in Burgundy, whom Mabillon (*n*) ranks at the head of literature and the polite arts, at the beginning of the tenth century. He studied under St. Remi, at Paris, and, among other sciences, applied himself so successfully to music, that he was afterwards regarded as the most learned musician of his time. He made three several voyages to Rome, in 936, 938, and 942, where, it is natural to suppose, he acquired a perfect knowledge of the Gregorian chant, and was initiated in all the refinements that were then practised in St. Peter's church and the pontifical chapel.

Some of his hymns, chants, and anthems, are still preserved in the Romish church *(o)*; and there are two copies of a MS. tract upon music, of his writing, in the king of France's library at Paris (*p*). They are in separate volumes, and both bound up with many other ancient musical treatises. There is a tract of great antiquity in the library of Baliol College, Oxford, which by the initial sentence, *Quid est Musica?* I once imagined to have been written by Odo; but am now convinced that it is the work of Guido himself: for, upon carefully perusing, and collating it with the extracts I had made from the *Enchiridion* of Odo, in the libraries of the king of France, and

poetry than the Lippogrammatists of antiquity ever attempted: for they only excommunicated a single letter of the alphabet from a whole poem; but this determined monk composed three hundred verses in praise of *Baldness*, which he addressed to the emperor Charles the Bald, and in which he obliged the letter C to take the lead in every word, as the initial of his patron's name and infirmity: Carolus Calvus, as thus:

Carmina Clarisonæ Calvis Cantate Camœnæ.

(*n*) *Acta Sanct. ord. S. Bened.* tom. vii. p. 126.

(*o*) *Hist. Litter. de Franco*, tom. vi. p. 235.

(*p*) *Dialogus de Musica*, No. 7211, with this memorandum: *Codex membranaceus, olim Colbertinus, partim duodecimo, partim decimo tertio sæculo, videtur exaratus.* And No. 7369, where it has another title: *Odonis Abbatis*, Enchiridion *de Musica.*

elsewhere,

elsewhere, as well as with the quotations from it in the Musical Histories of Padre Martini and the Abbot Gerbert, I find it to be totally a different work, agreeing in nothing but the initial question. It contains instructions for measuring musical intervals by the *Monochord*, and a Formulary of the Ecclesiastical Tones. It is given to Guido in the Vatican library (*q*); and in the Saville study, at Oxford, there is a printed copy of part of it, under the same name (*r*).

But the most beautiful and perfect copy which I have seen, and which perhaps can now be found, of the scarce and curious tracts upon music, by the venerable monk Hubald, of St. Amand, and St. Odo, abbot of Cluni, subsists in the library of Bene't college, Cambridge, under a title which is not likely to discover the real author of these tracts, and to the knowlege of which nothing but the having seen them in other libraries on the continent could have led me. I had long since been told of a very ancient and valuable musical MS. in this curious library, but was unable to examine it till very lately, when I did with great care and satisfaction, as it contains the two most ancient treatises on modern music, in which any mention is made of singing in parts.

The number of this MS. in the excellent catalogue lately published, is CCLX (*s*), where it is entitled *Musica Hogeri, sive Excerptiones Hogeri Abbatis ex Autoribus Musicæ Artis*: "The "Music of Hogerus, or Extracts from Writers on the Art of "Music, by the Abbot Hogerus." Who this abbot was, or when he lived, will not now be easily discovered. His name has long puzzled the learned: and I find, among the letters

(*q*) No. 1196. Guidonis Aretini *de Musica Dialogus. Quid est Musica?*

(*r*) *Musica sive* Guidonis Aretini, *de Usu et Constitutione Monochordi, Dialogus; jam denuo recognitus ab Andrea Reinhardo Nivemontano. Lipsiæ*, 1604. The tract, in Baliol college library, which is more than double the length of the printed copy, is transcribed in the seme volume as the Micrologus of Guido: *Explicit Musica Domini Guidonis. Incipit Explanatio Artis Musicæ sub Dialogo.* D. *Quid est Musica?* M. *Veraciter canendi* Scientia, &c.

(*s*) *Codex Membranaceus in* 4to, *perantiquus, non gentis abhinc annis exaratus.*

of Baptistia Doni (*t*), that this MS. was the subject of a correspondence between him and Dr. Thomas Rigel, of London in the year 1639 (*u*). Doni, who had emissaries at this time all over Europe, in search of musical curiosities, upon hearing of this extraordinary MS. in his letter to Dr. Rigel concerning it says, *De Hogerii abbatis excerptis (siquidem exstarent) brevia quædam specimina dumtaxat cuperem : quum enim autor sit mihi plane ignotus, affirmare non ausim, an talia sint ejus scripta, ut totus scribi mereatur.*—The Doctor, in his reply to Doni, the same year, tells him, that after making all possible enquiry in the library at Cambridge—*Nullum Hogerii scriptum in ea bibliotheca inveniri.*—Whether this was true, or only a short way of getting rid of the trouble incident to such enquiries, I know not; but I find the book entered in the catalogue that goes under the name of Dr. Gale (*x*), thus: *Excerptiones* Rogeri Baconi *ex auctoribus Musicæ Artis.* It is possible that this book may have been transcribed by, or for, this wonderful man; and it is the more possible, as he admitted music among his studies, and is said, by his biographers, to have written *De valore Musices*, pr. *Secundum Boetium et cæteros auctores.* However this may have been, the MS. which is beautifully written on vellum, and extremely well preserved, contains more than it promises; for the two musical treatises of Hubald and Odo, both written in the tenth century, are not given in fragments or abstracts, but entire, and unmixed with the writings of any other authors.

And as they are scarce, and frequently confounded by those who cite them, I shall be somewhat minute in describing their contents. The Enchiridion of Hubald, or, as it is sometimes called, his treatise *De Harmonica Institutione*, appears first in the volume, and begins, *Archytas vero cuncta ratione constituens non modo sensum aurium imprimis consonantiis observare neglexit.*

(*t*) For an account of this writer, see vol. i. p. 116.

(*u*) Jo. Bapt. Donii *Commercium Litterarium.* Florentiæ, 1754.

(*x*) *Catalogi Liborum Manuscriptorum Angliæ.* 1697. Fol. No. 1466. 189.

Verum

Verum et jam maxime intra Tetrachordorum divisionem rationem secutus est. All is *à la Grec* in this treatise, and reduced to the tetrachords, as the titles of some of the chapters will shew.

De pthongorum figuris, et quare sint octodecim.
Unde dicatur tetrachordum finalium et cæterorum.
Quare unum solum tetrachordum sub finalibus et duo Supra.
Quod distet inter authentos et minores tonos.

But the chief peculiarities of this manuscript, are the specimens of counterpoint, such as have already been given under the title of Diaphonics, or Organizing; and the strange notation, of which an example has been inserted, p. 33, from Padre Martini, who had taken it from a MS. which was erroneously ascribed to Odo.

It appears, upon a careful examination of this tract, that the uncommon characters used by Hubald, as signs of the ecclesiastical modes, are likewise the musical notes with which he writes his chants: and of these he has fifteen to express the double octave, all differing from each other by some slight peculiarity. See plate, p. 95, No. 3, where they are inserted, on account of their singular forms, with the correspondent literal notation in present use.

This notation, and the appellations given to the ecclesiastical modes, are so nearly what the modern Greeks still use, that their origin seems clearly pointed out. In speaking of the four authentic modes or tones, he says:

Primus qui et gravissimus Græce Protos *dicitur vel* Archos.

Secundus Deuteros *tono distans a Protos.*

Tertius Tritos *semitono distans a Deutero.*

Quartus Tetardos *tono distans a Trito.*

These

These characters, which are frequently used for plain-chant without lines, have generally one of the two letters, T, S, at the side of each, to indicate the tones and semitones.

He has a chapter *de Symphoniis*, which inculcates the same doctrine as Guido's chapter *De Diaphonia*. He says there are three kinds of symphony, in the 4th, 5th, and 8th; and that as the combination of some letters and syllables is more pleasing to the ear than others, so it is with sounds in music. All mixtures are not equally sweet.

He then describes *Diatessaron Symphonia*, *Diapente Symphonia*, and *Diapason Symphonia(y)*; and, after giving examples in his peculiar notation, of these three kinds of symphony, his next chapter has for title, *Quomodo ex Simplicibus Symphoniis aliæ Componuntur*.

This permission only extends to the diapason and diatessaron, diapason and diapente, disdiapason, &c. or symphony in the 11th, 12th, and 15th.

Then a circular diagram is given of their relations. Hubald, however, says, that the most pleasing of all symphonies is in the octave or diapason—*Maxima Symphonia Diapason dicitur, quod mea perfectior consonantia fiat (z)*.

There are many curious passages in this treatise; but as great use has been made of it already, in describing attempts at counterpoint, previous to the time of Guido, I shall only mention such circumstances, and give the titles of such chapters, as will best ascertain its identity with that in the king of France's possession, and establish its existence in one of our own libraries, where it may be consulted by diligent and curious enquiries into the state of the arts during this dark period.

In this work I found the same diagram, with the same lateral characters, as are already exhibited in this vol. p. 35. After which

(y) The singing in a succession of 4ths and 5ths was afterwards called in France, *Diatessaronare* and *Quintoier*.

(z) Symphony in the octave is still most pleasing to uncultivated ears; but how any ears could ever be pleased with symphony in 4ths or 5ths, is now difficult to imagine.

we

we have a diagram of transposition---*Modum unumquemque in alium transmutare, ita*---exactly the same as that which is printed from P. Martini, at the bottom of the same page.

In his next chapter, the title of which is *De proprietate Symphoniarum*, Hubald speaks of *diaphonia* and organum, as synonimous with *symphony;* and this is a full confirmation of what has been often advanced in the present chapter, "that "neither Guido, nor any musical writers of the middle ages, "by the word organum ever meant the instrument, or a part "to be played on the instrument, which we now call an Organ. *(a)*"

His next chapter is *De auctiore Diaphonia per Diatessaron ejusque descriptio;* to illustrate which augmentation, he doubles each part in the octave; that is, doubles the voice part and the organum *(b)*.

Then follows a description of double diaphonics in the 5th---*Diaphonae Auctioris per Diapente;* an example of which is given in four parts, to these words: *Sit gloria Domini in saecula laetabitur in operibus suis.*

The title of the next chapter excites curiosity: *Quod de his Ptholemaeum sensisse Boetius narrat.*---But this is only the old dispute, whether the 11th, or octave of the 4th, is a concord; and Hubald determines it against those ancients who refused it a place among consonant intervals, asserting, that by doubling the parts in the octave, a series of eleventhes has a very good effect.

It is in the next chapter that he hazards other intervals than 4ths, 5ths, or 8ths, and that he uses a transient 2d and 3d, both major and minor. The title of this chapter is, *Quo modo altiora, modo submissiora loca* Organum *petat.* The example of what he imagined to be such licentious counterpoint, has been already given, p. 119, to these words: *Te humiles*, &c.

(a)---*Nunc id quo propriæ symphoniæ dicunter, et sunt, id est, qualiter eædem voces sese in unum canendo habeant, prosequamur, Hæc namque est, quam diaphoniam cantilenam, vel assuete* Organum *nuncupamus. Dicta autem Diaphonia, quod non uniformi canore constet, sed concentu* concorditer dissono; *quod licet omnium est symphoniarum commune, in Diatessaron Organici meli ponatur exemplum. Utpote si ad subjunctam descriptionem duobus sonis interpositas quarto loco in unum canendo vox voci respondeat.*

b) See p. 118.

In his last chapter, which is an Eloge upon Music, he tells the story of Orpheus's decent into hell to fetch his wife Eurydice; but says, that the moderns, confining their music to the praise of God, pretend to no such powers. He therefore leaves to Boethius the relation of its marvellous effects in ancient times.

We come now to the celebrated Enchiridion of Odo, which is written in dialogue, and mentioned with respect, even by Guido himself. *Incipit Scholium Enchiridij de arte Musica.* The dialogue is between a master and his disciple *(c)*.

The diagrams and musical examples are all given in the same characters as those of Hubald: See plate p. 95. No. 3. His doctrine of the tones, or ecclesiastical modes, is illustrated by innumerable specimens in this kind of notation.

In this treatise, the barbarous and unmeaning words, in Gothic letters, occur, which the Greek church used during the ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries, to characterize the modes or tones: Nonanoeane, Noeane, Noioeane, Anoais, &c. of which the abbreviations or signs are given on the left side of the specimen of this species of notation, p. 35.

Terms like these are still retained by the modern Greeks in their ecclesiastical music, as I find by Leo Allatius, and by the Abate Martini's papers; the intonations of the eight ecclesiastical modes, for instance, are sung to the following words; Ananes, Neanes, Nana, Agia; Aneanes, Neanes, Aanes, Neagie: each beginning upon one of the following sounds of our scale: A, B, C, D, E, F, G.

The entablature, or notation of Hubald and Odo, very much resemble each other, as does their counterpoint; indeed, these ecclesiastics were not only cotemporaries and friends, but disciples of Remi, monk of St. German d'Auxerre; and Odo, the youngest of the two, survived Hubald but twelve years.*

(c) Pr. D. *Musica quid est?* M. *Bene modulandi scientia.* B. *Bene modulari, quid est?* M. *Melos suavi sono moderari,*— By the title of this tract, *Scholium Enchiridii,* as well as by the notation and counterpoint it contains, it seems as if it had been intended by Odo as a Commentary upon the Enchiridion of Hubald.

* Hubald died in 930, at near 90 years of age; and Odo in 942, aged 64.

The

The first part of this tract ends thus: *Præterea et grata Symphoniarum commixtio maximam suavitatem cantilenis adjicet.* And in the second part he proceeds to the explanation of this extraordinary symphonic sweetness; which, he tells his disciple, consists in the pleasing mixture of certain sounds, such as the octave, 5th, 4th, &c. *(d)*.

Then follow examples of organizing in all its six concords, which are only those of the ancients, 4th, 5th, 8th, 11th, 12th, and 15th; and in giving an example in four parts, where he doubles the Organum and principal part to these words, *Nos qui vivimus*, they move constantly in these intervals, unison, 4th, 8th, and 11th.

The author next proceeds to give the ratio of sounds, and to shew the alliance between music and mathematics, calling arithmetic the mother of musical tones *(e)*.

He afterwards treats of the proportions of flutes, or musical pipes, to which he applies his harmonics.

The last chapter is a summary of the tones or modes of canto fermo *(f)*; and here, as elsewhere, his examples are always in the same hieroglyphic notation; NO J A F NO If E F A If NE—&c.

This last chapter is not quite perfect; the transcriber having omitted some of the musical examples and diagrams. Only six of the eight modes are finished. The seventh, however, is begun, and not more than one, or two pages, at most, can be wanting to complete these two scarce and valuable relics of the first essays at modern harmony; which, however rude, uncouth, and barbarous, continued in the church, without offending Christian ears, for more than three centuries: for the monk Englebert, who, in the latter end of the thirteenth century, at the instigation of his friends *(g)*, wrote a treatise on music, tells

(d) D. *Symphonia quæ est?* M. *Dulcis quarundam vocum commixtio, quarum tres sunt simplices: Diapason, Diapente, Diatessaron, &c.*

(e) *Ita pthongi in musicâ cujus mater est arithmetica*—D. *Quæ sunt mathesis disciplinæ?* M. *Arithmetica, geometrica, musica, astronomia.*

(f) *Incipit commemoratio brevis de tonis et de salmis modulandis.*

(g) According to Pez. tom. i. *Anecd.* the musical tract of Engelbertus Abbas Admontensis

tells us, that all regular discant consists of the union of 4ths, 5ths, and 8ths.

It has already been shewn that this kind of harmony, miserable and nauseous as it would be to our palates, did not offend Guido; on the contrary, he recommends the regular succession of fourths above all other concords (*h*), to excite and express pleasure and jubilation. Nor do any advances or attempts at variety seem to have been made in counterpoint from the time of Hubald to that of Guido; a period of more than a hundred years.

Indeed it is hardly possible to examine the last specimen of Hubald's counterpoint, without being astonished that no advances had been made in the art for a whole century; for, with all its faults and crudities, it is at least equal to the best combinations of Guido. But perhaps Hubald's inventions or improvements never escaped the confines of his convent, or, at most, were only published in his own diocese; and, like the proposals of other ingenious men, whose views are extensive, and who anticipate future discoveries, they were not adopted or reduced to practice in his life-time. His idea that one voice might wander at pleasure through the scale, while the other remains fixed, shews him to have been a man of genius and enlarged views, who, disregarding rules, could penetrate beyond the miserable practice of his time into our *Points d'orgue*, *Pedalè*, and multifarious harmony upon a holding note or single base, and suggest the *principle*, at least, of the boldest modern harmony. Odo is the only one of his cotemporaries, or successors, whose writings have come to my knowledge, that has imitated his notation.

montensis begins thus: *Propter amicorum instantiam.* The passage alluded to in this tract, is given by the abbot of St. Blaise, in the second volume of his History of Church Music, p. 117: "*Quoniam (inquit) omnes discantus bene ordinati taliter se habent, quod cantui directo respondent consonando. vel in diapason, vel ad medium diapason, scilicet ubi diatessaron et diapente conjugunter in una voce.*"

(*h*) *Semitonium et diapente non admittimus;* tonum *vero et ditonum et semiditonum cum diatessaron recipimus: sed semiditonum in his infimatum,* diatessaron *vero optinet* principatum. Microl. cap. xviii.

In

In the Rawlinson collection of manuscripts at Oxford, of which no catalogue has yet been published, there is a didactic poem, entitled *Ars Musica*, which though anonymous, contains internal evidence of having been written by Gerbert Scholasticus, elected pope in the year 999, by the name of Sylvester II. It is composed in Latin monkish rhyme, except where such technical terms or rules occurred, as could not possibly be reduced to metre.

It begins:

Ars est jam utilissima,
A philosophis composita;
Ars est vocata musica,
Cantûs totius domina;
Sine quâ nec differentia
Est vocum, vel concordia.

At the distance of a page from this exordium, we have the following proof that Guido was not the first who characterised the lowest sound of the musical scale by the Greek gamma, and that the author of this addition to the Roman literal notation was unknown, even in the tenth century.

Gamma in primis posita
Quibusdam est incognita
Nam Γ. *Græcum nomine*
Non invenitur in A. B. C.

The following are the titles of some of the chapters: *De Symphonia facienda*, *De Organis*, *De Tintinnabulis*, &c. The first of these chapters concerns *organizing*, or diaphonia; the second *musical instruments;* and the third relates to *bells*. One of the succeeding chapters has this title, which points out the author of the work: "*Constantino suo Gerbertus Scholasticus.*" Now

it appears, that before Gerbert's exaltation to the papal chair, or even to the see of Rheims, or Ravenna, of both which places he was successively archbishop, he was in strict friendship with Constantine, monk of Fleuri, afterwards abbot of Mici, to whom one of his letters is still extant*.

What is placed as the last chapter of this little work is a separate treatise, of a very few pages, under the title of *Rhythmomachia*, or the Battle of Numbers or Figures, which is wholly unconnected with music, but which is universally allowed to have been written by Gerbert. It was composed as a kind of Game, soon after the arrival of the Arabian figures or ciphers in Europe, for which the author gives rules resembling those for chess. It is mentioned by John of Salisbury, in his letters †.

Gerbert, who cultivated music very assiduously, regarding it as the second in rank among the liberal arts, must have acquired a considerable degree of reputation in it, as the authors of the twelfth century give him the title of Gerbert the *Musician* ‡. He is said to have been as well skilled in the construction of musical instruments as the use of them, particularly the hydraulic Organ. William of Malmsbury speaks with wonder of the perfection to which he had brought this iustrument, by means of blowing it with *warm* water ‖.

We shall now return to the ORGAN, with the improvements in which, Counterpoint, under the name of *Organizing*, seems to have kept pace.

* *Epistola ad Constantinum.* Fabric. Bibl. Med. et inf. Latinit. tom. iii. p. 128.

† John Sarisb. *Epist.* Par. 1611. 4to. No. 235.

‡ Bern. Pez. *Anec. Thes.* tom. i. par. 2. p. 330.

‖ Malm. *de Reg. Ang.* 1. ii. c. 10. p. 65. The application of *warm* water, for the purpose of furnishing the instrument with wind, may have been the invention of Gerbert, though, in all probability, he had followed the principles of Vitruvius in constructing the instrument; and we may imagine that the invention of bellows soon took place of this contrivance; for we hear no more of hydraulic organs after this period, except the wretched contrivances so called in the grottos of Italy.

Pope Sylvester II. whose life is written by the authors of *l'Histoire Litteraire de France*, who celebrate his virtues, and abilites in almost every species of science, died 1003, after filling the papal throne four years.

Mura-

Muratori (*i*) says, that the construction of this instrument, in the West, was wholly taken from the Greeks, who tried to keep it a secret; and, according to some French annalists, George, a Venetian priest, in 826, having stolen the model, carried it to the Emperor Lewis the Pious. But it has already been related, p. 66 and 114 of this volume, that the organ was first brought into France from Greece, in 757; and there seems to have been no necessity for stealing the model of an instrument for those who were already in possession of the instrument itself. The Romans probably had it from Greece much sooner; for, during the long intercourse between the Greeks and Romans, it is hardly credible but that they must have obtained from them the *pneumatic organ*, as they had the hydraulicon long before.

Cardinal Bona (*k*) says, that though organs were thought by some writers to have had admission into the church in the fourth century, during the Pontificate of Pope Damasus, yet the most true and common opinion is, that this honour was first conferred on those noble instruments by Pope Vitalian, about the year 660. But this good cardinal, whose work is much celebrated and quoted by musical writers, constantly disappointed me whenever I had recourse to him for information; he never mounts to the origin of any use that has been made of music in the church, or acquaints us in what it consisted. He takes his scanty information upon trust from common authors, and seems to have compiled his book in an easy chair, with the true dignity of a cardinal. I know that he is much praised for the simplicity and sanctity of his life and manners, in spite of the grandeur and luxury which surrounded him; but either his knowledge of sacred antiquities must have been

(*i*) *Dissert. sopra le Antich. Ital.* Nap. (*k*) *De divina Psalmodia.* Romæ, 1752. tom. i. p. 277.

very

very superficial, or his indolence unpardonable: for, in the midst of ecclesiastical treasures, and at the source of information, it was natural, from the title of his work, to expect that he would have had recourse to edited manuscripts, or, at least, oral tradition, in order to throw a little light upon those dark corners of sacred history which comprise the establishment of music in churches, and its progress in them since that time; upon the first use of organs and other instruments; the different *notation* of chants; extemporary discant, and written counterpoint; the state of the Roman college, or school of singers, at the time he wrote; the origin and progress of the sacred drama or *oratoria* in music, and the permission of the eunuchs to sing in the pope's chapel, and the churches in general throughout Italy. But of all these particulars, interesting to a musical enquirer, the existence is scarcely discoverable in a treatise, which he himself tells us, in the title, is *historical, symbolical*, and *learned;* new, curious, and full of erudition; and lastly, dedicated to the virgin Mary!

About the time that the organ was received in churches and convents, the Gregorian chant began to be *organized* by voices, in the manner which was afterwards called *Discant;* and the simultaneous correspondence of that harmonical series which constitutes *concert*, or music *in different parts*, has been variously expressed by writers on the subject, since it was first suggested. The most ancient names given to it by Hubald, Odo, and Guido, are *Diaphonia*, and *Organum;* and *Discantus, Triplum, Quadruplum, Diatessaronare, Quintoier, Motetus, Medius*, and *Tenore*, are all words that preceded the term *Counterpoint*. As those implied singing upon a plain song, *extempore; contrapunctum, written* harmony.

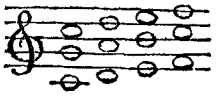
It is of such importance to the history of an art, that the origin, etymology, and primitive acceptation of its terms should be minutely traced, that I hope the curious reader will excuse

excuse me if I am somewhat prolix in my endeavours to execute this part of my work with clearness and accuracy.

The Greeks, so late as the time of Bryennius, the youngest of their musical writers, who flourished about the year 1320, made use of the word διαφωνος, διαφωνια, *Dissonus*, *Discordia*, for dissonance and disagreement of sound. The Latin writers upon music of the middle ages, however, such as Hubald, Odo, and Guido, to whom perhaps the Greek language was but imperfectly known, applied the same term to a very different purpose; expressing by it nearly what the Greeks meant by συμφωνος, *Symphonia*, *consonance*, *concord*, and *agreement of sounds*. With these writers Diaphonia and Organum were synonimous. The use which the ancient Greeks made of the term Diaphonia, was to express two sounds, which, when heard together, were discordant and disagreeable to the ear; and the Latin musical writers applied the same term to two concordant sounds, whose constant or frequent coincidence rendered them pleasing to the ear. We must except St. Isidore of Seville, who flourished in the seventh century; for his definition agrees with that of the Greeks *(l)*.

With respect to the term Organum, as used by musical writers of the middle ages for a voice part, if we could imagine, when the first organs were erected in churches and convents, that each of them was furnished with such a stop as is now called the

(*l*) Diaphonia, *id est, voces discrepantes, vel dissonæ. Nam Diaphonia semper contraria est symphoniæ, cum Symphonia fit conjunctio, et Diaphonia disjunctio.* Originum, sive Etymologiarum. A passage from the Enchiridion of Hubald, cap. 13. *De proprietate Symphoniarum*, will, however, shew in what a different sense he applied the word. *Nunc id*, says he, *quo propriæ Symphoniæ dicuntur, et sunt, id est, qualiter eædem voces sese in unum canendo habeant, prosequamur. Hæc namque est quam Diaphoniam cantilenam, vel assuete Organum nuncupamus. Dicta autem Diaphonia, quod non uniformi capore constet, sed concentu concorditer dissono: quod licet omnium Symphoniarum sit commune, in diatessaron tamen, ac diapente hic nomen obtinuet.* Odo and Guido use the same words: Diaphonia *vocum disjunctionem sonat, quam nos* Organum *vocamus cum disjunctæ ab invicem voces concorditer dissonant, et dissonanter concordant.* "Diaphonia is the uniting different sounds, which we call *Organum*, and which different sounds, though they agree, are distinctly heard."

Sesquialter, or any other compound stop, consisting of 4ths, 5ths, and 8ths, thus:  &c. it might not only help to account for the introduction of such strange harmony into the church as that of Hubald, Odo, and Guido, but even give a probable reason for the name by which it was called: for, whether we suppose singers to have imitated such sounds as every single key produced, or such as were produced by the fingers from different keys of the organ, it was natural to call the part which was added to the plain-song, *Organum*, and the art of producing it, *Organizare* (*m*).

The most ancient authority which Du Cange gives for the use of the word *Discantus*, *Discantare*, is from Hugotio of Vercelli, bishop of Ferrara, and the first definer of Decretals, who died 1212 (*n*). But a still higher and greater authority is that of Franco of Cologne, who, in a manuscript tract, which I have now before me, and of which I shall give an account in the next chapter, defines and applies the word in such a manner, as to leave no doubt of its having been in common use about the end of the eleventh or beginning of the twelfth century, for singing extempore on a plain-song. The subject of the fifth chapter of Franco's tract on music, which is preserved in the Bodleian library at Oxford, 842, f. 49, is *Discant*, and the agreement of different voices. Here he defines concords and discords, and gives examples in notes of the use of both in discant. I am not without my doubts concerning the antiquity of Franco's tract, but have an indisputable proof that it was written before the year 1283, at which time his definition of

(*m*) *Organizare*, according to Du Cange, is *canere in modum organi*; and, among his authorities, he gives the following definition from the *Catholicon* or *Lexicon* of John de Janua, written in 1286: Organizare, *Organo cantare; Joer ou chanter en orgres, organiser*: "to play or sing *like* the organ."

(*n*) This author says, *Decantare est valde cantare, discantare et excantare, id est, discantare.* An ancient manuscript Greek and Latin Glossary, in the king of France's library, defines it Τερπλίζω, *biscanto, facio tenorem.*

Discantus

Discantus was quoted by Marchetto da Padua, in a musical treatise called *Pomerium in Arte Musicæ Mensuratæ;* where the author says, *Discantus secundum magistrum Franconem est* diversorum cantuum consonantia—the agreement of different melodies.

" The Roman chanters," says the Abbé Lebeuf (*o*), " that " were sent into France in the time of Charlemagne, had " taught the French this secret, who afterwards turned it to " account." The authors who had before treated the subject of plain-song the most judiciously, were Hubald and Odo, the disciples of Remi; and these, as well as Guido, speak frequently, in their treatises of organizing. Hubald is very full on the subject in his Enchiridion; and, by the long description he gives of it, there can be no doubt but that some instrument had been used in the singing schools to teach this organization; a name it must have acquired from the assistance the voice had received from the keys of some small organ, which had been found more proper than any other instrument to keep voices steady in sustaining two different sounds. Hubald speaks of many consonances, and gives rules for their use; but it does not appear, from any thing he says, that these concords were as yet used in the performance of the church service (*p*.)

The most ancient proof which the Abbé Lebeuf could find of this organization having been admitted in the public service of the ritual, is a decree of Eudal de Sully, bishop of Paris, in the year 1198; which ordains the responses of the first vespers on the feast of Circumcision, and the *Benedicamus*, to be sung in *triplo*, vel *quadruplo*, vel *organo*; the third and sixth responses of the second vespers in *organo*, vel *in triplo*, vel *qua-*

(*o*) *Traite Historique sur le Chant. Eccles.* p. 73.

(*p*) Guy, a Cestercian abbot of the twelfth century, in explaining the rules of this kind of organization, says, *Si cantus ascendit duas voces et organum incipit in duplici voce, descenderit tres voces et erit in quinta, vel descenderit septem voces et erit cum cantu.* These are plainly the concords of 5th and 8th.

druplo;

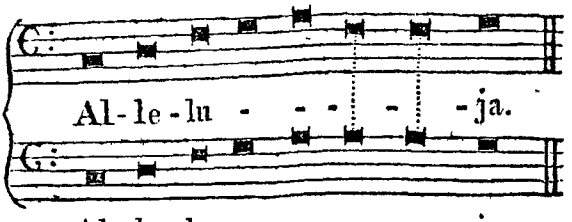
druplo; and the mass, the responses of the Gradual, and the Alleluja, to be sung in *triplo*, vel *quadruplo (q.)*

Nearly the same expressions are found in two places of the *Necrologium*, or burial register of the church of Paris, quoted by Du Cange, in one of which an order appears for the clerks who shall sing *Alleluja* in *organo*, *triplo*, or *quadruplo*, that is, in two, three, or four parts, to be rewarded with sixpence: in the other it is said, that whatever four clerks shall organize Alleluja, on the new festival of St. Thomas of Canterbury, shall receive six *deniers*. The word Organum has been supposed, by father Dubois, in his History of the Church of Paris, to imply a part composed on purpose for the instrument called an organ; but Organum, as has been sufficiently proved, was a general term for a single part, or second voice, added to the melody of a chant, and synonimous with *duplo;* and such is its import in the following passage from the same manuscript *Necrologium*, written in the thirteenth century, which has been just quoted, where, speaking of the establishment of a new festival, it is ordained the clerks or priests, who assist in the performance of the mass, shall have two pence, and the four Organists of the Alleluja, if they organize, two pence each. The four singers of the Alleluja, are called Organists of the Alleluja, because they organize the melody of it.

Now, to enable the reader to judge of the difficulty of the task for which the singers were to be so magnificently paid, I shall insert here two or three short examples of simple organizing by two voices.

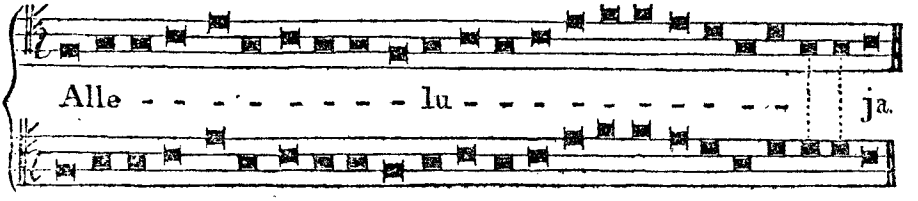
(*q*) The words *Diaphonia*, *Organum*, and *Discantus*, at first implied, strictly, singing in two parts: *Organum triplum*, three; and *Organum quadruplum*, four parts. These parts were afterwards denominated and disposed in the following manner: If the plain-song, or principal part, was sung by boys or women, it was always called *Cantus*; if by men, *Tenor;* if only one part was added to the plain-song, in *discant*, it was called *Organum*, during several centuries after the time of Guido: the third part was called *Triplum*, *Medius*, or *Motetus;* and the fourth part, *Quadruplum*. In the sixteenth century these were generally called *Cantus*, *Medius* or *Altus*, *Tenor*, and *Bassus*. If more parts were added to the harmony, they were denominated *Quintus* and *Sextus*.

Alle-



In this example the first five notes are in unison, the next two in major 3ds, and the last note in unison.

The following is another Alleluja, from an ancient Gradual, in which only the two last notes before the final are organized in 3ds, which was all that the term *Organum* implied in France, during the eleventh and twelfth centuries.



If at that time a chant was to be in *triplo*, or *organo triplo*, a counter-tenor voice sung an octave above the first tenor; and if in *quadruplo*, another counter-tenor sung an octave above the second tenor, in the manner already mentioned, p. 118, from Hubald; and this is what was meant by the *four Organists of the Alleluja*.

This manner of terminating certain chants still continues, on festivals, in the provincial cathedrals of France; where, after singing the chief part of the melody in unison, the penultima, or last note but one, is sustained much longer than the rest in a third. I have frequently heard it myself in that kingdom, but imagined it to be done by way of flourish, or embellishment, by some of the priests, not then knowing it was a practice of such high antiquity (*r*).

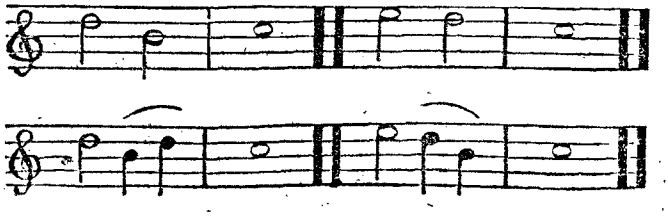
The fear of this being thought a frivolous enquiry by many of my readers, prevents my pursuing it more minutely; otherwise

(*r*) The vulgar fashion, which has long prevailed in popular singing throughout Europe, of making a kind of flourish at a close, even among ballad singers in our own

wise it would be easy to prove, with the assistance of the Abbé Lebeuf, that in some French churches, where the *organizing* the plain chant at a close has ceased, the *organic*, or additional part, has frequently been retained in the melody instead of the original notes; and this accounts for several changes, and, as the enemies of innovation call them, corruptions, in the Gregorian chant. Others have been frequently made in later times by Contrapuntists, who, in adding harmony to the *Canto Fermo*, found the modulation either too difficult, or to uncouth for their purpose.

The *organizing* chants in this manner; continued long in France as a regale on festivals. Episcopal decrees for its use on such occasions, are found in the ecclesiastical archives till the middle of the thirteenth century, where, after the invention of a time-table, a better kind of counterpoint was introduced. But before this important period, it was discovered that the singing in thirds might be successfully practised on other occasions than as an embellishment at a close; and that even a whole chant might be sung in this manner by two voices. An instance of this was shewn to me at Sens, in a manuscript of the thirteenth century. It is a *Credo* of the mass, in which the lowest part is the Gregorian chant, and the upper part in thirds, fifths, octaves or unisons. At this time fourths seem to have been out of favour. No name is given to this species of harmony in the MS. but it is entirely of the same kind as that which, by Eudal de Sully, was said to be *in organo*, and by others of the same period, *in duplo*.

own streets, produces harmony without intention, or being heard by the performers; which is the case when two are singing together, and one holds on the real note, while the other gives us a touch of his taste in the way of *riffioramenti*, as thus:



But,

But, in after-times, this embellishment, or method of harmonizing the plain-chant, was called *Discantus* in Latin, and *Dechant* in French, on account of its being for two voices, a *double chant*. The rules for it seem to have been settled in the thirteenth century: they begin thus, in a MS. of St. Victor, of Paris. "Whoever would understand *discant*, should know "what it is to double (a melody) when it is in the 5th, and "when in the 8th; and ought to know what to do when the "chant rises or falls. If it rise, he should give the unison, if "it fall, the 5th, &c. *(s)*" And this was the infancy of what has since been called *Counterpoint*, or, in old English, *Faburden*. If this species of harmony had its admirers, it had likewise its enemies, when it was introduced independent of the Gregorian chant, or when this chant was corrupted by it; and if many statutes remain for celebrating festivals *cum cantu, et discantu, à haute voix, à chant et à dechant*, there are others to censure the art, and keep it within certain bounds. It was thought so licentious at the beginning of the fourteenth century, that the use of it was prohibited in the mass by a bull of Pope John the XXIId. 1322. However, there is at the end of it this favourable clause: "It is not our intention wholly to "prevent the use of concords in the sacred service, particularly "on great festivals, provided the ecclesiastical chant of plain-song be carefully preserved." The Abbé Lebeuf observes, that those who drew up this bull, which is inserted in the body of canon laws, erroneously confined discant to fourths, fifths, and eighths, from the perusal of ancient authors on the subject of music, particularly Cassiodorus, where they had found the following definition: *Symphonia est temperamentum sonitus gravis ad acutum, vel acuti ad gravem, modulamen efficiens, sive in*

(s) "*Quisquis veut-dechanter, il doit premier scavoir qu'est quant est double, quant est la quinte note et double est la wittisme; et doit regarder se li chant monte ou avale. Se il monte, nous devons prendre le double note. Se il avale, nous devons prendre le quinte note,*" &c.

vove, sive in percussione, sive in flatu. Symphoniæ sunt sex: prima, diatessaron: secunda, diapente: tertia, diapason. Quarta, diapason et diatesseron: quinta, diapason et diapente: sexta, diapason et diapason. "Symphony, or music in consonance, is the "mixing grave sounds with acute, or acute with grave, either "in singing or playing upon stringed or wind instruments. "Symphonic concords are six; the fourth, fifth, and eighth, "with their octaves *(t)*."

There are several curious particulars concerning *Discant* in the writings of the celebrated Gerson, chancellor of the church and university of Paris at the beginning of the fifteenth century. According to him, the ground-work of all *Discant* was the plain-chants; and, in his Treatise upon the Education of Children for the Choir of *Notre Dame*, he enjoins a particular attention to *chanting*, *counterpoint*, and *discant* as the three most essential branches of their instruction and study *(u)*. He likewise tells us, that in this cathedral, during his time, the choristers were only allowed *by the statutes*, to practise discant till their voices broke *(x)*. The indefatigable Abbé Lebeuf found, in the king of France's library, the statutes here alluded to, which had been framed in the 13th century, and from which the chancellor had been ordered to make extracts in 1408. He concludes the fourth article of his tract, which relates to psalmody, by informing us that no written discant was allowed

(t) It is hardly possible to read this passage, and not give up the contest concerning ancient counterpoint; or, at least, reduce it to that meagre kind, of which an example has been given in the first volume, p. 145.

(u) *Magister cantus statutis horis doceat pueros planum cantum principaliter, et* contrapunctum, et aliquos discantus honestos —decent and sober melodies.

(x) —*Nec faciat eos tantum insistere in talibus, quod perdant in grammatica profectum; attento maxime quod in ecclesia nostra discantus non est in usu, sed per statuta prohibitus, saltem quoad voces quæ mutatæ dicuntur.* The Abbe Lebeuf understands these last words as I have translated them: *Le dechant n'etoit point en usage dans l' Eglise de Paris, et qu'au contraire il etoit defendu par les statuts, au moins a l'egard des voix qui avoient passe le tems de la* mutation.

Traite Hist. sur le Chant Eccles. p. 92.

in

in church missals or graduals, except for the exercise and improvement of the singing boys (*y*).

Denis, the Carthusian, an old writer upon the duty of chanters or canons, calls discant *fraction de voix; frittering the voice.* This definition seems to have been translated by the inhabitants of North Britain; for, in speaking of the improvements made by a person who has learned to sing, they would say that the voice was *finely broken.*

The same Denis, who was called the *Extatic Doctor*, gives a pleasant idea of discant from an ancient life of St. Sebastian, in manuscript, where it is compared to the curls, folds, and flounces in a female dress. It hides the meaning of the words, as false ornaments conceal the shape and natural beauty of a human figure. St. Antoninus, archbishop of Florence, in the fifteenth century, distinguishes this kind of singing entirely from the Ambrosian and Gregorian chant; and says that he was unable to discover how it gained admission into divine service, for which it was very unfit, as it rather served to flatter the ear than cherish piety and devotion (*z*). But if breaking the notes of the plain-chant into melody in this manner with *one voice*, or in one part, while the rest were singing the slow and simple notes of the original chant, was so offensive to the enemies of novelty and innovation, how much more would they have been disturbed in after-times, when Fugues, Inversions, Points, Imitations, and Divisions, were carried on by a great number of dissimilar parts, all singing different words, from which no more sense could be extracted than from a pack of hounds in full cry?

The definition of an art at one period of time does not prove what it was at another, of much more remote antiquity; nor can any idea of modern harmony be formed from what has

(*y*) *—Nec debet in cantu notulato regulariter immisceri discantus, pueris exceptis propter exercitationem suam.* Gerson, tom. iv. ultimæ edit. p. 717.

(*z*) *Summæ*, tom. iii. tit. 8. parte 12.

been said by Greek and Roman writers upon that of the ancients, or even by what Guido, in his Micrologus, has said or done concerning the counterpoint of the middle ages.

Discant by the Italians is called Contrappunto *alla mente* or, *all' improviso.* Padre Martini (*a*) heard this kind of harmony *a quattro voci* produced in great perfection at the church of St. John Lateran in Rome, 1747. It is called by the French, *Chant sur le livre.* "To compose a part upon seeing only the "chant upon which it is to be built is very difficult, and re- "quires, says Rousseau, great knowledge, habit, and quickness "of ear in those who practise it; and the more so, as the key "is not always so easily found as in modern music. However, "there are musicians in the church so well versed in this kind "of singing, that they lead off, and even carry on, fugues "extempore, when the subject will allow it, without confound- "ing or encroaching upon the other parts, or committing a "single fault in the harmony (*b.*)"

An ancient manuscript, written by John Cotton, has frequently been quoted in this volume: and as it is the most ample, and complete treatise, as well as one of the most ancient on the subject of music that has been preserved between the time of Guido and Franchinus, it seems here intitled to particular notice.

Padre Martini, who supposed that there were only two copies of this manuscript subsisting when he wrote the first volume of his history, gives the following account of it (*c*): Two ancient manuscripts of the same musical treatise are found in the Pauline library at Leipsic (*d*), which, in the printed cata-

(*a*) *Saggio di Contrappunto,* p. 57, No. (1).

(*b*) After this kind of discant ceased to be practised in our church, it was common for musical students to exercise themselves in singing upon a plain-song; and to play upon a *ground* was frequently practised at the beginning of this century, which perhaps was not an unprofitable study for young musicians, as it facilitated extempore playing. But then, as it allowed no time for selecting notes or correcting errors, it obliged the student to accommodate himself to imperfection of design and inaccuracy of execution.

(*c*) P. 183.

(*d*) *Repositor. Theolog.* I. Series 3. in fol. No. 10.

logue,

logue, is attributed to Pope John: *Joannis Papæ Musica ad Fulgentium Antistitem;* and the other in the Jesuits library at Antwerp, which, in the printed list of manuscripts in that collection, is ascribed, with, perhaps, more reason, to John Cotton: Joannis Cottonis *ad Fulgentium Episc. Anglorum de Musica:* and this manuscript having been collated with that at Leipsic, appears to be exactly the same treatise. Padre Martini quotes a long passage from the eleventh chapter (*e*), to prove that the predominant and characteristic note of a chant used to be called *Tenor*, from *teneo*, I hold, or dwell upon. Guido uses the same term (*f*). In speaking of the high antiquity of the intonations of the Psalms, which the good Padre Martini believes to have come down to the Romish church by tradition from King David, he says, "after all possible diligence, and "the most minute enquiry, I have not been able to discover "any author who has given the intonations in notes anterior to "John Cotton, who, probably, flourished in the twelfth century."

Another copy of this treatise has been lately found in the Vatican, No. 1196, amongst the manuscripts of the queen of Sweden—*Incipit Tractatus Joannis de Arte Musica*—dedicated to the English prelate Fulgentius. Signor Serra (*g*), in speaking of this manuscript, supposes the author was of no very high rank, as he only gives himself the title of *Servus Servorum Dei*, and says, that "as not only the saints and martyrs Igna-"tius, Ambrose, and Gregory, have condescended to modulate "the chants of the holy church, but as others less ancient have "been composers of music, he saw no reason why he might not "assume that character (*h*)." Indeed, by the humble title which he gives himself of *Servant of the Servants of God*, I should have supposed him to have been a Pope; for this is the title that all the

(*e*) *Ubi supra*, p. 377.

(*f*) *Microl.* cap. 15. Butler, in speaking of *tenor* being derived from *teneo*, adds, that it was so called after the invention of discant, "from the ditty or plain-song in motes and anthems being usually given to that part." *Principles of Musick*, p. 41.

(*g*) *Introduz* p. 113. 116.

(*h*) Cap. 17. *Verum quia non solum præfati sancti (Ignatius, Ambrosius, Gregorius,) cantus officiales in sancta ecclesia modulati sunt; sicut et alii non longe ante nostra tempora cantuum compositores extitere; quid nos quoque cantum vetet contexere non video.*

SOVE-

sovereign pontiffs have affected since the time of the first Gregory; which has not escaped the ridicule of Swift in the Tale of a Tub. Indeed, Signor Serra's argument seem to invalidate his conclusion. As to an English bishop of the name of his patron Fulgentius, no one is to be found among all the prelates of the several dioceses of the kingdom. Perhaps he was one that had been irregularly elected during the contentions between the pope and the emperor, or the disgrace of one of our kings. As it appears by Dr. Smith's Life of Sir Robert Cotton, collector of the manuscripts which go under his name, that his family was distinguished and respectable so early as the eleventh century, it has suggested an idea te Signor Serra, that it was our John Cotton of whom Pope Alexander III. speaks in one of his letters *(i)*, issuing a mandate to the canons of his convent, not to advance a certain person of the same name to the dignity of abbot, on account of his having once embraced and fomented the schism; "for though he was returned to "obedience and united to the church, yet if he were to re-"lapse, as head of an order, he might have it in his power to "occasion greater disturbance." But however that may have been, it is certain that his manuscript is of higher antiquity than the time of Pope John the XXIId. by whom it has been imagined to be written, by some who have quoted, and seen it quoted, as the production of John Pontifex; for the author makes use of no other musical characters in his Diagram than those that were used in the church soon after the time of Guido, with sometimes a red, and sometimes a yellow line; and with these ecclesiastical notes he writes the *Neumæ*, the invention of which he ascribes, erroneously, to Guido *(k)*.

(*i*) Martene, vol. ii. *Registro Epist. Alexandri* III. No. 384. *Canonic. Remonstrat.*

(*k*) *Neuma* is a division or series of many notes sung without words at the end of an *Euouae*, i. e. *Sæculorum amen*, an anthem, or Alleluja, as a recapitulation of the whole melody. The word is frequently written *pneuma*, and is supposed of Greek origin, πνευμα, *flatus*. It is defined by Gaffurius, *Mus. Pract.* lib. i. cap. 8.—*Vocum seu notularum unica respiratione congrue pronunciandarum aggregatio:* the aggregate of as many sounds or notes as can conveniently be sung in one breath. *Neumæ*, however, were not of Guido's invention, as both Hubald and Odo speak of them long before his time.

His

His treatise consists of twenty-seven chapters, of which I found the first twelve complete in a manuscript at the Museum, among many other tracts, No. 1297. Vespasian A 2. In his fourth chapter, *Quot sint Instrumenta Musici Soni,* he seems to mention the harpsichord and organ: In *sambuca, in fidibus, in cimbalis atque in organis*, &c. But though *cimbalo* or *cembalo* is Italian for a harpsichord, the author is here neither treating of that instrument, nor the *cymbalum* or cymbal, which has been described in the first volume, p. 519, among the instruments of the ancients, but of Bells. It seems, however, as if the first bells, which were metaline vases, had been named *cymbala*, from their resemblance to the instrument of percussion, so called in high antiquity.

In chapter VIII. he explains a difficulty in Guido, not only by specifying in a particular manner the intervals which were then allowed in melody, and the concords used in harmony; but ascertaining both by the syllables taken from the hymn of Paul Diaconus, which are here applied to the first six notes of the scale, at a period much nearer the time of Guido, than in any other musical treatise that has come to my hands. John says, that the means of materials for making melody are nine: The unison, semitone, tone, semiditone, ditone, diatessaron, diapente, semitone with the diapente (or flat sixth), and the tone and diapente (or major sixth). Of these, six are called concords, and are often used together in singing. Then he gives examples of these intervals in solmization, as *Ut ut, unis. mi fa, fa mi: ut re, re ut: ut mi, mi ut:* &c. But this twenty-third chapter is of most importance to the present enquiries: its title is *De Diaphonia, id est Organo.* In this chapter the word *dissonantia* literally means sounding twice, or a double sound, not *discord*, as at present—*Diaphonia, inquit, congrua vocum dissonantia*—Diaphonia is the agreement of different sounds. The whole is curious—After this definition is finished he adds: *Qui canendi modus vulgabitur* (f. *vulgariter*) ORGANUM *dicitur, eo quod vox*

humana aptè dissonans similitudinem exprimat instrumenti quod organum vocatur. "This kind of singing is commonly termed "*Organum*, because the human voice in *sounding double* notes "resembles the effect produced by the instrument which is "called an *Organ.*" This is a very ancient definition of the word, and puts its meaning wholly out of dispute; and yet, in the title to this chapter, as he makes *diaphonia* and *organum* synonymous terms, he must be allowed to speak still more decisively further on, when he says, *Interpretatur autum diaphonia dualis vox sive* DISSONANTIA—"Diaphonia may be defined "a *double voice*, or *sounding twice.*"

Several other ancient writers, and Franchinus among the rest, agree to this definition (*l*).

When, and by whom the term *Counterpoint* was first used, it is not easy to discover. Ducange gives no more ancient authority for the use of the word *Contrapunctus*, than what he finds in the fourth vol. *Concil. Hisp. An.* 1585. But Franchinus Gafurius, who wrote in Latin at least a century before that period, would have furnished him not only with the word, but its use (*m*).

(*l*) The late Abbe Lebeuf, who was so profoundly skilled in ecclesiastical antiquities, but particularly such as concerned sacred music, quotes the following passage from the records of the convent of St. Martin de Tours of the year 1241: *Et debent* organizare *invitatorium, versiculi responsorium et prosæ.* In the orders for celebrating a festival in the thirteenth century at Sens, he likewise found in the cathedral book these words, *Responsorium cum* Organo. "If books were not decisive upon this question, says he, it is certain that the reception of the organ in churches was not sufficiently ancient for it to have been constantly used in the service during the thirteenth century; and even since its general admission, it has never been the custom to play upon it in the responses, the graduals, and Allelujahs, which are sung without accompaniment by choirmen appointed expressly for that purpose." *Traite Hist. sur le Chant Eccles.* p. 82.

(*m*) It was a considerable disappointment to me not to find the name of Gafurius, or Franchinus, for he is called by both these titles in musical books, either in Ducange or Fabricius. An authority so good and so ancient of the use of musical terms in the Latin language would have been more satisfactory to the readers of Ducange, than that of many obscure monks which he is obliged to cite: and Fabricius, who so frequently speaks of musical tracts and of their authors, might have furnished his work and his readers with a useful and interesting article, in giving an account of Gafurius and his writings, which, being chiefly composed in Latin, had a claim to his notice. I shall, however, try to supply this deficiency when I am arrived at the period in which he flourished.

The

The term *Contrapunctum*, or deliberate and regular *written harmony*, has already been explained *, and we have just given an instance of its having been used by the Chancellor Gerson, at least a century before Franchinus.

Among the Vatican MSS. there is a treatise on Counterpoint, by Prosdocimus de Beldemandis, written in 1412, of which farther notice will be taken hereafter; and one attributed to John de Muris, on the same subject, much earlier, for he is allowed by Fabricius and others to have flourished in 1330. This brings the term *Counterpoint* nearer the time of Guido than any other writer on the subject that I have been able to find.

It has been already observed, in the preceding chapter, that music in the half-barbarous ages was in such great estimation, that whoever cultivated letters thought it likewise necessary to apply closely to music; and it seems to have been as disgraceful then for learned men to be ignorant of it, as for persons of birth and fortune now not to be able to write or read. We have already seen, p. 62, that Alfred thought it necessary to enjoin and encourage the study of music among liberal arts in his new university, where it was ranked as the second branch of mathematics. The monks and clergy in general cultivated it as necessary to their profession; but it does not appear that either the practice or theory of the art was much advanced by all this study and application, at least till after the *Time-table* was settled; for whatever trouble they gave themselves in cultivating it, or whatever pleasure the practice of it in their daily duty, as well as recreation afforded them, it is certain that its progress was very inconsiderable; and however barbarous and wretched may have been the melody and harmony of secular songs of the same period, yet both seem always superior to those of the church *(n)*. The abbot of St. Blasius has given

* See p. 36, note (*o.*)

(*n*) Music has, however, at all times made an important part of a priest's profession in the church of Rome; and most of the treatises on the subject have been the productions of ecclesiastics. In our church, indeed,

given several specimens of hymns in *Biscantu* of the fourteenth century, which sufficiently evince the truth of this assertion; for at this period the laws of counterpoint began to be settled, and thirds and sixths to have admission preferably to other concords in a regular series; but in the examples of counterpoint which monasteries and other religious houses afford, we scarce meet with any harmony but that of fourths, fifths, unisons, and eighths, used in that *regular succession*, which has been since prohibited (*o*).

That *Melody* received no great improvement from the monks is not to be wondered at, as change and addition were alike forbidden in many of their houses; but not to have improved *Harmony* more than they did for many centuries after its use was allowed, is a just matter of surprise, when it is recollected that there were several orders of friars whose vow and employment was *Laus perpetua*, "perennial praise, incessant song;" and that others, besides the canonical hours of chanting in concert during the public celebration of their religious rites, were allowed to sing in their cells (*p*): and yet to the present time, even in the churches and convents of Italy, whenever it is thought necessary to attract a secular crowd, by a *Gran Funzione*, recourse is constantly had to the talents of the laity.

Indeed the first essays we meet with in Simultaneous Harmony in ancient missals and in the writings of Guido, are

indeed, its culture and encouragement have long been alike circumscribed: for the choral part of the service in many of our cathedrals being generally consigned to laymen of no very high rank in the community, who from the scantiness of their stipend are obliged to exercise other professions, it has not only impeded their improvement, but thrown music itself into contempt and ignominy.

(*o*) See Gerb. vol. i. p. 456 *et alibi*.

(*p*) The ecclesiastics among our Saxon ancestors, as Junius informs us *, had a particular song, psalm, or hymn, for each of the canonical hours: as Uþrang, *Daybreak Song*; Þrimrang, *Matins Song*, Undernrang, *third Song*, or Song for the third hour of the day; Middayrang, *Mid-day Song*; Nonrang, *Song for the ninth hour*: Ærenrang, *Even Song*, or Vespers; and Nihtrang, or *Midnight Song*†.

* *Glossar. Goth.* Edit. Amstel. p. 366. v. *Underminat.*

† This is confirmed by Bede, lib. v. c. 2.

such

such as do but little honour to the inventor; for there is no melody so simple or uncouth that would not be more injured than embellished by such an accompaniment.

Much time was spent in the beginning of this work (*q*) to furnish proofs of the ancients having being utterly ignorant of counterpoint; but none then occurred equally cogent with those which the rude essays in that art by Guido, and succeeding musicians of the middle ages have left us. In these we not only see unisons, octaves, fourths, and fifths, in succession, which were interdicted by subsequent harmonical laws, but the first introduction of thirds as concords. The learned Abbot Gerbert, who examined all the manuscript missals, graduals, rituals, and liturgies of the principal libraries, monasteries, and religious houses of Europe, has been able to find in them no examples of more early or better essays of Simultaneous Harmony. These were censured at first as innovations, and while the new art of Counterpoint was extending its limits and forming its code from new combinations of sounds, great scandal was given to piety, simplicity, and ancient usages: and complaints having been made to Pope John XXII. that "by the "abuse of *Discant*, the principals of the Antiphonary and "Gradual were so much contemned as to render it impossible "for the singers to know upon what foundation their melodies "were constructed; and that they manifest such ignorance "in the tones or modes of the church as to neglect all dis-"tinction and exceed the bounds that had been prescribed "to each;" a Bull was issued at Avignon by the advice of the Conclave, about the year 1322, to suppress these licences under very severe penalties (*r*). Indeed this irreverend kind

(*q*) See Dissert. p. 112.

(*r*) The original is curious, as it furnishes an example of the use of several musical terms of the middle ages which are now difficult to comprehend. I shall therefore insert the whole passage from the body of Canon Laws. (*Doctor Sanctorum* Extravag. commun. lib. iii.) *Nonnulli novellæ scholæ discipuli, dum temporibus mensurandis invigilant, novis notis intendunt, fingere suas, quam antiquas cantare malunt, in semibreves et minimas ecclesiastica cantantur,*

kind of singing in the church had been severely reprehended by John of Salisbury more than 150 years before. "The rites "of religion," says he, "are now profaned by music: and it "seems as if no other use were made of it than to corrupt the "mind by wanton modulations, effeminate inflexions, and "frittered notes and periods, even in the *Penetralia*, or awful "sanctuary itself. The stupid crowd, delighted with all these "vagaries, imagine they hear a concert of Sirens, in which "the performers strive to imitate the notes of nightingales "and parrots, not those of men; sometimes descending to "the bottom of the scale, sometimes mounting to the summit; "now softening and now enforcing the tones, repeating pas-"sages, mixing in such a manner the grave sounds with the "more grave, and the acute with the most acute, that the asto-"nished and bewildered ear is unable to distinguish one voice "from another *(s)*."

cantantur, notulis percutiuntur; nam melodias hoquetis intersecant, DISCANTIBUS *lubricant, triplis et motetis vulgaribus nonnunquam inculcant, adeo ut interdum Antiphonarii et Gradualis fundamento despiciant, ignorent super quo ædificant; tonos nesciant; quos non discernunt, imo confundunt: cum ex earum multitudine notarum, ascensiones pudicæ, descensionesque temperatæ plani-cantus, quibus toni ipsi secernuntur, ad invicem obfuscentur.*

In this passage, though Discanters are accused of using such rapid notes as *semibreves* and *minims*, which are here called *new notes of their own invention*, yet it appears that they were in common use before 1333, when it was imagined by some writers that they had been invented by John de Muris. The term *Hoquetus, Hochetus, vel Hocetus*, used likewise in the tract falsely ascribed to Bede, seems here to imply a fantastical division, which by the sudden leaps, and breaks, or discontinuity of voice, resembled a *hiccup* in French *hoquet*. "They intersect the melodies with *hoquets*, slide about in discant, and sometimes even crowd and load the chants with vile third and fourth parts, *Triplis et motetis vulgaribus.*"

(s) *Musica cultum religionis incestat, quod ante conspectum Domini, in ipsis penetralibus sanctuarii, lascivientis vocis luxu, quadam ostentatione sui, muliebribus modis notularum articulorumque cæsuris, stupentes animulas emollire nituntur. Cum præcinentium, et succinentium, canentium, et decinentium, intercinentium, et occinentium, præmolles modulationes audieris, Sirenarum concentus credas esse, non hominum, et de vocum facilitate miraberis, quibus philomela vel psittacus, aut si quid sonorius est, modos suos nequeunt coæquare. Ea siquidem est ascendendi descendendique facilitas; ea sectio vel geminatio notularum, ea replicatio articulorum, singulorumque consolidatio; sic acuta vel acutissima, gravibus et subgravibus temperantur, ut auribus sui indicii fere subtrahatur autoritas.* Policraticus, five de Nugis Curialium, lib. i. c. 6.

It

It appears from these passages, that *Discant* was used at the time they were written, not only to imply *Harmony in duplo*, or singing in *two parts*, according to its strict and original sense, but for the *graces*, *broderies*, and flourishes of florid song. And after varying the plain-song a little, in order to produce a few different concords, the chanters, probably, proceeded to more licentious alterations; and it seems as if *Discant* at length suggested the idea of florid melody, yet such as was at first thought consistent with the solemnity and simplicity of church music.

But to what excess this afterwards grew appears by a small book which I brought from Italy, that was published at Rome, 1615, by Fran. Severi Perugino, a singer in the Pope's chapel, and dedicated to Cardinal Borghese. It is very neatly engraved upon copper-plates, and contains such fashionable graces and embellishments for every kind of voice as were then allowed to be used even in the pontifical chapel, when the ecclesiastical tones were sung in parts (*t*). This book contains passages in notes tied twice, and often three times, that would be too rapid and difficult for many opera singers now of the first abilities, and such as musical methodists, from their absurdity and impropriety, would with good reason call *Lenocinia* of the church of Rome (*u*).

There is no sense so liable to prejudice in favour of habitual feelings as the ear; and yet the favourite musical phrases of one age are detestable to another. But it is only the refinements of cultivated music that are fluctuating and evanescent; for the people of every country are partial to their national music, be it ever so wild, uncouth, and barbarous: and it has never been

(*t*) *Salmi passaggiati per tutte le voci, nella maniera che si cantano in Roma soprà i falsi bordoni di tutti i tuoni ecclesiastici; da cantarsi ne i vespri della Domenica e delli giorni festivi di tutto l' anno, con alcuni versi di miserere sopra il falso bordone del Dentice. Canposti da* Francesco Severi Perugino *Cantore nella Cappella di* N. S. Papa Paolo V. In Roma, M.D.C.XV.

(*u*) Writing down graces is like recording the nonsence and impertinence of conversation, which, bad at first, is rendered more and more insipid and absurd as the times, manners, and occasions which produced it, become more distant.

found

found that European refinements in melody, or learning in harmony, have, *at first*, pleased the inhabitants of other parts of the globe.

FRANCO of Cologn, so early as the eleventh century, according to the authors of *L'Hist. Litt. de la France (x)*, made considerable advances in the art of *Discant*: and in a small tract, written expressly on the subject *(y)*, which is preserved in the Bodleian library at Oxford *(z)*, and of which I have now a transcript before me, enlarged its code by the introduction of new concords, and the addition of new precepts for their use. That the curious reader may be enabled to judge of the state of harmony at this early period, so soon after the time of Guido, I shall give an abstract of his rules.

Franco uses the word *Organum* in the same sense as Guido, though the term *Diaphonia* never occurs in his writings. Every theorist in these early periods of *Discant* seems to have had his peculiar prejudices for and against certain concords and discords which appear now to be very whimsical and capricious. Guido, for instance *(a)*, forbids the use of the 5th in harmony equally with the semitone or flat 2d; but recommends the admission of the major and minor 3ds, and frequently uses the major 2d and the 4th. Franco, on the contrary, admits the 5th among the concords, but ranks the two 6ths, major and minor, among the discords. He divides concords into three classes; *perfect imperfect mean*: of this last kind are the 4th and 5th, which, though less perfect than the unison and octave, are more pleasing to the ear than the two 3ds, which he is the first author of my acquaintance who calls *imperfect*. He likewise divide discords into perfect and imperfect. Of the first class are the flat 2d, sharp 4th, sharp 5th, and sharp 7th, which, says he, the ear is unable to tolerate. Of the second class are the tone with the diapente, or major 6th, and the

(x) Tome viii. par. 1747.

(y) *Compendium de Discantu, tribus capitibus.* I have met with the term *Discantus* in no other author of equal antiquity with Franco.

(z) 2575. 60. 4.

(a) *Microl.* cap. xviii.

semi-

semitone with the diapente, or minor 6th: these, says he, though displeasing to the ear, may be borne in discant.

His division of concords into *perfect*, *imperfect*, and *middle*, is curious. But his *mediæ consonantiæ* seem evidently the *paraphoni* of the Greek musicians, which he might have found either in Boethius, whom he mentions *cap.* i, or other Latin compilers from the Greek theorists. Franco's definitions of concord and discord likewise savour of Greek origin *(b)*. He recommends, however, the mixture of *imperfect* concords with the perfect *(c)*, which was afterwards formed into an invariable rule against the succession of *two 5ths* or *two 8ths* in a regular series. He informs us which intervals are *discordant*, without giving examples of their use; and indeed the science of plain and pure harmony was long known before rules were framed for the *Preparation* and *Resolution* of *Discords*.

As Franco is the next Harmonist in point of time to Guido, we may regard his deviations from the Micrologus as discoveries. And besides his improvements in counterpoint, the *notation* of his examples, had it not suffered so much by transcribers, would have astonished us by its method and clearness; for no improvements seem to have been made in it for several centuries after.

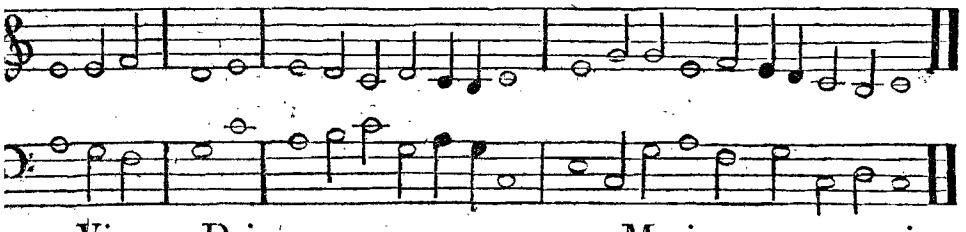
When he writes in four parts he in general allows a *staff* of twenty lines for them; of which, under the fifth from the top is written the word *Quadruplum;* under the tenth *Triplum discantus;* and under the fifteenth *Medius*. So that the remaining five lines must have been for the *Tenor*, or plain-song. Each of these parts has a *clef* alloted to it; and this notation, by means of four or five lines and spaces for each part, was a great improvement of the Tablature of Guido, consisting only

(*b*) Vide Gaudent. Acc. of παραφωνοι, p. 11. Euclid's Defin. of Concord and Discord, &c. Zarlino, *Istit. Harm.* part iii. cap. 7. p. 189. talks of the 5th and 4th as being *Mezane* tra le consonanze perfette et le imperfette, &c.

(*c*) — *Debet tamen semiditonum atque ditonum commiscere quando unisonus vel diapente convenientissime possit subsequi.*

of *one red*, or *one yellow* line for the clefs of F or C, leaving the rest of the notes to be divined by their station above or below these *claves signatæ*. Whatever changes have been made in the form of musical notes since the time of Franco, the lines and spaces used as their receptacles continue still the same, without augmentation or diminution; four in the missals of the Romish church, and five for secular music.

Most of the examples, however, of written discant, in Franco's first tract, by which he intended to convey his meaning to musical students, are so miserably dislocated and erroneous in the Oxford manuscript, as to be utterly irrecoverable; and in the second tract, though the lines have been prepared for the reception of examples to illustrate his *Nine Rules of Discant*, yet they have been all omitted by the transcriber. So that we have no other way of judging what progress he had made in practical harmony but by his precepts. I tried, with all the penetration and critical sagacity I could muster, to decipher one of his specimens of counterpoint, in order to shew the musical reader how superior his manner of interweaving *imperfect* concords with the *perfect* was to that of his predecessors, and do firmly believe it to be nearly the following:



Though this fragment may neither please nor instruct the modern Contrapuntist, yet, whoever compares it with the compositions of Hubald, Odo, and Guido, must regard it with wonder.

Thus

Thus far Melody and Harmony, since the establishment of the Christian religion, had been cultivated for the use of the church: for though Franco has left a treatise on *Measured Music*, and *Florid Counterpoint*, yet his examples of Discant are all in diatonic intervals; and the words which he has placed under his melodies are wholly fragments of Psalms or ecclesiastical Hymns. Indeed, *cap.* 5, he just mentions, *Discantum in cantilenis Rondellis*, "Discant to airs called *Roundelays*," which continued long in favour, and gave birth to the present *Rondeaux (d)*.

But concerning the obligations which music had to Franco, as I shall have occasion to speak more fully in the next chapter, I shall take my leave of him for the present, and introduce to the acquaintance of my readers an Englishman, of whose writing a treatise is preserved in the library of Benet college, Cambridge, that is so copious and complete, with respect to every part of music which was known when it was written, that if all other musical tracts hitherto mentioned, from the time of Boethius to Franco and John Cotton, were lost, our knowledge would not be much diminished, provided this manuscript were accessible.

WALTER ODINGTON, monk of Evesham in Worcestershire, the author of this work, was eminent in the early part of the thirteenth century, during the reign of Henry the Third, not only for his profound knowledge in music, but astronomy, and mathematics in general. The translator and continuator of Dugdale's Monasticon, speaks of him among learned Englishmen of the order of St. Benedict in the following manner:

"Walter, monk of Evesham, a man of a facetious wit,

(*d*) The French poets call an orbicular rhythm in poetry a *Rondeau*, and the Spaniards confine the term *Rondelet* to a circular air or melody, of which the first strain is repeated after the 2d and 3d; and indeed after every excursion into new melodies and modulations.

who

" who applying himself to literature, lest he should sink under " the labour of the day, the watching at night, and continual " observance of regular discipline, used at spare hours to di- " vert himself with the decent and commendable diversion of " music, to render himself the more cheerful for other duties." This apology, however, for the time he bestowed on music, was needless; for it was, and is still, so much the business of a Romish priest, that to be ignorant of it disqualifies him for his profession. And at all times, where an ecclesiastic thought it necessary to trace the whole circle of the sciences, music having the second or third rank, could not be neglected. But what this author adds farther concerning Odington is still less defensible: " Whether," says he, " this application to music " drew him off from other studies I know not, but there ap- " pears no other work of his than a piece entitled Of the Spe- " culation of Musick." Yet we are told by Pits, Bale, Tanner, Moreri, and all his biographers, that he wrote *De Motibus Planetarum, et de Mutatione Aëris*, as well as on other learned subjects.

As Walter Evesham lived in a period which furnishes but few records concerning the state of music in England, and as I am unacquainted with any other copy of his manuscript than that which subsists in Cambridge, I shall be somewhat the more minute in describing its contents, and pointing out its peculiarities *(e)*.

The first page, only, has been injured by time, and some vacuities have been left by the scribe, which seem intended to have been filled up with red ink. The work is divided into six parts, or books.

(*e*) Its number and title in the folio printed catalogue of 1697 are: 1460. 183. *Walterus Monachus Evashamiæ de Speculatione Musicæ;* and in the 4to catalogue of 1777—410. 25. N. *Codex membranaceus in 4to Seculo* XV. *Scriptus, in quo continetur "Summus fratris Walteri (Odingtoni) Monachi Eveshamiæ Musici Speculatione Musicæ."* Pr. *Plura quam digna de Musicæ Speculatoribus perutilia—*

The

The first, *De Inequalitate Numerorum et eorum habitudine*, contains ten chapters, on the division of the scale, and harmonical proportions.

The second part consists of eighteen chapters. In the introduction to this part he calls the concords *Symphonies (f)*, which is frequently the language of Hubald, Odo, and Guido. The first chapter is a Eulogium upon Music, in which he enumerates the nine Muses and their attributes; speaks of David's power over the evil spirit of Saul, by means of his harp; quotes Clemens Alexandrinus, but not in Greek; and after giving the invention of instruments to Tubal, relates the manner in which Pythagoras discovered harmonical proportions by the weights of a blacksmith's hammers. Speaks of major and minor semitones, and of the *Comma*. He has a long chapter on the proportions of the major and minor thirds: here he takes occasion to describe the different kinds of human voices, from the shrill cries of the infant to the deep and dying groans of an old man; but mentions not those of the *evirati*. Accounts for the thirds having been regarded as discords by the ancients who adhered to the proportions of Pythagoras; and says, that to please in harmony they must necessarily be altered, or, as it was afterwards called, *tempered*. In his seventeenth chapter he gives a list of Concordant *Discords*, *Concordes Discordiæ*, or the less perfect double sounds; and these, he says, are six: the minor and major third; the *diapente cum tono*, or major sixth; the two tenths, or octaves of the thirds; and the diapason and diatessaron, or eleventh.

The third part is chiefly speculative, and confined to harmonics: forming the scale, and dividing the monochord, by numbers, and giving rules for the proportions of organ pipes, and the casting of bells. He speaks of the three kinds of melody, *De tribus generibus Cantilenæ;* and after describing the

(*f*) *In qua proportione sint ditonus et semiditonus et an sint Symphoniæ. An diapason cum diatessaron sit Symphonia. An diapente cum diapason sit symphonia, &c.*

Diatonic, Chromatic, and Enarmonics of the ancients, he supports his opinions by the authority of Nicomachus. Greek musical authors, or at least their doctrines and technical terms, seem familiar to Odington, who quoted the first book of Euclid at the beginning of his work, and in this third part he gives the characters and names of the notes in the Greek scale, and translates them into the same language as Martianus Capella and Boethius (*g*). In his chapter *De Organis componendi*, he gives a diagram of numbers and intervals, in naming which by the letters of the alphabet, he begins with the Greek Γ, and goes on from A to s. At the side of the diagram he mentions the Greek names of the several tetrachords and consonances; with the numbers, tones, and semitones. All this is manifestly for the proportions of pipes in the instrument called an Organ, not the Organum, or second voice part in discant, of which he treats in his last book, as will appear farther on. This, and his chapter *De Cymbalis faciendis*, or casting of bells, are curious, and the first instructions of the kind that I had ever seen in the manuscripts of the middle ages. The last chapter in this book is *De Tropis*, by which he means the ecclesiastical modes, which he gives with their Greek names of *Lydian*, *Dorian*, *Phrygian*, &c., and their *Formula*, in a literal notation.

The fourth part concerns poetical feet and rhythms more than music (*h*).

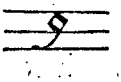
(*g*) It is submitted to the learned, whether the Greek language and writers were not better known in England at this time (about 1230) than is generally imagined by those who suppose that the Western world was utterly ignorant of both till after the taking of Constantinople by the Turks, 1453, when the fugitive Greeks, who were received by the Medici family at Florence, taught their language to the Italians, and disseminated their literature throughout Europe.

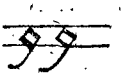
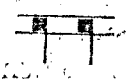
(*h*) Here the manuscript is continued in a different and more difficult handwriting, in which the abbreviations are utterly unlike the former part, where the i was distinguished by a fine oblique stroke over it, instead of the point, which only came into use with printing. But in this latter part of the tract no notice is taken of the i, except when it is doubled, as in the word *alii*; and it is observable that the first points that were used to the i, were to distinguish that letter when it was doubled, from the u to the n, which in old manuscripts are exactly similar.

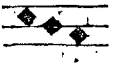
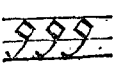
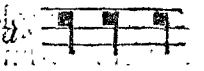
Part

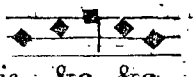
Part the fifth contains eighteen chapters, which are in general very curious and uncommon. In that which is entitled *De Signis Vocum*, he says that "in *our days* musical tones are ex- "pressed by the first seven letters of the alphabet; great, small, "and double." Then, in speaking of notes or characters, he says, "in the preceding part I have shewn the use of *Longs* "and *Breves*, or two kinds of notes and syllables, I shall now "proceed to give a table of their proportions and their figures." By this he does not mean the characters used in *figurative music*, or *Cantus Mensurabilis*, but such as were used during his time in chanting, or plain-song, the names and figures of which, as but few of them occur in any other author, I shall insert here for the satisfaction of the curious reader.

The names and figures of such notes as were in use in the Western church before the invention of *lines* have been given p. 44 and 45, and others used in the Greek church, p. 51; and as many of these were not merely characters to express the elevation or depression of single sounds, but entire intervals, and short passages, so those of Walter Odington describe inflexions of the voice in almost every species of interval by a single character, and groops of notes by a single term of art.

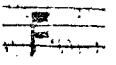
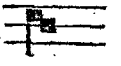
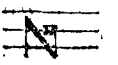
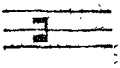
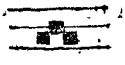
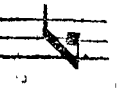
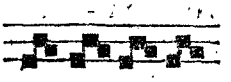
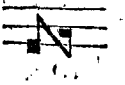
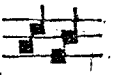
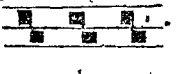
Punctum *Apostropha*  *Virga*

Bispunctum *Bistropha*  *Bivirgia* 

Tripunctum  *Tristropha*  *Trivergia* 

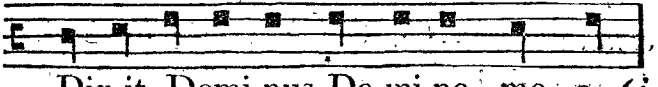
Virga Biconpunctis  *Virga Triconpunctis—condiatessaries, condiapentis*—&c. &c. He gives examples of all these in similar characters; that is, in breves with a long, as far as six notes, or a hexachord ascending and descending, but without calling them by those names.

The

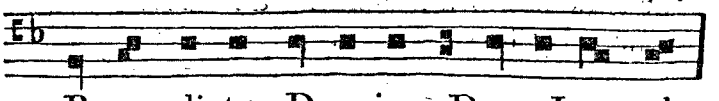
The following are characters to express wider intervals, and short passages: *Sinuosa*  *Flexa*  *Resupina*  *Pes*  *Pes flexus*  *Pes quassus*  *Pes sinuosus*  *Pes resupinus*  *Pes gutturalis*  *Quilissimi*  He has many more which seem never to have been adopted by succeeding writers.

After explaining these characters, he speaks of the modern expedient of naming the sounds from the syllables of the hymn *Ut queant laxis*, &c. but without mentioning Guido. Then gives the great system or scale in septenaries, after Guido's manner, in capital, small, and double letters. Here he speaks of *Voces Mobiles* in the ancient manner, and of F *quadrata*, as used in *Musica falsa*, or transpositions, not, says he, *per dissonem, sed extranea et apud antiquos inusitata.* Then he has a chapter *De Mutationibus*, in which he explains the change of names in Solmisation in the same manner as was done by succeeding writers long after his time.

The rest of this book is employed in describing different kinds of ecclesiastical chants, and in giving rules for composing them. Then dividing the modes into authentic and plagal, he gives examples of canto fermo, which seem more florid than appear in missals of the same period. The two following intonations, which he gives upon five lines, will serve as specimens:



(*i*)



(*i*) Here we have *Appoggiaturas*. It was perhaps during the use of all the preceding quirks and refinements in canto fermo, that such offence was given to John of Salisbury, Pope John the XXII. and other grave personages of those times.

The

The EUOUAE, initials, and finals of all the modes are given in this kind of notation very amply, and always on five lines, and spaces. At the beginning of the last chapter of this book, the words Ananes, Neanes, Nana, &c. used by Odo and the modern Greeks in their intonations, occur. This seems the most complete description and notation of the ecclesiastical chant that I have found in any author of equal antiquity.

In the sixth and last part, besides the *Cantus Mensurabilis*, which will be explained in the next chapter, he treats *De Generibus Cantuum Organorum, et de Compositione Cantuum Organorum*, of organizing chants, or the composition of *organic* or second parts to chants: and first, *De Organo Puro*. Here we meet with all the *Technica* of later times, as *Tenor*, *Motetus*, *Corolatus*, *Cantilena*, and *Rondellus*. The musical examples, however, as usual in old manuscripts, are incorrect, and frequently inexplicable, owing to the ignorance of music in the transcribers; but if this tract were corrected, and such of the examples as are recoverable, regulated and restored, it would be the most ample, satisfactory, and valuable, which the middle ages can boast. As the curious enquirer into the state of music at this early period may discover in it not only what progress our countrymen had made in the art themselves, but the chief part of what was then known elsewhere.

In the thirteenth century, *secular* music began to be cultivated in Italy, as appears by the writings of Marchetto da Padova, which are preserved in the Vatican library at Rome. Of this author, I found there two inedited manuscripts, No. 5322. The first is entitled *Lucidarium Artis Musicæ planæ*, beginning, *Cum inquit*, &c.; and the second *Pomerium Artis Musicæ Mensurabilis: Quatuor sunt Causæ*—&c. The Lucidarium is frequently mentioned by Franchinus, Pietro Aaron, and other old musical writers of Italy *(k)*. There is a copy of this

(*k*) Of Franchinus, a short account has already been given, vol. i. p. 114. Pietro Aaron was a voluminous writer upon music in the beginning of the sixteenth century,

this last mentioned tract of Marchetto in the Ambrosian library at Milan, D. 5. in folio, where is is said to have been begun at Cesena, and finished at Verona, 1274 (*l*). The copy of his works in the Vatican was dedicated to Charles, king of Sicily, about the year 1283 (*m*). I had large extracts made from this manuscript, as it contains the most ancient writings that I have been able to consult, in which mention has been made of the Diesis, or accidental sharp; of Chromatic Counterpoint; Discords; and the proportions of such Concords and Discords as are used in practical Harmony.

In this author there are many attempts at new combinations, some of which have been since received, and some rejected. He has written upon Harmonics and Temperament, but his ideas concerning the Chromatic Semitone, and Enharmonic Diesis, neither correspond with those of the ancients nor the moderns; and as none of his divisions of the scale would be either intelligible to the reader, or practicable in Harmony, I shall not enter here upon the useless and disagreeable subject of *Tone-splitting*, but confine my enquiries to the subject of Counterpoint, in which the experiments and *Tatonnemens* of Marchetto, compared with those of his predecessors, have the appearance of great licentiousness, though he endeavours to give them a scientific air by subtle divisions and subdivisions of the scale. His examples of counterpoint in the manuscript whence my extracts were made, like those of Franco, are written upon only one staff of four, five, six, or more lines, according to the distance of the intervals, with two clefs, one for the base, and one for the tenor or upper part, with this peculiarity of notation, that the notes of the upper part are written in *red* ink,

tury. He had been in the service of Leo the Xth. and was one of the first writers on the subject of music in the *Italian language*, for which, and for not writing in Latin, like his predecessors, he makes frequent apologies. But of P. Aaron and Franchinus Gaforius, a more ample account will be given h ereafter

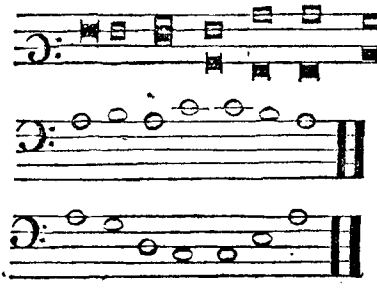
(*l*) *Lucidarium in Arte Musicæ planæ, inchoatum Cesene, perfectumque Verone* 1274.

(*m*) Marchettus Paduanus, *qui suum opus Karolo Regi Siciliæ dicavit circa annum* 1283.

and

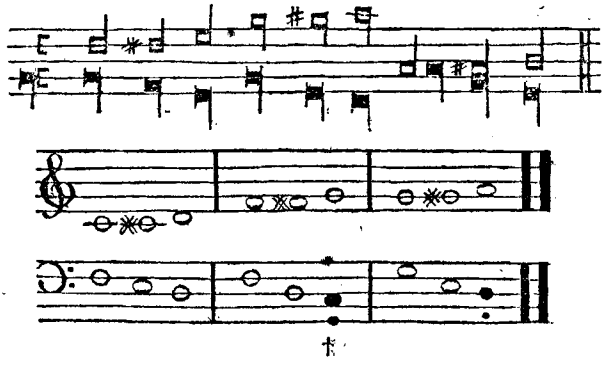
and the lower in *black*; which, to avoid the inconvenience of double printing, I shall insert in black and white notes.

Diatonic *Counterpoint.*



Though this specimen is far from elegant, it contains nothing which the modern rules of Counterpoint would not allow.

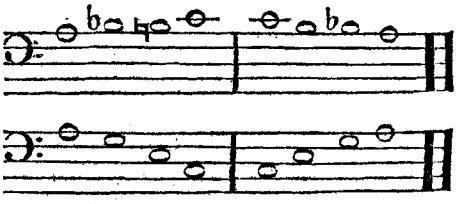
In the next examples we have not only the most ancient use of the *Diesis*, or *Sharp*, that I have been able to discover, but the earliest attempts, perhaps, that can be found of what the moderns call *Chromatic*, which, as something curious, I shall present to the reader in Marchetto's notation upon five lines, and in two different clefs, the tenor upon the fourth line, and the base upon the second; and then, for the convenience of the *Dilettanti*, by whom tenor clefs are now but seldom wanted, I shall transfer these fragments of infant harmony into modern notes and common clefs.

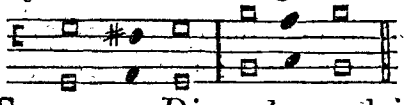


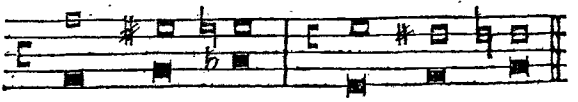
† The modulation from D major to C is rarely found in modern music, though it frequently occurs in compositions of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. However, from E with a sharp third to D minor is not uncommon, at present.

If

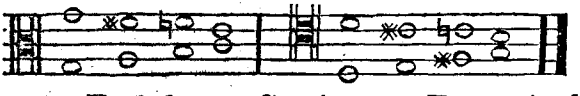
If the merit of an invention be its use, Marchetto deserves the thanks of innumerable composers for this passage, as well as for the following specimens of Chromatic Modulation, ascending and descending, which are still allowable in music of many parts.



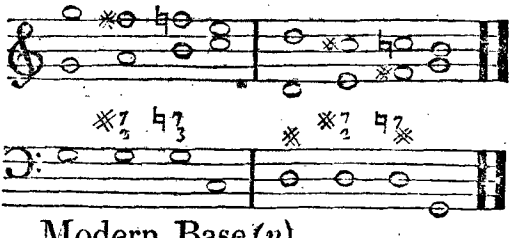
He allows the major 6th ascending into the 8th to be an imperfect *Concord;*  but in descending calls it, like Franco, a *Discord,* resolving it in the half note below, with a 5th for its base:



This passage, with a small change in the accompaniment, in process of time, was adopted by all the composers of Europe.



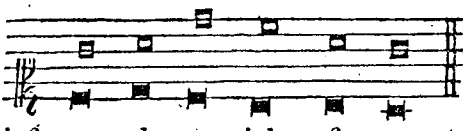
And lately to a *Pedale,* or Stationary Base, it has been in universal favour, under the denomination of the *Diminished 7th, Settima Sminuita.*



Modern Base (*n*).

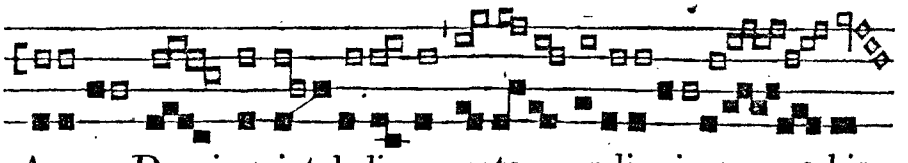
(*n*) It is a matter of musical controversy in Italy, whether the honour of having first dated to use the *Settima Diminutia,* or diminished 7th, is due to Jomelli or Galluppi;

Marchetto is the first who speaks of *Discords* and their resolution; and lays it down as a rule, that no two sevenths, or fourths, used as discords, should succeed each other, and that after a discord, the part which has offended the ear should make it amends by becoming a concord, while the other stands still: indeed he never mentions the *Preparation* of Discords, but gives in black and red notes the following example of the unwarrantable succession of them:



Padre Martini favoured me with a fragment of Counterpoint from a missal of the thirteenth century, written in the manner of that age with black and red notes, which he then imagined was the most ancient specimen of Harmony that could be found. The old French writers expressed this kind of Discant by the term *Quintoier*. It chiefly consists of fifths, and is of a less refined and artful texture than the *organizing* of Guido Aretinus, two hundred years before.

Ex Cod. Sæc. XIII.



Agnus De - i qui tol - lis peccata mundi miserere no-bis.

So that it appears as if the laity, as usual, had alone been guilty of the sin of innovation; and had wickedly deviated

luppi; as both these eminent masters hazarded this piquant passage so near the same time in different places, the one in a song composed at Venice, and the other in a song composed at Turin, that it is easier to imagine the invention due to both, than that either should arrogate to himself the merit of another. Jomelli, however, first carried it into Germany, where the elder Stamitz and the symphonists of the Manheim school, and after them the contrapuntists of every other school, introduced it in almost every movement, without always waiting for a favourable opportunity.

from the true and simple path of Diaphonics prescribed by the venerable saints and fathers Hubald, Odo, and Guido, and amidst contempt and persecution had brought Harmony under regular laws, and united science with the pleasures of the ear (*o*).

I shall now close this long chapter, being arrived at a period when the laws of Harmony seem to have been tolerably settled, as far as concerned *Simple Counterpoint*, or note against note; and to want only a Time-table to perfect written Discant, or *Musica Mensurabilis*, which constituted Florid Counterpoint, and of which the origin and progress will be traced in the next chapter.

(*o*) It seems as if ecclesiastical music was always inferior to secular at any given period; and that the mutilated and imperfect scales of the eight modes in Canto Fermo had not only injured Melody, but that bad Harmony had continued in the church long after it ceased to be tolerated elsewhere.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

Of the formation of the Time-table, and state of Music from that discovery till about the middle of the fourteenth century.

IN the wild attempts at extemporary Discant, though some pleasing Harmonies had been found, yet but little use could be made of them, without a TIME-TABLE; and when these Harmonies were first written down, in Counterpoint, unless the Organum, or additional part, moved in notes of the same length as the plain-song, the composer had no means of expressing it, till a kind of Algebra, or System of Musical Signs and Characters to imply different Portions of Time, was invented.

The ancients have left us no rules for Rhythm, Time, or Accent, in Music, but what concerned the words or verses that were to be sung; and we are not certain that in high antiquity they had any melody purely instrumental, which never had been set to words, or was not formed upon poetical feet and the metrical laws of versification.

Before the invention, therefore, of characters for Time, written Music in parts must have consisted of *Simple Counterpoint*, such as is still practised in our parochial Psalmody, consisting of note against note, or sounds of equal length; which at first was the case even in extemporary discant, as the rules given for it by Hubald, Odo, and Guido, speak of no other.

It has been already shewn, in the Dissertation prefixed to the first volume (*a*), that the ancients had no other resources for Time and Movement in their Music, than what were derived from the different arrangements and combinations of two kinds of notes, - ○, equivalent to a long and short syllable.

(*a*) Sect. *Rhythm.*

And

And before the use of lines there were no characters or signs for more than two kinds of notes in the church; nor, since ecclesiastical chants have been written upon four lines and four spaces, have any but the square and lozenge characters, commonly called *Gregorian Notes*, been used in Canto Fermo.

There are some stories in musical mythology, which make instrumental music of higher antiquity than vocal; such is that of the contention between Marsyas and Apollo, and of Minerva throwing away her flute *(b)*; but which ever had the primogeniture, as both were long regulated by syllables, there could have been no occasion for a Time-table, as the structure of the verse determined the measure of the music, and the accents of speech must have been those of the melody to which it was sung: so that a long syllable would of course require a long note, and a short syllable a note of short duration. Prosody therefore has been very justly defined, by Sig. Eximeno *(c)*, the *Guide of Song*: and the origin of the word confirms his opinion, that Prosody among the ancients included the seeds of music.

However, when vocal and instrumental music were separated, or rather, when instrumental, wholly emancipated from syllables, was invented, a guide and regulator of the duration of sounds, even in simple Melody, became necessary; but in written Discant, and florid Counterpoint, indispensable.

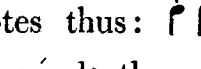
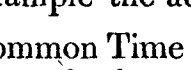
The most affecting Melody consists in such an arrangement and expression of musical tones, as constitute the accents and language of passion. A single sound, unconnected, or a number of sounds, of an indeterminate length, express nothing; and almost all the meaning, beauty, and energy of a series of sounds depend on the manner in which they are measured and accented. If all notes were equal in length and unmarked by any superior degree of force or spirit, they could have no other effect on the hearer than to excite drowsiness. Innumerable passages,

(*b*) Vol. i. p. 265 and 274. (*c*) *Orig. della Musica*, lib. ii. c. 4.

however,

however, of a different character and expression might be produced by a small number of notes; and by a series of such small portions of melody as these, diversified by measure and motion, an air, or composition might be produced, which in many particulars would resemble a discourse. Each passage, regarded as a phrase, might at least awaken in the hearer an idea of tranquillity or disquietude, of vivacity or languor.

Indeed *Time* is of such importance in music, that it can give meaning and energy to the repetition of the same sound; whereas, without it, a variety of tones, with respect to gravity and acuteness, has no effect. Upon this principle it is that a drum seems to express different tunes, when it only changes the accents and measure of a single sound. And it is on this account that any instrument which marks the time with force and accuracy, is more useful in regulating the steps of a dance, or the march of an army, than one with sweet and refined tones.

In repetitions of the same sound, in notes of equal duration, Time is made sensible to the hearer by accents; without which he would have no means of discovering the different portions into which it is divided. If therefore we have a succession of notes of equal length and intonation, the ear may be impressed with an idea of some certain rhythm or measure, by marking the first of every two or three notes thus:  ; or thus;  . In the first example the accents being on the first and third sounds, imply Common Time of four equal members or portions; and in the second, the repetitions of the same sound having an accent on the first of every three sounds, an idea is impressed of Triple Time. By this means the mind is employed in a kind of perpetual calculation, and a uniformity of sensation is impressed on the ear.

Dr. Plott (*d*), giving an account of the harmonics, or natural division and vibration of strings into aliquot parts, upon a

(*d*). Nat. Hist. of Oxfordshire, 1708, p. 293.

kindred sound being produced near them, calls Music "an "Arithmetic, embellished with sounds." And Leibnitz applying the same idea to measure as had been applied to Sympathetic Consonance, says that Music is in many respects "an "occult Arithmetic, or calculation which the mind insensibly "makes (e)."

Music, before the invention of counterpoint, consisted, as far as we are able to discover, in Canto Fermo, or melodies equally simple; on this inelegant and insipid treble harmony was grafted, and practised in the church, in the same manner as has been shewn in the preceding chapter; but the discovery which was afterwards made in the invention of characters for time, was much more important, as it constitutes the true æra of musical independence; for till then, if melody subsisted, it was entirely subservient to all syllabic laws.

Soon after this epoch music became free and independent, perhaps to a licentious degree, with respect to vocal music; but instrumental in parts, and in florid counterpoint, certainly could not subsist without a well-regulated measure, and a more minute and subtle division of time than could be derived from that of long and short syllables.

I know that many of the learned think the liberty music acquired at this memorable revolution has often been abused by her sons, who are frequently *enfans gatés*, riotous, capricious, ignorant, licentious, and enthusiastic; and that whenever poetry is at their mercy they are more in want of instruction and restraint than the most wild and ignorant school-boys: this perhaps is true, as far as concerns grave and sublime poetry in the hands of injudicious composers; but that poetry, truly lyric, is constantly injured by melody, none, but those who are both unable and unwilling to feel its effects, will aver. I could in-

(e) *Musica est exercitium Arithmeticæ occultum nescientis se numerare animi.* In Epist. 154. This ingenious thought is equally applicable to harmony itself, as far as the number and ratio of vibrations are concerned in the pleasure which the ear receives from Concords.

stance

stance innumerable scenes of the admirable Metastasio, which, however beautiful in themselves, have been rendered far more affecting and impassioned, both by the musical composer and performer. To these I could add many English accompanied-recitatives, and airs, in Handel's Oratorios, where even prose has received additional dignity and energy from lengthened tones: and none who ever heard the late Mrs. Cibber sing "Return, O God of Hosts," or "He was despised and rejected," whose ears could vibrate, or whose hearts could feel, would dispute the point. And still, to go a little farther back, I would rest the decision upon the productions of a composer of our own country, in our own language, who seldom was so fortunate as to have words to set that were either elegant, sublime, or truly lyric; I mean Henry Purcell, whose style is now unfashionable, and whose melodies are uncouth and ungraceful; yet few can hear his *Mad-Bess* well sung, without being infinitely more affected than by merely reading that melancholy monologue as a poem.

Indeed music, considered abstractedly, without the assistance, or rather the shackles of speech, and abandoned to its own powers, is now become a rich, expressive, and picturesque language in itself; having its forms, proportions, contrasts, punctuations, members, phrases, and periods.

Many writers on music, however, who have a veneration for the ancients, are of opinion that measure was not only more varied, but observed with more precision by the Greeks and Romans than the moderns. According to the late Rousseau, "it was after the victories obtained by the Barbarians, that "languages changed their character, and lost their harmony. "Then metre, which used to express the measure of poetry; "was neglected, and prose was more frequently sung than "verse. Scarce any other amusement was then known than "the ceremonies of the church, nor music than that in which

"its

" its service was performed; and as this music required not " the regularity of rhythm, it was at length wholly lost (*f*)."

But as this music was not set to the jargon spoken by Barbarians, but to Latin words, in which accent could not have been wholly disused and unknown at the time of which Rousseau speaks, and in which quantity has never been lost; and as the hymns of the church were written in ancient metres, it is not easy to fix the neglect and extirpation of measure upon the church, unless its relaxation be owing to the Neuma, or recapitulation of a chant at the end of an anthem, which seems to have been the origin of divisions, and in which it was first allowed to sing as many notes to one syllable, and, often, to sing without words, as many as could be executed during one respiration (*g*).

Divisions were unknown to the ancients, who never allowed more than two notes to a syllable; but with them, as has already been observed, music was a slave to language, and at present it is become a free agent. When the words of an air are divided, repeated, and transposed at the pleasure of the composer, though they stop the narration, they either paint an idea in different colours, or enforce a sentiment upon which the mind wishes to linger. And the different phrases of an air are only reiterated strokes of passion; for it is by these repetitions and redoubled efforts that an expression, which at first is heard with tranquillity, disturbs, agitates, and transports the

(*f*) Dict. de Mus. Art. *Mesure.*

(*g*) See this vol. chap. ii. p. 43. In singing, many sounds applied to one syllable constitute a division, *Volee, Roulade, Volata, Passaggio;* and in playing upon an instrument, a rapid succession of sounds without a rest, or slow note, has generally the same appellation. Such as are chiefly pleased with grave and sober music censure those flights, as capricious, unmeaning, and trivial. Others are however captivated by them, when executed with precision, and regard them as proofs of the composer's invention, and the performer's abilities. And it is perhaps a popular prejudice to imagine that all such inflexions are absurd, and ill placed, even in a slow and plaintive melody. On the contrary, when the heart is much moved and affected, the voice can more easily find sounds to express passion, than the mind can furnish words; and hence came the use of interjections and exclamations in all languages. It is no less a prejudice to assert, that a division is always proper on a favourable word or syllable, without considering the situation of the singer, or the sentiment he has to express.

hearers.

hearers. But whether this reasoning be allowed or no, Divisions were certainly first practised in the church, even in Canto Fermo, where the *Perielesis* and the *Neuma* have long been admitted, and where their use is still allowed (*h*).

Roman Catholics authorise this custom by a passage in St. Augustine, which says, that when we are unable to find words worthy of the Divinity, we do well to address him with confused sounds of joy and thanksgiving: "For to whom are "such extatic sounds due, unless to the Supreme Being? and "how can we celebrate his ineffable goodness, when we are "equally unable to adore him in silence, and to find any other "expressions for our transports than inarticulate sounds (*i*)?"

This licence prevailed even in the time of Guido, to whom some attribute the invention of the *Neuma* for which he gives rules in his Micrologus (*k*). But it seems as if the perfection of *figurative Counterpoint*, and the invention of Fugues, had utterly diverted the attention of the composer, performer, and public, from poetry, propriety, and syllabic laws; to this may be added the use of the Organ in accompanying the service of the church, which, according to Dante, rendered the words that were sung difficult to be understood (*l*). Indeed when Harmony was first cultivated, and began to charm the ears of mankind, verse was so rude in the new and unpolished languages, that it wanted some such sauce as Harmony to make it palatable. And at the revival of letters, when poetry began again to flourish, Melody was so Gothic and devoid of grace, that good poets disdained its company or assistance; and we find

(*h*) The *Perielesis*, or circumvolution, is the interposition of one or many notes at the close of a chant, to ascertain its termination, and as a signal to the choir to pursue it. And the *Neuma* is a kind of short recapitulation of the chant of a mode, consisting of a number of sounds *without words*. *Lebeuf. Traite sur le Chant Ecclesiastique*, p. 227 & 239.

(*i*) In the Melodies that are set to the Provencal songs, which are the most ancient secular *Airs* that are extant, never more than *two notes*, or three in the time of two, now called a *triplet*, are allowed to one syllable. (*k*) Cap. xvi.

(*l*) *Quando a Cantar con Organo si stia*
Ch'or si, or no, s'intendon le parole.
Purg. Canto ix.

that verses of Dante, Ariosto, and Tasso, supported themselves without the aid of music, as musical compositions in counterpoint seem to have done without poetry. It was the cultivation of the musical drama that once more reconciled the two sisters; however, their leagues of friendship are but of short duration, and like a froward couple whose dispositions too rarely coincide, it is

> " Sometimes my plague, sometimes my darling,
> " Kissing to-day, to-morrow snarling."

But as I shall hereafter have frequent occasions to speak of the abuse of Harmony to the injury of Melody, and of both to the utter ruin of Lyric Poetry, I shall now proceed to trace the invention of musical characters for Time.

The benefit conferred on music by the invention of a Time-table, which extended the limits of ingenuity and contrivance to the utmost verge of imagination, must long have remained unknown to the generality of musicians and musical writers, or more care would have been taken to record some few memorials concerning its author. But when the age or cotemporaries of a man of letters or science are known, the curiosity of most readers is satisfied; for a life spent in the perusal and composition of books, in quiet and obscurity, furnishes but few circumstances that can interest the busy part of mankind. The efforts of the mind in retirement, however great may be the objects with which it is occupied, admit of no description; while an active life, ostensibly employed in the service of a state or any order of society, supplies the biographer with materials of easy use, and, if well arranged, and interwoven, such as are welcome to all readers.

We find that *Marchetto da Padua*, so early as the year 1283, in the Vatican manuscript (*m*) already cited, speaks of *Cantibus Mensuratis*. The invention of *characters for time* has, how-

(*m*) No. 1146.

ever,

ever, been given by almost all the writers on music of the last and present century, to John de Muris, who flourished about the year 1330, and whom many English writers seem ambitious of claiming as an Englishman; probably with the hopes of honouring this country with his invention of the Time-table; yet, however patriotic may be their design, I am in possession of such a stubborn proof of that discovery not being the property of John de Muris, as he would be unable to refute if he were himself to rise from the tomb and claim it.

Among the manuscripts which were bequeathed to the Vatican library by the queen of Sweden, there is a *Compendium of Practical Music*, by John de Muris, in which he treats of musical characters for Time; but introduces the subject with a short chronological list of anterior musicians who had merited the title of *Inventors*: beginning, as usual, with Tubal; and after naming Pythagoras, and Boethius, he proceeds to Guido the monk, "who constructed the gammut, or scale for "the monochord, and placed notes upon lines and spaces; "after whom came MAGISTER FRANCO, *who invented the "figures*, or notes, *of the Cantus Mensurabilis (n)*."

All farther enquiries concerning the right which John de Muris may have to this important invention seem useless, as it is so fully and clearly renounced in favour of another, by the only person who was thought to have a fair claim to it. I shall therefore quit John de Muris, for the present, in order to try whether his predecessor Franco's right to this invention be wholly indisputable, notwithstanding it has been ceded to him so formally.

The same fatality seems to attend the first founders of arts as of empires, whose history must ever be short, unless conjecture and fable are called into the assistance of the writer.

(n) —*Deinde Guido monachus qui compositor erat gammatis qui monochordum dicitur, voces* lineis, et spaciis *dividebat. Post hunc* Magister Franco, qui invenit in Cantu Mensuram figurarum—MS. Reginæ Sveciæ in Vatic. No. 1146. *Compendium Joannis de Muribus.*

MA-

MAGISTER FRANCO is by some called a native, or at least an inhabitant of Paris; by others a scholastic of Liege; but, if we may believe Franco himself, he was of Cologn: for, seeming to foresee the disputes which would arise concerning his locality, he begins his *Compendium de Discantu*, one of his musical tracts which has been preserved, in the following manner: *Ego Franco de Colonia*, &c. which if the authors of the *Historie Litteraire de la France* had seen, they doubtless would not have fixed him at Liege, nor would those who have implicitly followed them, have been led into this mistake.

Sigebert (*o*) tells us that Franco supported the functions of his office of scholastic, or preceptor, by a great fund of religion and knowledge; and acquired as much celebrity by his virtue as science: *Scientia literarum et morum probitate clarus.* He ventured, say the Benedictines (*p*), to study profane science as well as ecclesiastic, and had courage to attempt *squaring the circle.* Christian philosophers generally regard a man for lost who addicts himself to such pursuits as the *squaring the circle*, the *multiplication of the cube*, *perpetual motion*, the *philosopher's stone*, *judicial astrology*, or *magic.* But Franco is said to have exercised his faculties in these studies with such discretion, that he never neglected his more important concerns.

By the testimony of Sigebert, his cotemporary (*q*), he had acquired great reputation for his learning in 1047. At least it is certain that he had written concerning the *square of the circle* before the month of February 1055, at which time Heriman, archbishop of Cologn, to whom he dedicated his work, died (*r*).

Franco lived at least till August 1083, for he at that time filled the charge of scholastic of the Cathedral at Liege.

Among many works which Franco is said to have produced upon religious and mathematical subjects, we are told by the

(*o*) *De Script, Eccles*, c. 164.
(*p*) *Hist. Litt. de la France*, tome viii. p. 122.
(*q*) *Chron. an.* 1047.
(*r*) His dedicating a book to this prelate seems a natural consequence of his residence at Cologn.

authors

authors of the *Histoire Litteraire de la France*, that he wrote upon Music and Plain-chant; and that in the abbey of Lire in Normandy, there is a manuscript in folio, which contains *Ars Magistri Franconis de Musica Mensurabili.* These writers add, that there can be no doubt of this Magister Franco being the same as the Scholastic of that name; or that another tract on Music, in six chapters, entitled *Magistri Franconis Musica*, and preserved in the Bodleian library at Oxford, is by the same author, as well as the *Compendium de Discantu, tribus Capitibus*, in the same library.

These authors, who indeed pretend not to have seen the musical tracts of Franco, have imagined, contrary to their usual accuracy, that the treatise *De Musica Mensurabili*, in the library at Lire, and *Musica* Magistri Franconis, in the Bodleian library, were different works; but there remains not the least doubt of their being duplicates of the same tract, in every respect, but their titles.

Trithemius (*s*), who calls him Franco *Scholasticus Leodiensis Ecclesiæ*, of the church of Liege, *natione Theutonicus*, and a German, tells us, that "he was very learned in the holy "scriptures; a great philosopher, astronomer, arithmetician, "(*computista*;) and that he dedicated several of his works to "the archbishop of Cologn: such as his tract *De Quadratura* "*Circuli; De Computo Ecclesiastico; et alia plura;*" but he specifies none of the musical writings of Franco, who, according to this biographer, flourished under the emperor Henry III. 1060.

The first mention, however, which I can find of Franco as a writer on music, in any treatise on the subject, is by Marchetto da Padova, of whose manuscript tracts an account has already been given (*t*). In his *Lucidarium in Arte Musicæ Planæ*, written in the year 1274, he says, "that the agree-

(*s*) *De Script. Eccles.* Paris 1512. (*t*) See page 161 of this volume.

" ment of different melodies, *according to Magister Franco*, " constitutes discant (*u*)." He likewise cites him in his *Pomærium, de Musica Mensurata*, as *Inventor* of the four first musical characters (*x*); and this would have been sufficiently early to strip John de Muris of the honour of their invention, had he chosen to invest himself with it.

He is next, in point of time, mentioned by John de Muris himself, as is already related. And, in a manuscript of the Bodleian library (*y*), ascribed to Thomas, or John, of Teukesbury, which, it is said at the end, was finished at the university of Oxford 1351, there is a chapter expressly on the Musical Characters for Time, invented by Franço: *De Figuris inventis a Francone.*

Franchinus Gaforius (*z*) quotes him twice as author of the Time-table; and ascribes to him (*a*) the completion of Counterpoint, by his contrivance of moving in different melodies at the same time: meaning his invention of musical characters for measure.

Our countryman Morley (*b*) says, that " *Francho* was the " most ancient of all those whose works on practical music had " come to his hands." But he seems only to have seen a Commentary on his Treatise by Robert de Handlo, and to know nothing of his age and country (*c*). And Ravenscroft (*d*), who appears indeed to have been no better acquainted with the original than Morley, quoting him only through John Dunstable, an Englishman (*e*), tells us boldly that he was the inventor of

(*u*) *Discantus, secundum* Magistrum Franconem, est diversorum cantuum consonantia. Ex Cod. Vatic. Num. 5322.

(*x*) Muratori, *Antiq. Med. Ævi.* Dissert. 24. tome ii. P. Martini, tome i. page 189. Gerb. tome ii. page 124.

(*y*) Digby, 90.

(*z*) *Pract. Musicæ*, lib. ii. c. 6.

(*a*) Ib lib. iii. c. 1.

(*b*) Annotations to his Introduction, p. 7.

(*c*) Robert de Handlo wrote a Commentary on the *Musica Mensurabilis* of Franco, 1326. See Tanner, p. 376. And this is even an earlier period than was assigned to the invention by those who had given it to John de Muris.

(*d*) Briefe Discourse of the true Use of Charactering the Degrees in *Measurable Musicke*, 1614, page 1.

(*e*) Id. page 3.

the

the four first simple notes of *Mensurable Music;* but, unluckily, calls him *Franchinus de Coloniâ*, confounding him with Franchinus Gafurius.

Critical exactness, with respect to dates, names, or facts, was not yet much practised in writing upon the arts; and Morley, the best author who had written expressly on Music, in our language, since the invention of printing, took many things upon trust; and though he gave a long list of practical musicians, whose works he had consulted, he never had seen the writings of Guido, nor does he quote a single manuscript treatise throughout his Introduction, which indeed is professedly more didactic than historical.

Having collected the evidence of respectable and unsuspected authors in favour of the musical writings of Franco, it will be necessary to give the reader an account of the particular tract which chiefly concerns this chapter, entitled *Ars Cantus Mensurabilis:* and this I shall do from the work itself, of which I obtained a copy from the Bodleian library at Oxford (*f*).

This short, but celebrated tract, contains six chapters:

1. Prologue, and Definitions of the Terms used in the Treatise.
2. Of the Figures, or Representations of single Sounds.
3. Of Ligatures, or compound Notes.
4. Of Rests or Pauses.
5. Of the different Concords used in Discant.
6. Of the Organum, and of other Combinations of Sounds (*g*).

In speaking of former musical writers, he says, that "both "the theory and practice of *Plain Music*, or *Chanting*, had

(*f*) 842. f. 49.

(*g*) *Insipit Musica Magistri Franconis, continens 6 capitula.*

Capitulum primum continet Prologum et Diffinitiones Terminorum ad istum Tractatum pertinentium.

Cap. 2. *De Figuris Vocis simplicis, sive de Notis non Ligatis.*

Cap. 3. *De Ligatis, sive de Figuris compositis.*

Cap. 4. *Est de Pausis, et earum diversitate.*

Cap. 5. *Est de diversarum Vocum debita Concordantia et Discantu.*

Cap. 6. *Diffinit Copulam et Organum, et eorum Species.*

"been

" been sufficiently explained by several philosophers; particu-
" larly the theory by Boethius, and the practice by Guido," whom he exalts into a philosopher. " The ecclesiastical tropes " or modes, he adds, had been settled by St. Gregory." Franco, therefore, only intends to treat of *Measured Music*, of which, he piously observes, plain-chant has the precedence, as the principal of the subaltern (*h*). " Nor let any one say, " continues he, that I have undertaken this work through ar-
" rogance, or for my own convenience, but merely for the " sake of its evident truth, the ease with which it may be com-
" prehended by the student, and its containing the most perfect " method of teaching all the modes of *Measured Music*, and their " *Notation*. For as there are several authors, as well modern " as ancient, who in their treatises give many good rules con-
" cerning *Measured Music*, and on the contrary are deficient and " erroneous in other particulars, especially in the appendages " of the science, we think their doctrines require some correc-
" tion and improvement, lest the science itself should suffer " from their errors and defects. We therefore propose giving " a compendious explanation of *Measured Music*, in which we " shall not scruple to insert, *what others have said well on the* " *subject*, to correct their errors, and to support by good " reasons *whatever we ourselves may have newly invented* (*i*)."

(*h*) ---*De* MENSURABILI MUSICA, *quam ipsa* PLANA PRÆCEDIT *tanquam* principalis subalternam.

(*i*) *Nec dicat aliquis nos hoc opus propter arrogantiam vel forte etiam propter propriam commoditatem incepisse, sed vere propter evidentem veritatem et auditorum facillimam apprehensionem, nec non et omnium* Modorum Notarum (of all the moods as expressed by characters or notes) *ipsius* Mensurabilis Musicæ *perfectissimam institutionem. Nam cum videmus* multos tam novos quam antiquos in artibus suis *de Mensurabili Musica* (alluding perhaps to the usual titles of musical treatises: *Ars Musices; Ars Mensurabilis Musicæ*, &c.) *multa bona dicere, et e contrario in multis et maxime in accidentibus ipsius scientiæ deficere et errare, opinioni eorum fore existimamus succurrendum, ne forte propter defectum et errorem prædictorum dicta scientia detrimentum patiatur. Proponimus igitur ipsam Mensurabilem Musicam sub compendio declarare, benedictaque aliorum non recusabimus interponere, errores quoque distruere et fugare, et* si quid novi a nobis inventum fuerit, bonis rationibus sustinere et probare.

It

It seems evident from this passage, particularly those parts of it which are printed in capitals, that the invention of musical notes for Time, is more ancient than Franco, and that he had only the merit of improvement. It likewise informs us, that there were, in his time, treatises *de Mensurabili Musicâ*, or, at least, that doctrines had been proposed and laid down concerning musical notes, and the different duration of sounds, by writers who were *antiqui*, with respect to him; and proves very strongly that this manuscript contains only a mixture of his own rules, which those of his predecessors (*k*). And indeed, upon a careful analysis of this whole tract, it does not appear that Franco was the Inventor of musical notes, or characters for Time, though they have lately been given him in such very positive terms, by those who, without seeing his manuscript, have taken it for granted that it was wholly his property, because no other writer of equal antiquity was found to have treated of *Cantus Mensurabilis*. Indeed, besides the passages already cited, we find him speaking of former writers, and former opinions concerning the notes and modes; particularly, chapter second, the words *quemadmodum quidam posuerunt*, acknowledge other writers upon the subject of Measured Music besides himself; and, chapter the fourth, he speaks of the great error which some have committed by tying together three Longs in Tenor parts; and of the still greater blunder which others have made in tying a Long between two Breves (*l*). And the author of a Latin treatise, which was among the Cotton musical manuscripts, seems to determine with great precision the degree of merit that is due to Franco, with respect to the Time-table; for speaking of the Canto Fermo of an earlier period, he says: "Though music was at that time not measured, it was approaching towards measure, when Franco ap-

(*k*) *Si quid novi*—The expression is strong, and even when deduction is made for modesty, implies, perhaps, that his inventions were but few and inconsiderable.

(*l*)—*Ex quo sequitur quod vehementer errant* qui *tres Longas aliqua occasione ut in Tenoribus ad invicem ligant; sed adhuc plus* illi qui *inter duas breves longam ligant.*

" peared, who was the first Approved author, or writer, on " Measured Music (*m*)."

After this introduction definitions are given, in which I shall mention whatever seems singular or curious.

Measured Music, he says, is regulated by long and short Times, or portions of Measure; and Measure he defines, the regulated motion of any series of Sounds, whether quick or slow, different from plain-song, in which no such regularity of movement is observed. A Time is the stated proportion of a lengthened tone, or of a rest of equal duration. " I speak " of a Rest, says he, as measured by Time, because otherwise " the performers of two different parts, one of which should " have a rest, and the other not, would be unable to proceed " together in exact time (*n*)."

This seems to be the purport of the original, which, however, I shall constantly throw into the notes for the consideration of the curious and learned reader, who may, perhaps, discover meanings that have escaped my penetration. Indeed, this passage gives an idea of more than Simple Counterpoint, of note for note, and syllable for syllable, being practised in Franco's time, who is believed to have written his tract within fifty years of Guido.

" Measured Music, continues he, is of two kinds: wholly, " and partly measured. Music wholly measured is discant, " which is measured throughout; and that which is partly measured is the simple chant or plain-song, which, though " measured by Time in some degree, is neither *Organum* nor " Discant, as it is commonly called by those who sing the " Ecclesiastical Chants (*o*)."

He

(*m*) —*Non enim erat musica tunc mensurata, sed paulatim crescebat ad mensuram, usque ad tempus Franconis, qui erat Musicæ Mensurabilii* primus auctor APPROBATUS.

(*n*) *Dico autem* pausam *tempore mensurari, quia aliter duo Cantus diversi quorum (si) unus cum pausa et alius sine sumeretur, non possent proportionaliter adinvicem bene coæquari.*

(*o*) *Dividitur autem* Mensurabilis Musica *in mensurabilem simpliciter et partim. Mensurabilis simpliciter est discantus, eo quod in*

He next defines *Discant;* and as the reader may be curious to know the acceptation of this term, so near the time of its invention, I shall insert the whole passage.

" *Discant* is the consonance of different melodies, in which " those different melodies move in sounds of various lengths, " as *Longs*, *Breves*, and *Semibreves*, proportioned to each " other, and expressed in writing by adequate notes or cha- " racters *(p)*."

He then divides Discant into three kinds; " Notes of equal " length, Ligatures, or binding Notes, and Notes that are " deficient in Time *(q)*." Of these he proposes to treat separately; but as all Discant moves in some particular Measure, Mode, or Mood, he first defines a Mood, and its characters, or signs.

" A Mood is the representation of the time of measured " sounds, expressed by Longs or Breves, or long and short " notes. As Modes are of different kinds, their number and " arrangement are made different by different musicians. Some " multiply them to six, and some to seven; but *we* (says " Franco) allow only of five, because to this number all others

in omni parte sua mensuratur. Mensurabilis partim est cantus simplex et tempore mensura- tus, sed Organum non est, neque Discantus, (Organum) *communiter vero dicitur quibus Cantus Ecclesiasticus* tempore mensuratur.

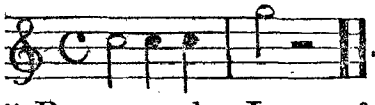
It seems, by this passage, as if organizing, or singing in harmony, had first brought the plain-chant to strict time; and that, then, when only a *single* part or melody was sung in time, it was customary to call it Organum, because measured like the Organum. And perhaps, in singing upon a plain-song, the principal melody, while it continued to be chanted nearly in the same manner as it used to be before parts were added to it, was said to be partly measured; and the Organum or Discant, moving in proportionate notes of different lengths, was regarded as wholly measured. In our cathedrals, where the Psalms are chanted in four parts, Time is neither absolutely kept, nor wholly disregarded: it is kept with respect to the harmony, as all the parts move together; yet the melody of each part being governed by the length of the verses, cannot be said to be regularly measured. In accompanied recitation the instruments move sometimes *a tempo*, while the voice part seems *ad libitum*.

(p) Discantus est aliquorum diversorum cantuum consonantia, in qua illi diversi cantus per voces Longas et Breves et Semibreves proportionaliter adequantur, et in scripto per debitas figuras proportionati adinvicem designantur.

(q)—Alius simpliciter prolatus, alius copulatus, alius truncatus.

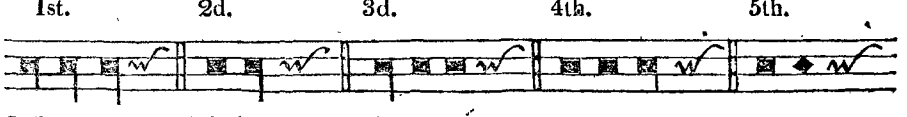
" may

" may be referred. The first consists wholly of Longs—The " second of a Breve, a Long, &c. The third of a Long and " two Breves," &c.—In Handlo's commentary on this passage it is observed, that in this mood, a pause equal to a long is placed after the second long; which reduces it to what the moderns would call Common Time, and express thus:



" The fourth Mood consists of two " Breves and a Long, &c. And the fifth is wholly composed " of Breves and Semibreves *(r)*."

If these five Modes of Franco were expressed in ancient notes they would have the following appearance:



Morley, in his Annotations, p. 8. seems to explain them in the same manner: " If a plaine song consisted al of Longes, " it was called the first Mood: if of a Long and a Briefe suc- " sessively, it was called the second Mood," &c. For when Franco says that the second Mood consisted of " a Breve and " Long and Breve," *et cætera* seems necessarily understood. And this conjecture is confirmed by the fragment of a very ancient manuscript musical treatise in the British Museum (*s*), where six Moods are described in the following manner: " The first " consists of a succession of Longs and Breves; the second of " Breves and Longs; the third of a Breve and two Longs; " the fourth of two Longs and a Breve; the fifth of three

(*r*) *Modus est representatio soni Longis Brevibusque temporibus mensurati. Modi autem diversis diversimode enumerantur et etiam ordinantur Quidam vero ponunt 6, alii 7tem, nos autem quinque tantum ponimus, quoniam ad hos quinque omnes alii reducuntur. Primus vero procedit ex omnibus Longis.—Secundus procedit ex Brevi et Longa et Brevi. Tercius vero ex Longa et duabus Brevibus et Longa. Quartus est ex duabus Brevibus et Longa et duabus Brevibus. Quintus autem ex omnibus Brevibus et Semibrevibus.*

(*s*) Bib. Reg. 12. c. vi. 5. *Tractatus Musici* 3.

" Longs;

"Longs; and the sixth of three Breves (*t*)." These are all reducible to the five Modes of Franco: for the fifth is the first Mood of Franco, and the sixth, in reality, only the same measure of time, accelerated; as it is indifferent at present whether a Minuet be written in $\frac{3}{4}$ or $\frac{3}{8}$. The second, third, and fourth Moods in the anonymous tract are precisely the same as those of Franco, in longer specimens; as the author says, *Secundus constat Brevi Longa Brevi Longa Brevi Longa*, which is only thrice repeating the same measure. The fifth Mood of Franco corresponds with the first of this author; for a Long and a Breve, or a Breve and a Semibreve, differ no more in their effect on the ear, than a Minin and Crotchet, and Crotchet and Quaver, which equally represent Triple Time (*u*).

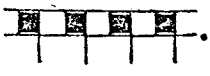
The five Modes, as Franco has described them, afford no great variety of measures. Indeed, the ancients had been long in possession of a far greater number of combinations in their poetical feet (*x*); to some one of which every Mood in Franco's list is reducible; as the first, consisting wholly of Longs, or slow notes, wants nothing either in Common or Triple Time, but what the *Spondee* or *Molossus* would supply. The second, having a Breve followed by a Long, would be represented by the *Iambus*. The third, consisting of a Long and two Breves, by the *Dactyl*. The fourth of two Breves and a Long, by the *Anapæst*. And the fifth, composed of Breves and Semibreves, by the *Trochaic* foot. But it was not so much the business of Franco to invent new measures, as to unite the old.

(*t*) *Modus vel maneries vel temporis consideratio est cognitio Longitudinis, et Brevitatis meli sonique. Modi generales sunt* VI. *Primus constat ex Longa Brevi, Longa Brevi, Longa Brevi. Et secundus constat Brevi Longa Brevi Longa Brevi Longa. Et tertius constat ex Longa et duabus Brevibus, Longa et duabus Brevibus. Quartus constat ex duabus Brevibus et Longa, &c.* This tract is the last of the three fragments that are bound up in the same volume, the initial sentence of which is—*Cognita Modulacione melorum secundum viam octo Tonorum.*.

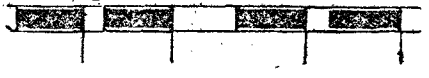
(*u*) As the Minim is not mentioned in this tract it must be more ancient than the time of its invention, about the beginning of the fourteenth century.

(*x*) See vol. i. p. 77.

In his second chapter he treats of simple notes or characters, of which he enumerates only three kinds; the Long, the Breve, and Semibreve; making no mention of the Large, or of the Minim. These, he tells us, are either perfect or imperfect. The perfect Long he calls the first and principal of all the notes, for in that all others are included. "The perfect note, "he tells us, is that which is measured by three times, or por- "tions; the *Ternary* division being the most perfect of all, as "it had its name from the Holy Trinity, which is true and pure "perfection *(y)*."

The perfect Long is represented by a square note with a tail on the right hand, descending as thus:  . This is equal to three Breves. The imperfect Long, represented by the same figure, is equal only to *two*. It is imperfect for the reason already assigned, says Franco, and can only acquire its full length by the addition of a Breve before or after it. "Whence it follows, continues he, that those err who call it "perfect; as that only is entire and complete which can stand "by itself *(z)*."

It seems, by this passage, as if there had been a controversy even in Franco's time, about the greater degree of perfection of Triple, or Common Time; in after ages, however, the *Binary* number acquired the pre-eminence, and was called *perfect*, while the triple proportion was degraded into *imperfect*.

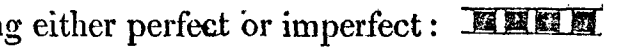
Though Franco mentions not the Maxima or Large, he tells us that the double Long is made thus, and consists of the union of two longs:  to which it is

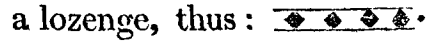
(y) Perfecta autem dicitur eo quod tribus temporibus mensuratur. Est vero trinarius inter omnes numeros perfectissimus pro eo quia a summa Trinitate, quæ vera est et pura perfectio, nomen sumpsit.

(z) Ex quo sequitur quod illi peccant qui eam rectam appellant, cum illud quod est rectum possit per se stare,

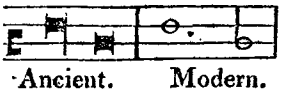
equal:

equal; "Nor, when used in the tenor parts of a plain-song, "can it be broken or divided (*a*)."

The Breve, which is a square note without a tail, may, however, be divided, being either perfect or imperfect: 

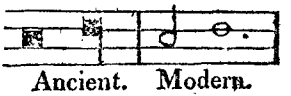
The Semibreve, which is either major or minor, is constantly written in the form of a lozenge, thus:  .

The length of the notes, that is the perfection or imperfection, triple or double power, depended on their arrangement; and it seems as if when two or more notes of the same kind followed each other, they were always perfect, that is, equal to three notes of the next inferior degree. But when a shorter note either preceded or followed a longer, then the long note was imperfect, that is, equal only to the next two of a shorter kind; and the deficiency was made up by a preceding or succeeding short note.

But all this perplexity was removed when the Point came into general use. Franco speaks of the *Tractulus* as a sign of perfection, in the same manner as we should now speak of the Point, which, indeed, he uses in some of his examples, for the same purpose as it is used at present: for he tells us that it makes the Long perfect, or equal to three Times or Breves, which, without it, would have been imperfect, or equal only to two (*b*): 

Ancient. Modern.

What he calls *Recta Brevis* is only equal to one Time, or fourth part of a measure; so that whether it precede or follow a perfect Long, the times of both amount to four:



Ancient. Modern.

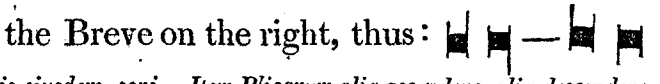
(*a*) —*Ne series plani cantus sumpti in tenoribus disrumpatur.* John de Muris, in his *Speculum Muzicæ*, quotes Aristotle to prove that this note cannot be admitted in plain-song.

(*b*) "A Long, says he, followed by a Breve, is rendered imperfect, *nisi inter illas duas;* sc. *Longam et Brevem, ponatur* quidam Tractulus *qui* signum perfectionis *dicitur*, qui et alio nomine divisio modi appellatur.

These

These rules, however, are too numerous, complex, and useless, to merit the reader's attention, or an attempt at explaining them. Indeed, if they would help to decipher other music, composed after the time of Franco, the curious enquirer's trouble, and my own, might be repaired; but there was at first so much confusion in the Moods, and so many and so dark were the exceptions to their rules, so unmerous and jaring the opinions and decisions concerning them, and so little agreed were musicians about the different Prolations, Points of perfection and imperfection, of increase and diminution, division and translation, even in Morley's time, as gave occasion to his saying, that "no two men told the same tale."

Few of the musical terms in the tract of Franco, are more difficult to comprehend or define than the word *Plica*, which he calls "a note of division of the same sound, ascending or "descending (*c*)." It seems however to have been rather a note of *prolation* than division, and, like the point, to have augmented the length of the sound to which it was applied. All we can be sure of now is its form, which by adding a stroke to a note, shorter than its usual tail, gave it the appearance of a plait, wrinkle, or fold, as the Latin word *Plica* implies: .

Of these *Plicæ*, he tells us, some are added to Longs, and some to Breves; but seldom to Semibreves, unless in Ligatures (*d*). This little stroke, which seems to have been equivalent to a short note, tied to a longer, was added to the Long on the left side, and to the Breve on the right, thus: 

(*c*) *Plica est nota divisionis ejusdem soni in grave et acutum.*

(*d*) *Plicarum alia Langa, alia Brevis, alia Semibrevis: sed de Semibrevibus nihil ad præsens intendimus, cum non in simplicibus figuris possit Plica Semibrevis inveniri. In Ligaturis tamen et ordinationibus Semibrevium Plica possibilis est accipi, ut postea apparebit. Item Plicarum alia ascendens, alia descendens. Plica longa ascendens habet duos tractus, quorum dexter longior est sinistro. Plica longa vero descendens similiter habet duos tractus sed descendentes, dexterum ut prius longiorem sinistro. Plica vero brevis ascendens est, quia habet duos tractus ascendentes, sinistrum tamen longiorem dextero, &c.*

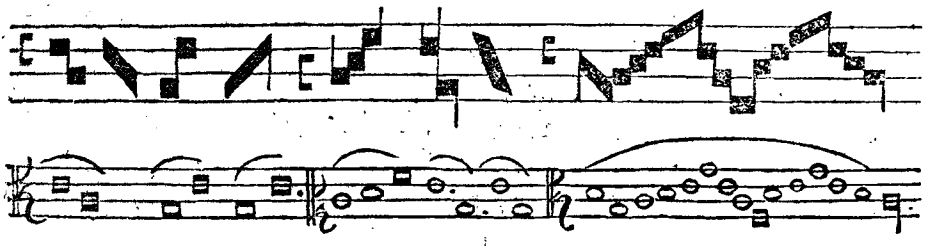
It

It is difficult to discover any other difference between the *Plica* and the *Point*, which he seems to describe under the title of *Tractulus*, than that the Point was used to a *single note*, and the Plica to one in a ligatured group.

Authors who have treated of the ancient Time-table and Cantus Mensurabilis, are very reserved in speaking of the *Plica*, and afford but scanty information concerning its properties. Some have defined it "the perpendicular stroke which is the "termination of such characters as the Long." But according to the original import of the word, as there must be two strokes or tails to form a *Plica* or plait, this explanation is equally false and devoid of meaning. The musical use of this word is unnoticed by Ducange, nor does it once occur in Morley. It has had admission into no musical dictionary but that of Rousseau, who describes, but does not define it. "The "*Plica*, says he, is a kind of ligature in our ancient music. "It was a sign of augmentation or increase of a note's length, "*Signum Morositatis*, according to John de Muris. The *Plicâ*, "like the Ligature, was used in any group of notes from the "semi-tone to the 5th, ascending or descending. There were "four kinds of *Plicæ*: 1. An additional small stroke to a "Long on the left side, . 2. An additional stroke to the "same note inverted, . 3. A Breve with two strokes or tails "added to the top of the note, of which that on the left hand "is the longest, . And 4. Two strokes added to the same "kind of note descending ."

In chapter the third Franco treats of *Ligatures*, or compound notes. A Ligature, as the word implies, is a band or link by which simple notes are connected and tied together. Of these some are ascending and some descending. At present we only tie the *tails* of quavers and notes of shorter duration; but the old masters tied or linked together the *heads* of *square notes*. The ascending Ligature is when the end of the note, or, as Franco calls it, the second point of it, is higher than the beginning or first part of the character.

In Canto Fermo, Ligatures are still used in all the Roman missals and breviaries, to connect as many notes together as are to be sung to one syllable, but without altering their lengths; *sine proprietate*, as Franco says. Of these, instances may be seen in this volume.* In the ancient *Cantus Mensuratus*, however, the laws and *properties* of Ligatures were innumerable. Of these I shall give a few examples from Franco himself, as the most ancient that have been preserved, if not the first in use.



"The value of notes in ligatures, says Rousseau, depended "very much upon their ascending and descending, upon the "manner in which they were tied, upon their being with or "without tails, and upon those tails being placed on the left "or right side of the notes; in short, they were under the re- "gulation of so many laws, which are wholly obsolete at pre- "sent, that perhaps there is not one musician in Europe able "to decipher music of any considerable antiquity (*e*)."

However when we are arrived at compositions *worth* deciphering, such of the primitive characters as occur in them shall be explained.

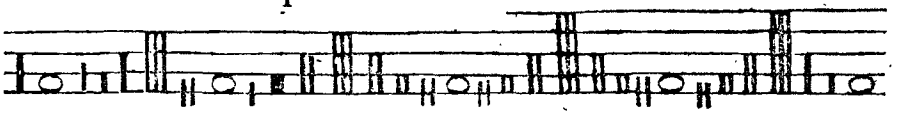
Franco's fourth chapter concerns *Rests* and *Pauses*, or discontinuity of sound. "As the sounds in each Mood are ex- "pressed by different notes or figures, and as Discant itself is "as much regulated by *silence* as by sound, it will be necessary, "says Franco, to treat not only of the signs or representatives "of sounds, but of their equivalent rests, or pauses (*f*)." Of these

* P. 33. 37, and 92.

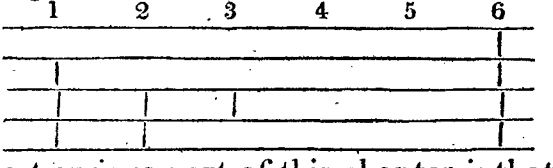
(*e*) Dict. Art. *Ligature.*

(*f*) *Cum autem istorum Modorum voces sint causa et principium et earum vocum sint notæ*

these characters for measuring silence, which, he says, are subject to the same laws of perfection and imperfection as their equivalent notes, he gives the following example, in which the Semibreves or Ciphers seem only placed as double Bars, to separate the different species of Rests;

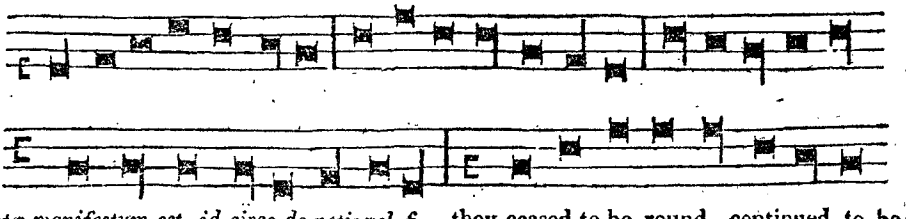


There appears but little order or design in this arrangement of the Rests, which are said in the text to be of six kinds: 1. that of the *perfect Long*, equal to three Breves; 2. the *imperfect Long*, equal to two Breves; 3. the *Breve*; 4. the *Major Semibreve*; 5. the *Minor Semibreve*; 6. the *Final Pause*, or, as he calls it, *Finis Punctorum*; all which he characterises in in the following manner:



But the most curious part of this chapter is that which seems to point out the origin of *Bars*, which are placed, in the musical examples, as pauses for the singers to take breath at the end of a sentence, verse, or melody (*g*). And this is the only use that is made of Bars, at present in Canto Fermo.

The following fragments I shall give as specimens of Franco's melody, and his method of dividing it into phrases, by lines drawn through the staff, in the manner of Bars.



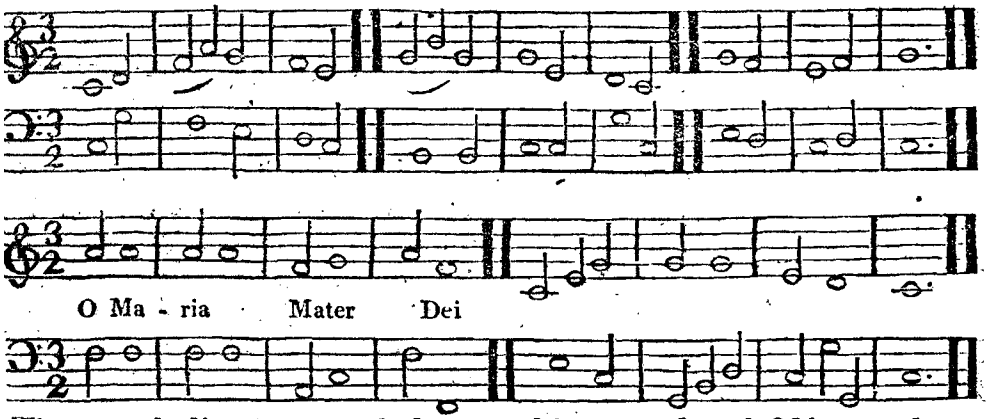
notæ manifestum est, id circo de notis vel figuris, quod idem est, est tractandum. Sed cum ipse Discantus tam voce recta quam ejus contrario, hoc est voce obmissa, reguletur, et ista sint diversa, horum erunt diversa signa, quia diversorum signa sunt diversa.

(*g*) *Finis* Punctorum *omnes lineas attingens quatuor spacia comprehendit.* It appears from this passage, that notes, after they ceased to be round, continued to be called *Points*, an appellation which gave birth to the term *Contrapunctum*, at a time when notes had affirmed a square and lozenge form.

The earliest use I have been able to find of the word *Contrapunctum*. is in a manuscript tract on that subject, by John de Muris, see p. 147.

The

The first of these fragments consists chiefly of *Trochees*, and the second of *Iambics*. They are both regularly phrased, and, when expressed by modern characters, have not a very barbarous appearance.



These melodies seem to belong to his second and fifth moods.

Whoever compares the notation of Franco with that of Guido, or any writer of the eleventh or twelfth centuries, must be greatly astonished at its method, simplicity, and clearness. For though he uses but three characters, or distinct forms of notes, yet those, with their several properties of prolation and diminution, furnished a great variety of measures and proportions. And if, with improvements in notation and harmony, he be allowed to have suggested the *Bar*, and the *Point* of augmentation, the benefits he has conferred upon practical music will entitle him to a very conspicuous and honourable place among the founders and legislators of the art. Indeed, I have been able to find no considerable improvements in the Time-table between the eleventh and the fourteenth century; when the chief merit of several authors in the Cantus Mensurabilis, whose names and writings are come down to us, was to dilute the discovers of Franco, and pour water on his leaves.

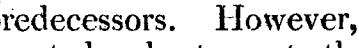
The next author on the *Cantus Mensurabilis*, or Measured-Song, whose writings have been preserved, is our countryman Walter Odington, monk of Evesham, of whose valuable treatise, in Benet, college, Cambridge, an ample account has been already given.

given in the preceding chapter, as far as it concerned plain-song, and organizing, or simple harmony; but an account of his rules for *measure*, which are contained in the sixth and last part of his work, *De Speculatione Musicæ*, was reserved for this place, where it will fill up a chasm in the history of that important part of music, which has been left void by all other treatises that I have been able to consult.

It has been hastily determined by some who have seen no part of this work but the mere titles of the books it contains, in Tanner's *Bibliotheca Britannica*, that not one of them professes to treat of the Cantus Mensurabilis; yet, on the contrary, in the sixth part, where he not only gives rules for organizing, or music in parts, but for the composition of *figurative* music, *De Compositione et Figuratione*, we have chapters on the following subjects: *De Longis, Brevibus, et Semibrevibus; De Plicis; Quot Modis Longa perfecta et imperfecta dicitur; De Pausis; De Ligaturis, &c.* The fourth book, *De Inequalitate Temporum in Pedibus, quibus Metra et Rhythmi decurrunt*, contains indeed terms that ceased to be made use of after the invention of the Cantus Mensurabilis. However, these terms have not yet ceased to be applied to poetical numbers, concerning which this book of Odington only treats.

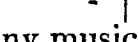
In the former part of his work the author, treating chiefly of *Canto Plano*, or ecclesiastical chanting, in a way somewhat different from his predecessors, particularly in his *Notation*, never mentions *Organizing*, or *Measured Music*; but in this last part, he treats of both in a very ample manner, and so much in the order and terms of Franco, as would have been impossible, had he not seen his tract, or, at least, his doctrines, in some other writer.

In one of the chapters of this last part, which treats of the perfect and imperfect Moods, and their Mutations, he compares musical *Times* to poetical Feet, in a more full, clear, and ingenious manner than has been done since by any other writer.

The author declares in his last chapter, that he has nothing to fear from the severity of fastidious critics; as his intention was not so much to invent rules of his own, as to collect the precepts and opinions of his predecessors. However, he seems to have been the first that suggested a shorter note than the Semibreve, though he did not give it a form: for, cap. i. part vi. we have the following passage:—*Ita Semibrevem* primò *divido in tres partes quas* Minimas *voco, Figuras retinens Semibrevis,* ne ab aliis Musicis videar discedere; verum cum Brevis, divisa in duas Semibreves, sequitur divisam in tres partes, ut in tres partes et duas divisiones pono—sic  —*quæ* MINIMÆ *seu velocissimæ, et sic de aliis.* Where he seems to say "I divide the Semibreve into three parts—still retaining the "figure of the semibreve—lest I should seem to depart from "the doctrine of others."—The text is much abbreviated here, and very difficult to decipher; however, he certainly speaks of smaller portions of time than the Semibreve, and calls these portions *Minimæ Partes;* which seems to entitle him to the invention of the name of *Minim,* though not of the note by which it is characterised; at least, this is the first time that I have met with the mention of a quicker note than the Semibreve.

A Commentary upon Franco's tract, *De Musica Mensurabili,* written by Robert de Handlo near a hundred years after the treatise by Odington, affords no new information or precepts different from his original; nor could it ever have been rendered valuable but by its scarcity, or rather by the difficulty of meeting with the writings of Franco.

The ancient copy of Handlo's tract, dated 1326, was destroyed by the fire which happened at Ashburnham House, Westminster, while it was the repository of the Cotton manuscripts. However, as the modern transcript, which was made for the late Dr. Pepusch, is lodged in the British Museum, and accessible,

sible, there seems no necessity for giving a particular account of it. I shall only observe, that which he says of Ligatures and their several properties is literally copied from Franco. The Plica is much better defined and explained in the original text than in Handlo's annotations, in which, though the title promises additional discoveries of other musicians, *Regulæ cum maximis Magistri Franconis, cum additionibus aliorum Musicorum*, we find no new modes or notes except a strange kind of Long, divided into quadrangles  to augment its length, which has never been used in any music that I have seen; and the thirteen *Rubrics* into which this tract is divided, concern nothing but Time, or musical Measures, and are only a commentary upon the four first chapters of Franco's tract; the two last, which treat of Discant, being never mentioned.

Many whimsical and fantastical forms of notes were proposed by different musical writers between the time of Franco and the invention of printing; but none were received into general use except those already mentioned, if the addition of the Minim and Crotchet be excepted, of which notice will be given hereafter. Musical characters remained full, or black, for several centuries after this invention; nor do I find any white, or open notes, in old manuscripts, before the fifteenth century. Those of Guillaume Machault, a French musician, who lived about 1350, and whose compositions are preserved, have no open notes (*h*).

It is the opinion of P. Martini (*i*), and the prince abbot of St. Blaise (*k*), two diligent enquirers, who seldom build conjectures upon a weak foundation, that *Accents* and *Points*, enlarged, disfigured, and lengthened, became musical characters

(*h*) *Notice Sommaire de deux Volumes de Poesies Francoises et Latinis, conservees dans la Bibl. des Carmes-dechaux de Paris; avec une Indication dn genre de Musique qui s'y trouve. Par l'Abbe Lebeuf.* Mem. de Litt. tom. xxxiv. 8vo. p. 120. An account of these manuscripts will be given hereafter.

(*i*) *Storia della Mus.* tom. i. p. 185.

(*k*) *De Cantu et Mus. Sacra*, tomus ii. p. 63.

for

for Time as well as Tune. At first, when lines and spaces were used, from their being chiefly employed in a square form for writing the chants established by St. Gregory, they acquired the name of *Gregorian Notes*, *Quadrata*, and in barbarous Latin, *Quadriquarta*. As the church is slow in receiving new doctrines, and generally a century later in admitting those improvements or corruptions in music (the reader may call them which he pleases) that are adopted by the laity as the fortunate efforts of cultivated genius, the notation of chants was at first censured and prohibited by several councils *(l)*; and it has already been shewn, that *figurative Harmony* being regarded as a *crying sin* by Pope John XXII, was formally excommunicated by a Bull from the Conclave, 1322 *(m)*.

With respect to the various forms of the first notes that were used for Time, it is not difficult to deduce them wholly from the black square note, called a *Breve*, the first and almost only note used in Canto Fermo; which, with a foot or tail to it, is a *Long*, and if doubled in breadth, a *Large*. The square note also placed on one of its angles, differs very little from the Rhombus or Lozenge, and with a tail placed at its lowest angle, when open, becomes a *Minim*, and, when full, a *Crotchet*.

Vicentino *(n)*, and Kircher *(o)*, with more ingenuity than truth, imagined all the notes to have been derived from the Natural and Flat ♮b, or square and round B, as they appear in Gothic manuscripts; because, say they, the square ♮, which is itself a *Long*, if the tail be taken away, becomes a *Breve*, and the round b, which represents a *Minim*, by removing the tail is made a Semibreve, as, when filled up with ink, it is a *Crotchet*. But these authors, of whose writings we shall have further occasion to speak hereafter, forgot, or where wholly ignorant, that the Long and Breve were entirely black for several

(*l*) *De Cantu et Mus. Sacra*, tomus ii. p. 62, *et seq.*
(*l*) See p. 149.
(*n*) *L'Antica Musica Ridotta alla' Moderna Prattica.* Roma, 1555.
(*o*) *Mursurg.* p. 556.

ages

ages after their invention; and that the open Semibreve and Minim were unknown till the fourteenth century.

Neither Franco, nor his Commentator, formed the several notes which they described into a *Table*, in the manner which it was the custom to do immediately after the time of Handlo; though an elaborate and complicated diagram, in appearance, might have been constructed out of the seeming scant materials of three notes, if their perfect, and imperfect, or triple and double powers, had been taken into the account. Nor do these signs of prolation and the relative value of notes, O ⊙ C ¢, which were afterwards prefixed to every melody, occur in the writings of Franco; but it will be time enough to supply these omissions, when the metical part of music shall be furnished with more characters.

More pains have been taken to point out and explain the musical doctrines of Guido and Franco than of any other theorists of the middle ages; their tracts having been regarded as original institutes, which succeeding writers have done little more than copy or comment. John Cotton is the commentator of Guido, as Robert de Handlo is of Franco; and John de Muris, in his *Speculum Musicæ*, is little more. However, in the succeeding century, Prosdocimus de Beldemandis wrote an exposition of the doctrines contained in the *Practica Mensurabilis Cantus* of John de Muris: and thus we go on from age to age, reviving old opinions, and adding little to the common and limited stock of human knowledge! It is humiliating to reflect, that the discoveries of one age barely serve to repair the losses of another; and that while we imagine ourselves advancing towards perfection, we seem, like muffled horses in a mill, but pursuing the same circle!

JOHN DE MURIS is by some stiled a doctor and canon of the Sorbonne(*p*), by some a mathematician and philosopher(*q*),

(*p*) Rousseau, Dict. de Mus. *Docteur et Chanoine de Paris.*

(*q*) Walther, *Musicalisches* Lexicon. Fabricius, *Bib. Lat. Med. et Inf. Ætat.*

and by others a chanter of the church of Notre-Dame at Paris (*r*). His country is likewise disputed: for though the general opinion be that he was born at Meurs in Normandy, whence he had his name, yet, by a typographical error, he is called *Parmigiano* in Bontempi, instead of *Parigino*, which makes him a native of Parma instead of Paris (*s*). But though he has no title to the first invention of the Time-table, he must certainly have been a great benefactor to practical music by his numerous writings on the subject, which doubtless threw new lights upon the art, as may be better imagined now from the gratitude of his successors, by whom he is so frequently quoted and commended, than from the writings themselves, which *Time*, to whom he was supposed to be so great a friend, has rendered totally useless, and almost unintelligible.

But though he is intitled to an honourable place among musical worthies; yet, as both his country and profession have been disputed; all that can be done to gratify the reader's curiosity concerning him, is to give a complete list of his works that are still preserved in the several libraries of Europe; and from their titles and contents to deduce at least a probable opinion of other circumstances concerning him.

Besides the tract in the Vatican library, which has been already specified p. 11, I found there three others by de Muris, on the subject of music: of the two first, which are in the same volume,* one is "a Treatise on Time, or Measured "Music:" Joannis de Muris *Practica Cantus Mensurabilis*, pr. *Quilibet in Arte (t)*; and the other "a Compendium of "Counterpoint:" Joannis de Muris *Ars Summaria Contrapuncti*,—pr. *Volentibus introduci*. The third, which is among

(*r*) Mersenne, *Harm. Univ. Liv. des Consonances*, p. 84.

(*s*) I call it a *typographical* error, in order to acquit Bontempi of making J. de Muris an Italian, either from ignorance or want of integrity; as I am in possession of a proof-copy of his *Storia della Musica*, in which, among other corrections made in his own hand, the word *Parmigiano* is changed to *Parigino*. * No. 5321.

(*t*) This tract is likewise in Benet college, Cambridge, No. 410, in the same vol. as Walter Odington's treatise, though the author has been hitherto unknown.

among

the queen of Sweden's manuscripts,* consists of "Musical "Theorems explained in Verse:" Joan. de Muris *Theoremata Musica Versibus explicata.*

In the king of France's library at Paris there are two copies of his *Speculum Musicæ*, or *Mirror of Music*, in seven books (*u*), which is the principal and most ample of all his musical writings. This is the work mentioned by Mersennus, Du Cange, and Rousseau, and in which they all tried in vain as well as myself, to find proofs of his having been the inventor of the Time-table.

Rousseau has given two considerable quotations from this work in his Musical Dictionary, article *Discant*, which de Muris defines "The singing extempore with one or more persons in "different Concords, in such a manner as to produce *One* "*Harmony* (*x*)." After which he explains what he means by *Concords*, and the choice that should be made of them upon these occasions. He then severely censures the singers of his time for their ignorance and indiscriminate use of them. "If "our rules are good, with what front, says he, do those dare "to *discant* or *compose*, who are so ignorant of Concords as "not to know which are more or less pleasing, which ought "to be avoided, or most frequently used; where to introduce "them, or any thing that concerns the true practice of the art? "If they accord it is by mere chance; their voices wander "about the tenor or plain-song without rule, trusting wholly to "Providence for their coincidence. They throw sounds about "at random, as awkward people throw stones at a mark, "without hitting it once in a hundred times."

The good master Muris then proceeds to flagellate with great fury these corruptors of the pure and simple harmony of his time: "Heu! proh dolor! His temporibus aliqui suum de-

* No. 1728.

(*u*) No. 7207, 7208.

(*x*) *Discantat qui simul cum uno vel pluribus. dulciter cantat, ut ex distinctis sonis sonus unus fiat, non unitate simplicitatis, sed dulcis concordisque mixtionis unione.*

"fectum

" fectum inepto proverbio colorare moliuntur. Iste est, iniqui-
" unt, novus discantandi modus, novis scilicet uti consonantiis;
" offendunt ii intellectum eorum, qui tales defectus agnoscunt,
" offendunt sensum: nam inducere cùm deberent delectationem,
" adducunt tristitiam. O incongruum proverbium! O mala
" coloratio, irrationabilis excusatio! O magnus abusus, magna
" ruditas, magna bestialitas, ut asinus sumatur pro homine,
" capra pro leone, ovis pro pisce, serpens pro salmone! Sic
" enim concordiæ confunduntur cum discordiis, ut nullatenùs
" una distinguatur ab aliâ. O! si antiqui periti Musicæ Doc-
" tores tales audissent discantatores, quid dixissent? Quid fecis-
" sent? Sic discantantem increparent, et dicerent: non hunc
" discantum, quo uteris, de me sumis. Non tuum cantum unum
" et concordantem cum me facis. De quo te intromittis? Mihi
" non congruis, mihi adversarius, scandalum tu mihi es; O
" utinam taceres! non concordas, sed deliras et discordas *(y)*.

As

(y) The Latin of this passage is so obsolete and monkish, that it seems as if it would fall more naturally into English of the sixteenth century, than into that of the present times. " But, alas! in these our " dayes, some do stryve to glosse over " theyr lacke of skyll with silly sayenges. " This, cry they, is the *newe* method of " discantynge, these be the newe concordes. " —Howbeit they grievously offend there- " by both the hearing, and the under- " standing of suche as be skylled to judge " of theyr defects; for where we look for " delight, they induce sadnesse. O in- " congruous sayenge! O wretched glosse! " irrational excuse! O monstrous abuse! " most rude and bestial ignoraunce! to take " an asse for a man, a goat for a lyon, a " sheepe for a fishe, a snake for a salmone! " For in suche sorte do they confound con- " cordes with discordes, as ye shall in no " wise discerne the one from the other. " O! if the good old maysters of former " tyme did hear suche *discanters*, what " wolde they say or do? Out of doubte " they woulde thus chyde them and say, " This discant, whereof ye now make use, " ye do not take it from *me*; ye do in no " wyse frame your songe to be concord- " aunt with me; wherefore do ye trust " yourselves in? ye do not agree with " me; ye are an adversary, and a scandal " unto me. O that ye wolde be dumb! " This is not *concordynge*, but most doat- " ynge and delyrious *discordynge*."

Concerning the writings upon various subjects by John de Muris that are still preserved among the manuscripts of the Bodleian and Museum libraries, I shall transcribe the account given in Tanner's *Bibliotheca Britannica*, p. 537, which is so ample as to need little addition.

" John de Muris or Murus, an English- " man, and an eminent philosopher, " mathematician, and musician, wrote " *Ex Stellarum positionibus prophetiam.* " Lib. i. ' Infra Annum certe Mundi.' " *Arithmeticam Speculativam.* Lib. i. MS. " Oxon. in Bibl. publ. Impress. Mo- " gunt——*Tractatum Musicum.* Lib. i. " ' Quoniam Musica est de Sono relato " ad Numeros." MS. Bodl. NE. F " 10. 11. *Artem compendi* (metiendi) " *fistulas Organorum* Secundum Guido- " nem. Lib. i. ' *Cognita consonantia in* " *Chordis.*' Ibid. *Sufficientiam Musicæ*

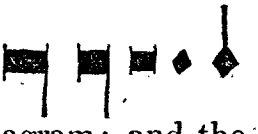
" *Or-*

As all the tracts in the list of his writings which concern music have been carefully examined, I shall endeavour to convey to the reader an idea of their contents.

The tract which begins *Quoniam Musica est de Sono relato ad Numeros*, is now marked Bodl. 300. It is a treatise of Harmonics, in which the circulur and conical diagrams and divisions of the scale are innumerable. The author is as fond of the circle in this work, as Tartini was four hundred years after. The transcriber has however omiited many of these illustrations of his doctrines, by which perhaps the injury to musical students of the present age is not very considerable.—*Explicit Musica Magistri Johannis de Muris.*

What follows in the manuscript is manifestly a continuation of the subject, and a second part of the preceding tract. It begins thus: *Princeps Philosophorum Aristoteles ait in Principio Mathematicæ suæ omnino Scientis Signum est posse docere.* We find, after the introduction, a repetition of the initial sentence of the first part: *Quoniam Musica est de Sono relato ad Numeros.* This part, however, relates more to the practice of music than the other.

" *Organicæ editam* (ita habet MS.) *a Mag.* " *Joanne de Muris, Musico Sapientissimo,* " *et totius orbis Subtilissimo experto.* Pr. " Princeps Philosophorum Aristoteles.' Ib. " *Compositionem Consonantiarum in Symbo-* " *lis Secundum Boetium..* Pr. ' Omne In- " strumentum Musicæ.' Ib. *Canones super* " *Tabulas Alphonsinas.* Pr. ' Quia se- " cundum Philosophum 4to. Physicorum.' " MS. Bodl. Digby 168. f. 132. *Collec-* " *tionem Prophetiarum de Rebus Anglicis,* " per Joh. de Muris, MS. Cotton. Vespas. " E VII. 8. In MS. Bodl. Digby 190. " fol. 72. extat *Prologus in opus, cui Titulus:* " Tractatus Canonum minutiarum Phi- " losophicarum et Vulgarium, quem com- " posuit Mag. Johannes de Muris, Nor- " mannus A. MCCCXXI. a quo eodum " anno (verba sunt autoris) *Notitia Artis* " *Musicæ* proferendæ et sigurandæ tam " mensurabilis quam planæ, quantum ad " omnem modum possibilem discantandi, " non solum per integra, sed usque ad " minutissimas fractiones: *Cognitioque cir-* " *culi quadraturæ* perfectissime demon- " stratæ: *expositioque tabularum Alphonsi,* " regis Castelliæ: et *Genealogiæ Astrono-* " *miæ* nobis claruit,' &c. *Canones de* " *Eclipsibus.* Pr. ' In oppositione ha- " benda aliud.' MS. Bodl. Digby 97. ubi " habetur hæc nota: ' Hos Canones dis- " posuit Johannes de Muris *Parisiis* in A. " MCCCXXXIX. in Domo Scholarium de " Sorbona.' *De Conjuntione Saturni et* " *Jovis,* A. MCCCXLV. Pr. ' Tres " Principes ex Militia.' MS. Bodl. Digby " 176. Bal. XI. 74. Pits. *app.* p. 872. " seq."

In this chapter *De Tempore perfecto et imperfecto*, he seems to call Common Time perfect, and Triple Time imperfect: for he says, *quod Longa possit* Imperfici *per Brevem. Brevis per Semibrevem. Semibrevis per Miniam. Quod Minima non possit imperfici.* However, by these words he perhaps only means to say that a Long, which by itself is perfect, or equal to three Breves, by position may be rendered imperfect, that is, equal to two Breves only, by a Breve, the next shortest note being placed after it; and so a Breve, which alone, or with other Breves, is triple, becomes double by a Semibreve following it. What he means by saying that a Minim cannot be imperfected in the same manner, is that there was no shorter note, the Crotchet not being then invented, to perform the operation. In his diagrams of Musical Proportions or Time-tables, he gives but four kinds of notes; that is, in four columns: for in these are manifestly five distinct forms of characters; as 

The Scale of Guido, in a perpendicular diagram; and the Hexachords, which are well arranged under their several denominations of *Durum*, *Naturale*, and *Molle*, are exhibited in this tract.

In the tract by John de Muris, beginning *Quilibet in Arte*, which I unexpectedly found in Benet College, Cambrige, in the same volume as Odington's treatise, the notes are divided into five classes: *Quinque sunt Partes, Prolationis, videlicit Maxima, Longa, Brevis, Semibrevis et Minima*, ut hic---giving the same characters as in the tract just mentioned; and here, likewise, his doctrine agrees with that in his other treatise, where he seems to call the triple proportions imperfect, and the dual perfect.

This is the most ancient manuscript in which I have found the signs of the modes, C C O ⊙, and the *Punctum Perfectionis*. Here it plainly appears that the Punctum, or point, in John de Muris operates in the same manner as that already described

scribed in Franco, p. 187, where it makes the note to which it is prefixed perfect, that is, of three times; and the calling it *Punctum Perfectionis*, or Point of Perfection, proves its power of making a double quantity triple, as at present. At the bottom of fol. 6, is written, *Explicit Tractatus Joannis de Muris;* however, it goes on for fifteen pages more. Here I first saw an open or white Minim 𝅗𝅥 𝅗𝅥, and a half lozenge note ◺. The ink is pale, and the writing very bad, and difficult to decipher; but the manuscript, which is written on paper of a coarse texture, seems entire, and corresponds in every particular with that in the Vatican library, No. 5321, which has been already mentioned, p. 35. It was this treatise which Prosdocimo de Beldemandis of Padua, a voluminous writer on music in the beginning of the fifteenth century, thought of sufficient importance to merit a Commentary, which is now in the possession of Padre Martini of Bologna (z).

The tract by J. de Muris, in the Bodleian library, upon the measures, and proportions of orgau pipes according to Guido, beginning *Omne Instrumentum Musice*, is very short, and contains nothing very important to music at present. It is not known that Guido ever wrote on the same subject, and de Muris only means by *secundum Guidonem*, to say that he has followed the same proportions which Guido established in his division of the monochord.

In another short tract of the same volume he follows Boethius. And in his *Tractatus Canonum minutiarum Philosophicarum et vulgarium*, where he tells us that he had composed at the same time "a Treatise on the Art of Music, teaching and describing "in Figures or Notes both Measured and Plain-song, with "every possible Kind of Discant, not only by Integers or long

(z) *Practica Mensurabilis Cantus*, Mag. Joan. de Muris, de Normandia, alias Parisiensis, cum exposit. Posdocimi de Beldemandis Patav. MS. an. 1404.

"Notes,

" Notes, but by the shortest and most minute Fractions (*a*), he probably alludes to his *Speculum Musicæ*, in seven books, which seems the most voluminous of all his writings. See p. 35, 46.

With respect to the dispute concerning the place of his nativity, though Tanner, copying Pits and Bale, calls him an Englishman, yet we find that in the title of one of the manuscripts of the Bodleian library, in Tanner's list, he is called a Norman, and in another a Parisian. Padre Martini (*b*) likewise quotes a manuscript of the year 1404, in which he is called the Great John de Muris, *de Normandia* alias *Parisiensis*.

Having taken some pains to trace the opinion of his being an Englishman to its source, I have been able to find no such title given to him in any of his numerours writings that have been preserved in manuscript throughout Europe. The assertion rests entirely on Robert Record, a physician at Cambridge, and one of the first writers upon science in the English language. His works were very voluminous, of which, however, little more remain than the titles preserved in Pits' account of him, which says that he was living in 1552 (*c*); at least I have never been able to procure any of his writings, except his Arithmetic, printed in black letter 1543. And as John de Muris had written on the same subject (*d*), I had hopes of meeting in this tract with the place where Record calls him an Englishman; but no such could be found.

Pits (*e*) calls him an English mathematician, and says " he " was a man of some genius, but possessed of too daring a cu- " riosity; for while he was studying philosophy, he addicted " himself to mathematics, and to that more sublime part of " astronomy which contemplates the heavens: and in the ex- " ercise of his genius for calculation he had the insolence to " predict future events; thus persuading the ignorant and vul-

(*a*) See the list of his works from Tanner. p. 872.
(*b*) *Storia della Musica*, p. 461. tom. i.
(*c*) *Append. Illust. Aug. Script.* tom. i.
(*d*) *Arithmeticam Speculativam*, lib. duos.
(*e*) *Loc. Cit.*

" gar

"gar, that by the aspect of the stars he could penetrate the "decrees of Providence. He dared to publish celestial secrets "under the title of *Prophetiarum*, prophecies (*f*)."

These particulars, and many more, he says, were collected from *Robert Record*. But neither from him, nor any one else, was he able to discover at what time he lived. Bale, who calls him a mathematician and a conjurer (*g*), gives the same authority for his being an Englishman.

This bare assertion, made at a time when it was not so customary to give or expect proofs and critical exactness in support of facts as at present, has not only been copied without farther enquiry by Pits, Bale, and Tanner, at home, but by Fabricius, and other respectable writers on the continent. A Latin distich, by an anonymous writer (*h*), which had been quoted in favour of this opinion, can add but little to its weight, when it is known to come from the most ignorant and monkish of writers, the author of a treatise *De Origine et Effectu Musice*, written 1451; who tells us that "Cyrus lived soon after the deluge; that one king *Enchiridias* was a writer on music," mistaking, I suppose, some *Enchiridion* which he had seen, for the name of a royal author. And that "Thubal kept a black-"smith's shop, at which Pythagoras adjusted the consonances "by the sound of his hammers."

But if, instead of a distich, we take the four last lines of these barbarous verses, with their true punctuation, thus:

(*f*) Judicial Astrology was then the reigning folly of philosophers and learned men. Robert the Good, king of Sicily, so renowned for wisdom and science, that Boccaccio called him the wisest prince who had reigned since king Solomon, sent his *predictions* to his cousin king Philip de Valois, then at war with our Edward the third. Indeed, most of the musical writers of those times studied the stars, perhaps for the sake of *Spherical Music*; and as the tonsor and surgeon were long united in this country, so we find music and astrology constant companions. Walter Odington, of Evesham in Worcestershire, is said to have been "an able astrologer and musician." The same is said of Simon Tunsted, and Theinred, of Dover.

(*g*) *Mathematicus et Vates.*

(*h*) Ihon de Muris, *variis floruitque figuris,*
Anglia cantorum omen gignit plurimorum.

Pausas, juncturas, facturas, atque *figuras*
Mensuratarum formavit Franco *notarum*;
Et Ihon De Muris, *variis floruitque figuris.*
Anglia cantorum omen [f. *nomen*] *gignit plurimorum* (*i*)

they will be found no more to prove John de Muris an Englishman, than Franco, as both contributed to the progress of music in this kingdom; and it may as well be insisted upon, that, because Metastasio has enriched this country with many beautiful songs, he must consequently be a native of England. Indeed, it is difficult to assign any meaning to the last verse; or even to divine what it is "to beget an omen."

That monks and persons of learning, for many centuries before the Reformation, were more frequently distinguished by the name of the place which gave them birth, joined to their baptism appellation, than by their family name, is most certain: as Guido Aretinus, Geoffry of Monmouth, Henry of Huntingdon, William of Malmsbury, John of Salisbury, Mathew of Westminster, &c. who have been always supposed natives, or, at least, inhabitants, of the several places by which they were called. Now, though no town in Normandy of the name of *Meurs* can be found, either in maps or geographical books, yet, as there are several places so called in France, particularly one in Touraine, and another in Anjou, near Angers (*k*), which, by giving birth to our John, served to distinguish him from his innumerable namesakes of other kingdoms, cities, and professions; and as no satisfactory or probable reason has been assigned for supposing him an Englishman, nor can any one be

(*i*) Extracted from the manuscript of Waltham Holy Cross: once the property of the late Mr. West, president of the Royal Society, but now in the possession of the Earl of Shelburne.

(*k*) MEUR, *en Touraine, di ocese de Tours, parlement de* Paris.

MEURS, *Bourg, en Anjou, diocese et election de* Laon. *parlement de* Paris, *intendance de* Tours, *ce Bourg est situe pres de la rive gauche de la Loire.* Dict. Geographique, Hist. et Polit. des Gaules et de France, par l'Abbe Expilly. Tom. iv. Amst. 1766.

In the *Dict. Universelle de la France,* the same situation is given to this village, except its being in the election of *Angers.*

now

now suggested except a patriotic desire of appropriating to our own country a man whose learning and talents have been long celebrated, it is but just to restore him to that country which seems to have the fairest claim to him.

John de Muris, though not the inventor of the *Cantus Mensurabilis*, seems by his numerous writings greatly to have improved it. Indeed, every species of note to be found in his tract, except the Minim, is described in Franco, as well as used in compositions anterior to his time, and mentioned by authors who wrote upon music before him. Nor is it possible to imagine that this art was invented and received by all Europe at once: like others, it had its beginning, improvements, and perfection, in different periods of time. His *Art of Counterpoint (l)*, of which I procured a copy at Rome, though comprised in a few pages, is, however, the most clear and useful tract on the subject, which those times could boast.

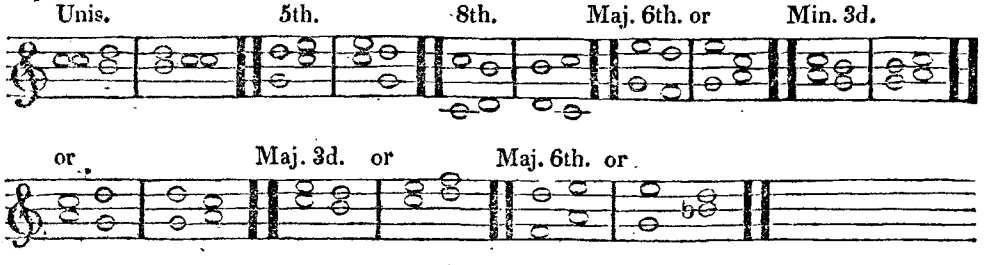
He begins by informing the reader, that beyond the Octave all is repetition. That "within the Octave there are six species "of Concord; three perfect, and three imperfect: of the first "kind are the Unison, 8th, and 5th; and of the second, the "two 3ds, and Major 6th. The first of the perfect kind, (he "says,) is the *Unison*, which, though by some not allowed to "be a Concord, yet, according to Boethius, is the source and "and origin of all consonance. The unison naturally requires "after it a Minor 3d; which on the contrary, for variety, is "best succeeded by a perfect Concord. The 5th being of the "perfect kind, is well followed by a Major 3d, and *è contra*. "The Octave, another perfect Concord, may be succeeded by "the Major 6th; after which, either a perfect or imperfect "Concord may be taken. It is the same with the Minor 3d, "which, being of the imperfect kind, may be succeeded either

(l) *Ars Contrapuncti*, Jo. de Muris. *Ex* MS. *Vat.* 5321.

"by

" by a perfect or imperfect Concord. The Major 3d, though " best followed by a 5th, yet may be succeeded by another 3d, " but then it must be Minor. The Major 6th too, though " best followed by an 8th, may yet be succeeded either by a " perfect or imperfect Concord of another species, for the sake " of variety; it can be followed by a 5th only when the under " part rises a Major or Minor 3d; but by 3ds and 6ths at " pleasure. Every composition should begin and end in a per- " fect Concord; and it must be remembered that no two parts " should ascend or descend in *perfect Concords*, though im- " perfect may be used without limitation: and lastly, care " must be taken, that when the under part ascends, the upper " should descend, and the contrary."

Most of these rules were given by Franco, but with less clearness and precision; and as they will not only shew that Harmony had made some progress in the fourteenth century, but are such as would not shock modern ears, I shall present them to the musical reader, in notes.



The Minor 6th, I know nor why, is called a *Discord* by Franco, and has no admission among Concords, by John de Muris; though it is only an inversion of the Major 3d, which both allow to be a Concord.

John de Muris makes no mention of the 4th in this tract, though, in his *Speculum Musicæ*, he gives rules for discanting in a *succession of Fourths*, under the barbarous term, *Diatessaronare*.

Pro-

Prosdocimus de Beldemandis * is the first who allows the minor 6th a place in the catalogue of Concords, and is explicit in speaking of the 4th as a *Discord.* However, he says it is less a Discord than the 2d or 7th, and may be placed in a middle class, *between* Concords and Discords.

But earlier writers than Prosdocimo must here have a place after John de Muris, and among these PHILIPPUS DE VITRIACO deserves notice, not only as one of the most ancient writers on Counterpoint, whose tract is preserved in the Vatican library †, from which I procured a copy; but as the reputed inventor of the *Minim,* and a composer of *Motets,* which have been very muce celebrated by old musical writers.

The name of Philip de Vitriacò very frequently occurs in ancient authors, particularly in England, where he has been commended both in verse and prose. William Cornish, chapelman to the most famouse and noble kynge Henry VII. in a parable between Trouth and Information, published in Skelton's works, 12mo. 1736, names him among the greatest musicians upon record.

> And the first pryncipal, whose name was Tuballe,
> Guido, Boice, John de Muris, Vitryaco, and them al.

An anonymous Latin writer in the Cotton musical manuscript, which will be described herea ftersays he invented the Minim, and was a musician universally approved and celebrated, in his time. The author of the manuscript in the Bodleian library, attributed to Thomas of Tewkesbury, says the same *(m)*. Morley *(n)*, Ravenscroft *(o)*, and Butler *(p)*, are of

* In a tract upon Counterpoint among the Vatican MSS. No. 5321, written 1412.

† *Ars Contrapuncti, secundum* Phillippum de Vitriaco. Ex MS. Vat. 5321.

(m) His seventh chapter has for title, *De Figuris inventis a* Francone, *et de Inventione Minime,* which last, he says, was added by Philip de Vitriaco of Auvergne, the flower of musicians in the whole world.

(n) Annotations to the first part of his *Introduction.*

(o) P. 3.

(p) P. 27.

this opinion; and Morley tells us that he used red notes in his Motets to imply a change of mode, time, and prolation. Vitriaco, however, makes no mention of such in his tract on Counterpoint, and his Motets, if they could now be found, such is the transient state of music, would be utterly unintelligible; though Morley tells us, that "they were for some time of all others best esteemed and most used in the church (*q*).

There are Motets, *Muteti*, in two parts, four hundred years old, inserted in the second volume of Gerbert's History of Church Music; but of so coarse a texture, that if a specimen were given here it would be of no other use than to raise the reader's wonder how such music could ever be composed or performed, and still more, how it should ever have been listened to with pleasure.

Franco speaks of Motets in three parts, *Moteti—qui habent triplum*, &c.—The Pseudo-Bede, *De Musica Mensurata*, uses the word *Motellus* in the same sense; and in defining the Grave, Mean, and Acute parts of Music, says, *ex his componuntur* Mortelli, *seu* Conducti, *vel* Organa.

Rondelli, *Motelli* and *Conducti* (*r*) were secular melodies, distinct from ecclesiastical chants. Franco, in the fifth chapter of his tract on Measured Music, after giving instructions for putting parts to a plain-song, says, *in* conductis *aliter est operandum, quia qui vult facere* conductum, *primò cantum invenire debet pulchriorem quam potest, deinde uti debet illo, ut de*

(*q*) *Motet* is derived from the French word *Mot*, and the Italian *Motto*; whence *Bon-mot*, a joke, and *Motto*, a short inscription, have been naturalized in our tongue.

(*r*) The word *Conductus* is frequently found as a musical term in writers of the thirteenth century. Odo, archbishop of Rheims, about 1250, in his charge to the nuns of the monastery of Villars, calls both the *Conducti* and *Motuli*, Motets, "Jocose and scurrilous songs." *In festo S. Johannis et Innocentium nimia jocositate et scurrilibus Cantibus utebantur utpote farsis*, Conductis, Motulis, *præcepimus, quod honestius et cum majori devotione alias se haberent.* Ex Cod. *Reg. Visitat.* apud Gerbert.

The term *Conduis*, in old French, had the same acceptation, according to the following passage, cited by the continuator of Ducange:

De bien chanter estoit si duis
Que chansonetes et Conduis
Chante si affaiteement, &c.

Tenore

Tenore faciendo Discantum. Here a tune or melody is to be invented as well as the harmony or parts: and in the same tract, chap. vi. which is deficient in the Oxford copy, after speaking of different kinds of composition, he says, *et nota, quod in his omnibus idem est modus operandi, excepto in* Conductis *quia in omnibus aliis primo accipitur Cantus aliquis prius factus, quia Tenor dicitur, eo quod Discantum tenet, et ab ipso* (f. *discantus*) *ortum habet. In* Conductis *vero non sic, sed fiunt ab eodem Cantus et Discantus*, &c. "It is to be observed, that in all these compositions "the process is the same, except in the *Conductus*, because in "every other species of Discant some melody already made is "chosen, which is called the Tenor, and which governs the "Discant that originates from it. But it is different in the "*Conductus*, where the Cantus, or Melody, and the Discant, "or Harmony, are both to be produced." Perhaps this species of Air had the name of *Conductus* from being the *Subject*, *Theme*, and *Guide*, to which different parts were applied.

Durand (*s*) says, that, about the latter end of the thirteenth century, *Motets* were censured as indecorous and prophane; and Carpentier (*t*) gives a passage from the manuscript Constitutions of the Carmelite friars (*u*), which ordains that "no *Motets* "or other songs that are more likely to excite lasciviousness "than devotion, should be sung, under severe penalties."

At present this title is given to all compositions set to Latin words for the use of the Romish church, as Psalms, Hymns, Anthems, Responses, &c. Musicians, however, of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and even earlier, sometimes gave the name of *Motetus* to the part which is now called *Counter-Tenor*. It was afterwards synonimous with *Motellus*, a kind of tune or melody, which, though continued in the church, was censured as too light and *scurrilous*.

(*s*) *De Modo Gen. Concil. Celebrandi.* *Lat.* V. Motetus.
(*t*) *Suppl. in Gloss. ad Script. Med. et inf.* (*u*) P. I. Rubr. 3.

The

The earliest, and indeed the most pompous publication of Motets which I have seen, are those of Lodovico Vittoria at Rome, 1585, with the parts printed separate on the opposite pages, and without bars (*x*). In 1659, a Collection of *Motetti*, by Carissimi and others, was published at Venice; and our countryman, Orlando Gibbons, in 1612, published Madrigals and *Moteti*, together. But at the latter end of the last century, and the beginning of this, the Motet was in the greatest favour as the most elegant and polished species of *Verse-Anthem* that was used in the Romish church; and the Motets of Giambatista Bassani were held in great estimation all over Europe, but particularly in England, about the beginning of this century; where the thirteenth Opera of divine *Motetti* by Bassani was printed, "for a single voice with proper symphonies." I remember my father, a cotemporary of Purcell and Blow, singing and speaking of them with great delight.

Though Philip de Vitriaco is mentioned by so many writers, yet only one of them names his country. If, as has been said in Tunsted's manuscript, he was of Auvergne, his talents, and the period when he lived will correspond with the account that is given of *Philippes de Vitry*, bishop of Meaux, in France, who died 1361: for this prelate is said, by John de Vinette, a writer of the fourteenth century, to have been celebrated for his works in French and in Latin, and for his *abilities in Ecclesiastical Music*. And du Plessis, in his History of Meaux, speaks of him in the following words: "Philip de "Vitry, or de Vitteri, applied himself to music and poetry "with so much success, that, for the time in which he lived, "he may be ranked among the most excellent of their vo- "taries (*y*)."

This account, however, does not very well ascertain his invention of the *Minim*, which seems the expedient of some

(*x*) *Thomæ Ludovici a Victoria Abulensis* Motect a *festorum totius Anni cum Communi Sanctorum*, a 4, 5, 6, *et* 8, *Vocibus*.

(*y*) *Mem. de Litt.* tom. xiii.

earlier

earlier musician; for pope John XXII. in his decree given at Avignon, 1322 *(z)*, in describing the abuse and corruption of sacred music, and speaking of the new figurative kind of polyphonic compositions with which it was infected, says, that those who were captivated with it, "attending to the *new* notes and "*new* measures of the disciples of the *new* school, would rather "have their ears tickled with semibreves and minims, and "such frivolous inventions, than hear the ancient ecclesiastical "chant." *(a)*

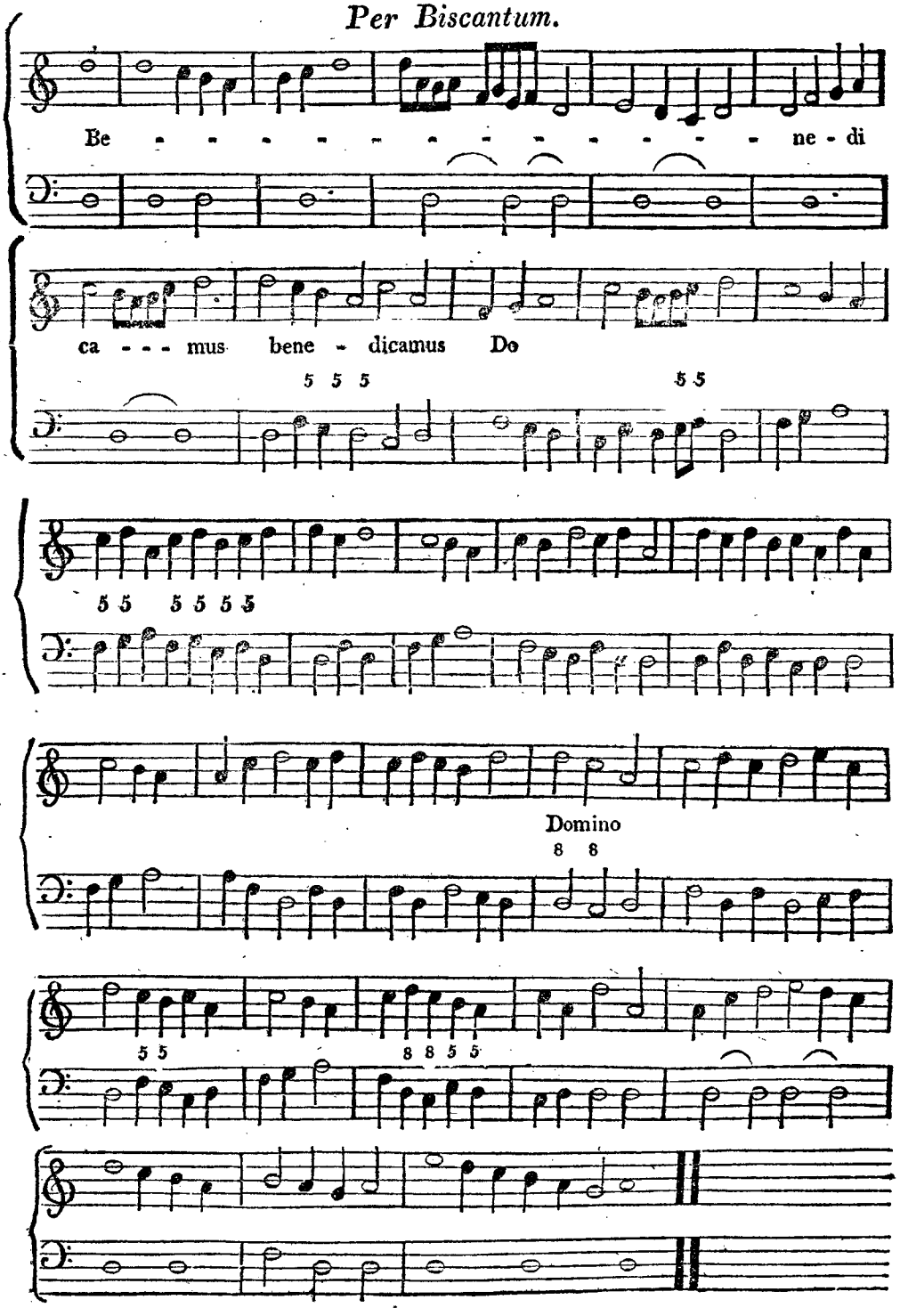
Indeed, Vitriaco neither mentions the coloured notes, nor the minim, in his tract on counterpoint; which last, though he may not have invented, yet the frequent use of it in his motets, that seem to have been in general favour throughout Europe, may have authorised and encouraged others to admit it into their compositions.

Of what kind the compositions used in religious houses were, four hundred years ago, that is, about the year 1374, we may form some judgemnt, perhaps, from the following specimen given by the learned Gerbert, abbot of St. Blaise, in the first volume of his History of Sacred Music, from a manuscript of his own abbey. It only consists of two words—*Benedicamus Domino*—which was called the *Benediction*, and enjoined to be sung by the religious of some orders at the end of every hour, as a grace. Here we have not only an example of such counterpoint, as was in use at the time, but of the *Neumæ*, or divisions, with which the good monks were allowed to solace themselves on festivals: *pro festivitatum ratione*.

(z) See the preceding chapter, p. 139, and 149.

(a) *Novæ Scholæ discipulos, dum temporibus mensurandis invigilant, novas notas intendunt, fingere suas. quam antiquas cantare malunt, in Semibreves et Minima Ecclesiastica Cantantur, notulis percutiuntur.* After this, he gives such a description of the wild modulations and wanton divisions, which had deluged church music, particularly the *Hoqueti*, or Hiccups, as would suit the present *Bravura* songs of an Agujari, or a Danzi.

Per Biscantum.



This discant is too contemptible for criticism: there is in it neither measure nor harmony: indeed, almost the only concords to be found in it are 5ths and 8ths, and those generally in succession. None of the rules of Franco, Vitriaco, or John de Muris, are observed, to which the composer seems to have been an utter stranger. Only three kinds of characters are used: the long, breve, and semibreve; and these are all *full* and *black*, as *white*, *open* notes were not yet in use.

Franco's discant shews that there was much better harmony known at a very early period after Guido, than had been practised in the church under the title of Organizing.

New attempts at deviation, from the old diaphonics, were long kept out of the church, if we may judge by the motets and other written discants that have been preserved in convents and ecclesiastical archives, produced in times when secular music was much improved. The scanty rules given by de Muris, Vitriaco, and others of the fourteenth century, had they been known or followed, would have taught contrapuntists how to use concords, at least less offensively than seems to have been done by the ecclesiastics, who could think such discant as that we have been mentioning, worthy of admission into the divine offices.

If the church had never suffered such wretched compositions as these to enter its pale, who could have languished for them? or, when better were invented, if she had been hasty to excommunicate and anathematize these, who would have thought her power abused? but that she ever should have allowed such jargon to disgrace her temples, or pollute the sacred service, and should long prohibit the use of better harmony, when better was found, must make the profane doubt of the infallibility of those councils, by whose decrees the one was received, and the other rejected.

But the cultivators of melody and counterpoint, in general, were now feeling their way in utter darkness, as to the musical laws

laws which have been since established, and in favour of which habitude has so much prejudiced our ears, that we wonder how any other arrangement, or combination of sounds, could ever be tolerated than that to which we are accustomed.

It is perhaps nearly the same with respect to the combination of letters, in the structure of words, and arrangement of sentences; and the euphony of language, though not in itself ideal and arbitrary, is as temporary and local to the ears of those that are accustomed to it, as the arrangement of sounds in melody, and their combination in harmony. Whoever should now choose to converse at St. James's in the language of Chaucer, which was that of the court in his time, would not only be thought rude and savage, but a lunatic. It is by small and imperceptible degrees that a new-formed language or melody is polished; we see and hear nothing but what is within point-blank of our senses; and, by accommodating ourselves to the degree of perfection which surrounds us, we imagine that but little more can be acquired by posterity, than what we have attained.

There is, indeed, a period at which a language might be wished to remain stationary, as fewer liberties are allowed in speech than melody, which, a few tonal and fundamental laws excepted, is abandoned to all the caprice and vagaries of imagination. But that the immutable laws of harmony should be subject to the vicissitudes of fashion, is wonderful: for it seems as if the concords which we now call perfect, of unison, octave, 4th, and 5th, must *always* have been concords, and that 3ds and 6ths, though nominally imperfect, must ever have been grateful to creatures organized like ourselves; but, on the contrary, it has appeared, in the course af this work, that almost every concord, whose coincidence and perfection are open to mathematical demonstration, has had its period of favour. When men became satiated with the monotony of unisons and octaves, the fourth for many ages was the favourite interval and

conso-

consonance among the Greeks; and in the middle ages, during the infancy of Counterpoint, sometimes it was most fashionable to organize by a succession of 4ths, and sometimes of 5ths, to *Diatessaronare* and *Quintoier*, as was in vogue by turns. Then 3ds were received among auricular sweet-meats of the most piquant kind, which every subsequent age has so much contributed to refine and perfect, that there seems little probability that the inhabitants of Europe will soon be cloyed with them. In Corelli's time a chain of 7ths, regularly prepared and resolved, was thought necessary to combine Harmony, and ornament almost every composition: 9ths, accompanied by 3ds, and 4ths by 5ths, abounded in every page of that period; whereas now the 9th is seldom seen without a 4th or 7th, and the 4th is constantly observed to prefer the 6th for its companion, to its old crony the 5th: a new association too has, of late years, been formed between the $\frac{7}{4}$ of which former times can give no example. All which circumstances evidently prove that there is a *mode* and *fashion* in *Harmony*, as well as Melody, which contribute to render the favour of musical compositions so transient; and when we reflect on the various powers of voices, instruments, and performers, on which the perfect execution of every musical composition depends, but little hope can remain to the artist that his productions, like those of the poet, painter, or architect, can be blest with longevity!

CHAP. IV

Of the Origin of Modern Languages, to which written Melody and Harmony were first applied; and general state of Music till the Invention of Printing, about the year 1450.

HAVING made some progress in the mechanism of Melody and Harmony, by tracing as near its source as possible, the first formation of the musical Alphabet, or *Scale*, whence single sounds are drawn, and given very early specimens of their *Measure*, and simultaneous use in *Consonance;* the reader will, perhaps, not be sorry to quit for a while such minute researches, in order to enquire at what time, and in what manner, these tones were first applied to modern languages, when the

"—Bless'd pair of Sirens—Voice, and Verse,"

attempted friendly union amidst the according murmurs of their new companion Harmony, who increasing in power by a numerous offspring, soon grew so loud and insolent, that she was able to overwhelm them both, and, by her *artful contrivances*, to render them almost indifferent and useless to each other, as well as to the public.

Every nation aspiring at high descent, will be ready to claim priority in the formation and culture of their language, and antiquity of their Songs; and it would perhaps be as difficult to settle these demands equitably, and to the satisfaction of all parties, as the political claims of ambitious and contending powers, at a general diet.

Perhaps

Perhaps the specimens of the Welch and Saxon Languages that might be produced in favour of our own pretensions in this island, are of such antiquity as no other country can equal; for the poems of Taliesin, Lyward Hên, Aneurin Gwawdrydd, Myrddin, Wyllt, and Avan Veiddig, who all flourished about the year 560, are preserved, though hardly intelligible to the most learned Cambro-British Antiquary *(b)*. And the Dialect of our Alfred, of the ninth century, in his Saxon translation of Boethius and Bede, is more clear and intelligible than the vulgar language, equally ancient, of any other Country in Europe. For I am acquainted with no other Language, which, like our own, can mount, in a regular and intelligible Series, from the Dialect in present use to that of the ninth Century: that is, from pure English to pure Saxon, such as was spoken and written by King Alfred, unmixed with Latin, Welch, or Norman. And this may be done for a period of nine hundred years, by means of the *Chronicon Saxonicum* of Bishop Gibson, the excellent Anglo-Saxon Dictionary of the late Rev. Mr. Lye, and such a chain of specimens of our tongue at different stages of its perfection as Dr. Johnson has inserted in the History of our Language prefixed to his Dictionary. Indeed we have the authority of Bede for social and domestic singing to the Harp in the Saxon Language, upon this island, at the beginning of the eighth century; though he himself wrote in Latin, the only language of the Church and the learned then, and for many ages afterwards *(c)*. But the question is not what people had songs first in their own language: for wherever there is a language, there is Poetry; and wherever there is Poetry, there is Music, of some kind or other: the present inquiry is, where such Music as that of which we

(b) See Evans's Specimens of Welch Poetry.

(c) Dr. Percy, in his Essay on the Ancient English Minstrels, (note G) has given so ample and satisfactory an account of the Saxon manner of singing to the Harp in Bede's time, as to leave his reader nothing to wish, or me to add, on the subject.

have

have been tracing the origin, was first applied to a Modern Language. For it is not meant to speak here of those wild and irregular Melodies which come within the description of *National Music;* such as the old and rustic tunes of Wales, Scotland, and Ireland; which remained for many ages traditional, and if not more ancient than the scale ascribed to Guido, were certainly formed without its assistance, as we may judge by the little attention that was paid to Keys, and the awkward difficulties to which those are subject who attempt to clothe them with Harmony. Of this kind of artless Music, which is best learned in the nursery and the street, I shall speak with due reverence hereafter; and at present confine my disquisitions and enquiries to *real Music*, arising from a complete scale under the guidance of such rules of art as successful cultivation has rendered respectable and worthy of imitation *(d)*.

Songs have at all times, and in all places, afforded amusement and consolation to mankind: every passion of the human breast has been vented in Song; and the most savage as well as civilized inhabitants of the earth have encouraged these effusions. The natives of New Zealand, who seem to live as nearly in a state of nature as any animals that are merely gregarious, have their Songs, and their *Improvisatori;* and the ancient Greeks, during every period of their history and refinement, had their *Scolia* for almost every circumstance and occasion incident to society *(e)*.

Singing was so common among the ancient Romans as to become proverbial. Phædria, in the Phoromi of Terence, begs Dorio to hear him, he has but one word to offer: when Dorio

(*d*) It is the fanciful opinion of some naturalist that the blackbird, the thrush, the robin, or the bull-finch, that so often repeats his peculiar melody during summer, is but performing the part of a singing master to the young birds of his own species: the nurse, the ballad-singer in the street, and the parish clerk, exercise the same function in our towns and villages: and the traditional tunes of every country seem as natural to the common people as warbling is to birds, in a state of nature.

(*e*) See vol. i. p. 464.

tells

tells him he is always singing the *same song* (*f*). Horace speaks of the same affectation among the singers of his time as prevails with the present; never to sing when they are entreated, or to desist if no one wishes to hear them (*g*). And some idea of the cultivated state of Music in Gaul, so early as the fifth century, may be acquired from a passage in one of the epistles of Sidonius Apollinaris, who in his character of king Theodoric, the Goth, says that "This prince was more delighted with the "sweet and soothing sounds of a single instrument, which "calmed his mind, and flattered his ear by its softness, than "with Hydraulic Organs, or the noise and clangor of many "voices and instruments in concert (*h*)."

Clothaire II. in the seventh century, having gained a great victory over the Saxons, it was celebrated by a Latin song in rhyme, which the annalists tell us was sung with great vociferation all over the kingdom.

In the time of Charlemagne, *Histriones*, Mimes, and Actors of farces, were very numerous in France: and, according to the Abbé Vertot (*i*), this prince made a collection of ancient Gallic songs; and Eginhard, his historian, observes that these songs, which were chiefly military, like those of the Germans, constituted the principal part of the History of France, and comprised the most heroic actions of her kings.

As the origin of Songs and the formation of the Language of every country are so nearly coeval, I hope the reader will allow me to bestow a few pages upon a subject, which though it be thought not absolutely necessary for a musical historian to trace, yet it lies so near his path that he can hardly proceed on

(*f*) *Cantilenam eandam canis.* act. iii. sc. ii. The French use the verb *chanter* in the same sense: *chanson! bagatelle!— Qu'est-ce qu'il chante?*

(*g*) *Omnibus hoc vitium est cantoribus,* &c. Sat. iii. lib. i.

(*h*) *Illic nec organa hydraulicâ sonant, nec sub Phonasco vocalium concentus medietatum acroama simul intonat: nullus ibi Lyristes Choraules——canit, rege solum illis fidibus delenito, quibus non minus mulcet virtis animum, quam cantus auditum.* Epist. ii. lib. i.

(*i*) Mem. de Litt.

his way without its being often impressed upon his mind, fortuitously.

I shall not however enter upon the merits of a question which has been much agitated of late in France: "Whether the pre-"sent language of that country was first cultivated in the nor-"thern or southern provinces?". The origin of all inventions, after having been suffered by ignorance and idleness to sleep for many ages, is so difficult to ascertain, that if the inhabitants of the kingdoms which gave them birth, where information is most likely to be furnished, are unable to bring them to light, it would be arrogance in a foreigner to attempt it (*k*). The French critics and antiquaries all agree that the capital was the last place to cultivate the vulgar tongue, and to receive the first essays of those who made it the vehicle of their thoughts. Fontenelle says the first sparks of poetry appeared chiefly at the two extremities of the kingdom, in Provence and Picardy. "The "Provençaux," says he, "warmed by a more genial sun, "ought to have had the superiority; but the inhabitants of "Picardy are their inferiors in nothing."* M. de la Ravaliere gives the honour of priority to the writers of Normandy; and Fauchet and Pasquier, separating the French poetry from the Provençal, challenge the admirers of the Troubadours to produce verses of their writing of equal antiquity with the specimens of French poetry which they have exhibited. However, the Provençal bards have lately had many able companions, among whom M. de Lacurne de Sainte Palaye, and his faithful 'squire, M. Millot, have distinguished themselves. And though it cannot be denied but that the fragments of songs subsist in the French language of higher antiquity than in the dialect of Provence, yet, as I have been able to find no melodies that have been set to a modern language more ancient than those

(*k*) For, says the admirable antiquary Fauchet, *Qui scroit cestuy-la tant hardi de seulement promettre pouvoir tirer la verite d'un si profond abysme, que celui ou l'ignorance & nonchalence de sept ou huit cens ans l'a precipitee?* De la Langue et Poesie Francoise, liv. i.

* Hist. du Theatre Francois.

which

which are preserved in the Vatican library to the songs of the Troubadours, I shall begin my enquiries concerning the origin of vulgar dialects in Europe, by endeavouring to trace the first formation of the language of PROVENCE.

Every refined and polished nation has a vulgar language in its remote provinces, and even in its capital, among the common people, in which there are innumerable words and phrases that have never been admitted into books. This must doubtless have been the case with the Romans; and it is the opinion of some persons of great eminence in literature, among whom may be numbered the learned Cardinal Bembo, and the Marquis Maffei, that the ancient Romans had at all times an oral vulgar language which was different from that of books; and that this colloquial language, less grammatical and elegant than that of the learned, was carried by the Romans into all the provinces under their dominion. It is therefore probable that this, and not the written language of Italy, was the mother of the Provençal, Sicilian, Italian, and Spanish dialects.

But supposing such a language as Cicero's was ever spoken, it could not be laid aside for another, all at once; and when we are told of a particular period or century, during which the Latin tongue ceased to be spoken in France or Italy, and the Provençal, French, or Italian begun; credulity itself is staggered and unable to reconcile it to probability. Every language is long spoken before it is written; and though the first poet of Italy or Provence, who committed his verses to writing in the vulgar tongue could be named, no one would venture to tell us by whom it was first spoken.

The learned Maffei (*l*) is of opinion that there was a *vulgar* Language in Italy long before the irruptions of the Lombards, Goths, or Franks; and has traced its use as early as the time of Quintilian, who tells us, that he had often heard the crowd in the Circus applaud, or demand something of the champions, in

(*l*) *Verona illustrata*, l'b. ii. p. 601.

a bar-

a barbarous language (*m*): that is, in a vulgar and Plebean dialect, different from pure Latin. Sammonicus, who lived in the time of Septimius Severus, names the *vulgar Language*. And both Pliny and St. Jerom speak of the *military* Language as of that kind: the latter even tells us (*n*), that Fortunatianus, bishop of Aquileia, wrote a Commentary on the Evangelists in this vulgar Language, *Rustico Sermone*, during the time of Constantine. But this was a singular instance, which was not imitated.

It appears however, from the Dialogues of St. Gregory the Great, written 593, that there was then a Language merely colloquial at Rome. For he tells us that a new convert, of whom he is speaking, was sent to a convent with two vessels of wine, which the *vulgar call flasks* (*o*).

And Gregory of Tours, so early as 572, complains of this vulgar or rustic tongue gaining ground in France, and being more in favour than Latin, the language of the learned (*p*).

It was therefore by degrees that Latin ceased to be understood by the common people, and the *Romance* Language had admission into books. And in 813 it was ordered by a canon at the council of Tours, that the Bishops should be employed in translating homilies into the *Roman Rustic Tongue*, that they might be the more easily understood by the common people (*q*). The same canon we are told was renewed in a council at Arles in 851 (*r*).

In the ninth century historians tell us that Charlemagne and his sons and successors spoke the *Romance* Language, specimens of which may be seen in Fauchet, Pasquier, and several other writers on the French language. And in the twelfth century it

(*m*) *Exclamasse barbare*, lib. i. cap. 12.

(*n*) Ser. ill. cap. 97.

(*o*) —— *Vino plena duo vascula, quæ vulgo* flascones *vocantur deferret.* Lib. ii. cap. 18.

(*p*) *Philosophantem rhetorem intelligunt pauci, loquentem rusticum multi.*

(*q*) *Easdem homilias quisque Episcopus aperte transferre studeat in Romanam rusticam linguam aut Theotiscam, quo facilius cuncti possint intelligere quæ dicuntur.*

(*r*) *Dissert. sur l'Origine de la Langue Francoise*, par M. Barbazan, 1759.

began

began to be the general Language of poets and polite writers. Some of the sermons written and preached by St. Bernard, about 1137, in this language, are still preserved among the MSS. of the Convent of Feuellans, in the Rue St. Honoré at Paris.

In the times of the emperors the Roman instituted schools and academies in the principal cities of Gaul for teaching the Latin Language. A rescript of Gratian still subsists for the election and appointments of professors in these seminaries (*s*).

In the latter end of the fourth century, by these means, and the offices of dignity and profit conferred on those who were masters of this language, it became general among persons of education, and consequently would be imitated, though in an aukward and incorrect manner, by those of a lower class. Strabo tells us that in the time of Augustus the Spaniards and Portuguese had forgotten their own language, and used only that of the Romans.

The great corruption of the Latin tongue about the end of the seventh century is manifest in the collection of the *formules* of the Monk Marculf, still preserved, as well as public acts, charters, testaments, and diplomas. In these records it appears that the dialects of the neighbouring people had begun to disfigure the Latin nouns, by certain contractions of syllables and frequent repetitions of pronouns. Indeed the repetitions of the pronoun *ipse* were innumerable; on account of the articles *le* and *la* having been long before this period introduced into the vulgar tongue. An evident proof of the introduction of the article *ille* or *illa* contracted and disguised is found in the litanies written about the year 780, in the diocese of Soissons.

In these the prayers for Pope Adrian the First, for Charlemagne, his wife, and children, are terminated by *tu lo juva*, instead of the usual formule, *tu illum juva*. Even so early as the sixth century, according to Gregory de Tours (*t*), the rules

(*s*) Cod. Theodos. Leg. XI.

(*t*) *Prolog Libri de Glor. Conf.*

of grammar, with respect to cases and genders, were disregarded, and proper names frequently deprived of their Latin terminations: as *Theodoric* for *Theodoricus*, &c (*u*).

This common or vulgar Language is frequently mentioned under the title of *Sermo Rusticanus*, *Lingua Romana*, because of its derivation from the language of the Romans, which was Latin; *Lingua Laica*, *Lingua Gallicana*, is frequently mentioned in ancient Latin MSS. before it seems to have been written; and some of the most ancient fragments of this language now subsisting are verses in rhyme.

The colloquial Language used only in familiar conversation was called by the Romans *Sermo usualis*, *quotidianus*, *pedestris*, *vulgaris*, *militaris*, *rusticus*, &c. It is supposed by M. Bonamy (*x*) as well as by others, that from this vulgar Latin not only the French language and its different dialects but the Spanish and Italian are derived. Indeed it is most probable that the Latin tongue, in its period of greatest purity, was only the language of the Learned, in the Roman provinces remote from the capital; and that it was never so generally cultivated in other times as to exclude the vulgar dialect.

In the frequent revolutions and struggles for empire during these ages, the Roman language must have been debased and corrupted, while new tongues were forming, which though not sufficiently fixed and grammatical to be used in books, were doubtless long the vulgar and colloquial dialects before the Latin ceased to be the common language of the learned.

It was about this time that the Art of Rhyming, or unisonous terminations of verses, stole into poetical composition, in a manner which the learned and judicious author of an Essay on the Language and Versification of Chaucer, seems to have traced to its source (*y*.) *Leonine Verses*, supposed to have been

(*u*) *Recherches sur les plus Anciennes Traductions*, par L'Abbe Lebeuf, Mem. de Litt.

(*x*) Mem. de Lit.

(*y*) See the Canterbury Tales of Chaucer, vol. iv. p. 52. 1775.

so called from a Pope or Monk Leo, their author, in the seventh century, are by some thought the first attempt at rhyme (*z*); while others imagine the hymn to St. John the Baptist, by Paul Diaconus, written about the latter end of the eighth century, to be not only rendered memorable by Guido's scale, but by having been the model of all other Monkish Rhymes in Latin, as well as in modern languages. *Ut queant laxis*, &c (*a*).

But neither of these genealogies satisfies all enquirers. Gravina (*b*) thinks it absurd to ascribe the invention of rhyme to any one writer, as to attribute to an individual the propagation of the plague, which is caused by the universal contagion of the air.

The Arabs had rhyme, according to Don Calmet (*c*), before the time of Mahomet, who died 632, and in the second century used a kind of poetry in measures similar to the Greek, and set to music (*d*).

The

(*z*) Leonine verses are those of which the middle rhymes with the end.

(*a*) See p. 85. It seems as if the rhymes in the first stanza of this hymn had been accidental, as they do not occur in the rest of it. But the diligent editor of Chaucer's Canterbury Tales observes, "That evident "marks of a fondness for rhyme appear in "the hymns of St. Ambrose and S. Damasus, "as early as the fourth century." Few however of these compositions were regularly rhymed throughout; and yet from these beginnings it is natural to conclude with the author just quoted, that "From "such Latin Rhythms, and chiefly those "of the iambic form, the present poetical "measures of all the nations of the Romans "in Europe are clearly derived." *Ubi "supra.*

(*b*) *Ragion Poetica.*

(*c*) Tresor de l'Antiquite, p. 44.

(*d*) If this were proved, it would fortify Mr. Warton's ingenious idea (Dissert. prefixed to History of Poetry, vol. i.) that modern poetry and romance were brought into Europe from Arabia at the time of the Crusades. Chivalry had the same origin; and if the wild adventures of knights errant, with which the first romances were filled are oriental, the rhymes in which they are clad may be derived from the same source. As Arthur and Charlemagne are the first and original heroes of romance in Europe, their histories, real or fabulous, are connected with the Saracens, the primitive Mahometans, who had extended their conquest from the East, to the western world.

Dr. Percy's clear deduction of chivalry and romances in a lineal descent from the ancient historical songs of the Gothic Bards and Scalds, though it assign them a much higher antiquity than the time of the Crusades, does not destroy Mr. Warton's hypothesis, which supposes them of eastern origin; on the contrary, as the northern nations deduce their ancestry from Oden or Woden and his followers, who were Asiatics that fled into Scandinavia from the Roman armies soon after the defeat of Mithridates by Pompey, the reasoning of this excellent

The ancients in their verse required only measure and quantity, without tuning the terminations; the moderns admit a greater variety of arrangement, but require an equal number of syllables, and, except in blank verse, similar sounds at the end of correspondent lines.

There are hymns in the Romish church, which are called *Prosæ*, *Proses*, a title given to compositions in rhyme, in which the laws of measure and quantity established by the ancient Greeks and Romans are neglected. These being sung after the Gradual or Introitus, were likewise called *Sequentia*, and of this kind is the *Stabat Mater*. The use of *Prosing* began at the later end of the ninth century. Notker, Monk of St. Gæl in Switzerland, who wrote about the year 880, and who is regarded by some as the first author of *Proses*, says in the preface to the book where he mentions them, that he had seen hymns of this kind in the Abbey of Jumieges, which was burned by the Normans in 841. It seems now a contradiction to call a hymn in rhyme, prose; but before the number of syllables and their regular chime and coincidence at the end of lines was settled, rhyming was not honoured with the name of poetry or

excellent critic might easily be reconciled to a supposition, that as a foundation was laid so early in Europe for chivalry and romance by oriental Goths, the system was the more easily completed and established by additional materials brought into Europe during the Holy War. At least the poetry and gallantry of the times were greatly enlivened and embellished by the fictions imported from Arabia and Spain.

If this were a place to speak of the effects of oriental and northern fables and poetry, I should confess, with respect to my own feelings, that there is something in the metaphors of Scaldic and northern bards that is chilling and oppressive. The countries they describe are so bleak and dreary that the imagination is frozen, and the mind always filled with painful sensations while perusing them. Whereas the magnificence and splendour of Arabian and other eastern fictions, warm and exhilarate, as the sun while it injures and scorches some part of nature fructifies and cherishes others. The glowy tints and spicy gales with which that country is supposed to abound, never fail to furnish ideal beauties of climate, and luxuriance of imagery, with which the mind is deluded and inflamed, even while some sad and sorrowful tale is reciting.

If Homer, Virgil, and Milton, had laid the scene of their poems in Iceland and Norway, instead of Greece, Italy, and Paradise, it is hardly possible to imagine that their names ever would have been so dear to the most enlightened part of mankind.

verse.

verse. Indeed mere rhymes and metres in modern languages are still insufficient, without other requisites, to exalt an author into a Poet.

While the New Languages were unsettled and but partially known, even in the single kingdom or province where they were forming, it was not uncommon to write half a poem in Latin, and half in a vulgar tongue (*e*). Indeed Dante (*f*) has left a poem in three languages, Latin, Provençal, and Italian; and Rambaud de Vachieras, a Provençal poet, in five (*g*).

Petrarca and Muratori think that the Sicilians first composed and wrote songs in a vulgar language; that from them the custom went into Provence; and from Provence into Italy (*h*). Indeed Sicily and Provence were long under the dominion of the same princes, and the same language may have been cultivated at the courts of both countries; but as no vestiges remain of Sicilian poetry resembling the Provençal, the opinions of these authors, however eminent, and, on other accounts, respectable, while unsupported by reasons and facts, can have but little weight.

Cardinal Bembo (*i*), however, was of opinion that the first Rhymers and poets who wrote in a modern language were of Provence; after them the Tuscans, who had more assistance from them in their poetry than from any other people. And both Crescembeni (*k*) and Gravina (*l*) make the same concession.

Nostradamus, in his Lives of the Provençal Poets (*m*), says

(*e*) Specimens of this caprice may be seen in the Museum, Harl. MSS. 2253. f. 137. b. and in Mr. Warton's History of Poetry, vol. i. p. 66.

(*f*) Tom. v.

(*g*) Crescembeni Volg. Poes. p. 15.

(*h*) Petrarca, *Trionfo d'Amore*, capo iv.

(*i*) *Prose*, o sia *della Lingua Volgare.*

(*k*) *Comment. della Volg. Poes.*

(*l*) *Della Ragion Poetica.*

(*m*) Jean Nostradamus, brother of the astrologer of that name, was a native of Provence, and flourished about 1560.

that Provence was called the Mother of Troubadours and Minstrels; and that Dante, Petrarca, Boccaccio, and other Tuscan poets enriched both their language and fancy from the productions of his countrymen (*n*). However, as no *versi sciolti*, or poetical lines without rhymes are to be found in the Provençal poets, though they abound among the Italians, it is natural to suppose that in these measures of blank verse the Italians imitated their ancestors the Romans, and that in rhyming the Provençals were their models *.

It was the opinion of Voltaire (*o*) that this language began to be formed in the ninth century, out of Latin and Teutonic; that it was the mother of French, Spanish, and Italian; "continued in favour till the reign of the emperor Frederic II. "and is still spoken in some villages of the Grisons, and near "Switzerland (*p*)."

Carpentier derives the word Troubadour from *Troba*, Provençal, *figmentum*. *Hinc* Troubadours *appellati Poetæ Provinciales* (*q*).

It was in the eleventh century, during the first Crusade,

(*n*) I shall give the title at full length of Nostradamus's book, as it is become scarce. *Les vies des plus célebres et Anciens Poetes Provensaux, qui ont floury du temps des Comtes des Provence. Recueillies des Oeuvres de divers Autheurs nommez en la page suivante, qui les ont escrites, et redigies premierement en Langue Provensale, et depuis Mises en Langue Francoyse par Jehan de Nostre Dame Procureur en la Cour de Parlement de Provence, par lesquelles est Monstree l'ancienette de plusiers nobles Maisons tant de Provence, Languedoc, France, que d' Italies, & d'ailleurs.* A Lyons, *pour* Alexander Masiles. M.D. LXXV.

* *L'Italia Liberata*, by Trissino, was the first Italian poem of any length, in *Versi Sciolti*.

(*o*) *Essai sur l'Hist.* tom. i. p. 168.

(*p*) Upon comparing the Provencal Language with that of the Grison Bible, *in Lingua Romanscha*, first printed in 1673, and reprinted at Engadinabassa 1743, there appears to be a great resemblance between them. The Provencal at present is composed of French, Spanish, Gascogne, Tuscan, and Lombard words; and the Grison of French, Spanish, Italian, and German. Many words however in this translation of the Bible have a German appearance, merely from a Teutonic orthography. Fauchet tells us that as in former ages to speak *Romance* was regarded as an accomplishment by all Europe, so the Swiss of his own time seem still to think it: for instead of saying I can speak French, a native of Switzerland would say I can speak Romanse; *Je scay bien parler Roman. Antiq.* p. 541.

(*q*) The b in the old Provencal and Languedocian writers had the power of a consonant v, as in the Spanish language, between which and the southern dialects of France, there is still in many respects a great resemblance. *Troubadour*, doubtless, came from *trovare*, or *trobare*, *trouver*, to invent; it answers to ὁ ποιητης, a *Maker*.

according

according to the Abbé Millot (r), that Europe began to emerge from the barbarous stupidity and ignorance into which it had long been plunged. And while its inhabitants were exercising every species of rapine, plunder, and pious cruelty in Asia, art, ingenuity, and reason insensibly civilized and softened their minds.

It was then that the Poets and Songsters known by the name of *Troubadours* were multiplied, and their profession honoured by the patronage and encouragement of the Count of Poitou, and many other powerful Princes and Barons, who had themselves successfully cultivated Poetry and Music. At the courts of these munificent patrons they were treated with the greatest consideration and respect. The ladies, whose charms they celebrated, gave them the most generous and flattering reception; and sometimes disdained not even to listen with compassion to tales of tenderness, and descriptions of the havoc which the irresistible charms of these sublunary divinities of chivalry had made in their hearts. The success of a few inspired the rest with hope, and excited exertions in the exercise of their art, which impelled them towards perfection with a rapidity that nothing but the united force of emulation and emolument could occasion.

As these founders of modern versification, these new poetical architects, constructed their poems upon plans of their own invention; and as all classical authority was laid aside, either through ignorance or design, each individual gave unlimited indulgence to fancy in the subject, form, and species of his composition. And it does not appear, during the cultivation and favour of Provençal literature, that any one Troubadour so far outstript his brethren in the approaches he made towards perfection as to be considered as a model for his successors. We find, though military prowess, hospitality, Gothic gallan-

(r) Hist. Litt. de Fr. Tom. vi. p. 13. & Prelim. p. 15 et seq. Hist. des Troubadours, Tom. i. Disc.

try,

try, and a rage for feasts and revelry prevailed, that taste, refinement, and elegance were never attained during this period, either in public or private amusements. The want of originality of composition is frequently lamented when licence is repressed by laws, and the wild effusions of an ardent imagination are bounded by authority; but the productions that have been preserved of the Provençal Bards, which may be called the offspring of writers in a state of nature, seem to prove the necessity of rule, order, and example, even in the liberal arts as well as the government of a free state. For the progress of taste must ever be impeded by the ignorance and caprice of those who cultivate an art without science or principles.

During near two centuries after Guido's arrangement of the Scale and invention of the Time-table ascribed to Franco, no remnants or records of Secular Music can be found except those of the Troubadours, or Provençal poets. And though in the simple tunes which have been preserved of these Bards, no time is marked and but little variety of notation appears, yet it is not difficult to discover in them germs of the future melodies, as well as poetry, of France and Italy. Unluckily the poetry and music of the Troubadours of Provence were not for a long time called into notice by writers possessed of those blandishments of style or manner which fascinate, and render whatever subject they treat interesting to the generality of readers. Fauchet, Pasquier, and Nostradamus have written in a language that is now become so uncouth and difficult that few have the courage to attempt acquiring information or amusement from it; and Muratori and Crescembeni, who are respected for their diligence and exactitude, are certainly dry and dull narrators of facts which promise delight to every lover of literature; nor do I remember, in consulting their voluminous writings, ever to have found them guilty of hazarding a single reflection or conjecture that has embellished the subject, or rendered it amusing. But this censure must not be applied to Sainte-

Sainte Palaye, Bonamy, la Ravaliere, and Barbazan, who in the Memoires de Litterature, and elsewhere, have not only embellished, but nearly exhausted the subject. Indeed the period of Provençal poetry is interesting to literature, and the Melody to which it was sung is a subject of curious enquiry to a Musical Historian; for it is generally allowed that the Troubadours, by singing and writing in a new tongue, occasioned a revolution not only in literature but the human mind. And as almost every species of Italian poetry is derived from the Provençals, so AIR, the most captivating part of Secular vocal Melody, seems to have had the same origin. At least the most ancient strains that have been spared by time, are such as are set to the songs of the Troubadours.

The Provençal Language began to be in favour with poets about the end of the tenth century (*s*). But in the twelfth century, it was not only the general vehicle of Poetry, but of Prose, for such as were ignorant of Latin; and these were not merely the Laity: for at the council of Rheims 1119, the Bishop of Ostia, having in a Latin oration declared to the Bishops and other Ecclesiastics the business on which they were assembled, the Pope made William de Champeaux, Bishop of Chalons, explain it in the Romanse dialect. It was about this time that Provençal Poetry arrived at its greatest point of perfection; and that it began to be sung to the sound of instruments: for at this period *Violars*, or performers on the Vielle and Viol; *Juglars*, or Flute-players; *Musars*, or players on other instruments; and *Comics*, or Comedians, abounded all over Europe. This swarm of Poet-Musicians, who were formerly comprehended in France under the general title of *Jongleurs*, travelled from province to province, singing their verses at the courts of Kings, Princes, and other great personages, who rewarded them with cloathes, horses, arms, and

(*s*) See Hist. Litt. de la Fr. tom. ix. p. 175, et seq.

money, which though sometimes given unwillingly, served to augment the number of these strolling Bards.

Jongleurs, or Musicians, were employed very early to sing the works of those Troubadours who, for want of voice or knowledge in Music, were unable to do it themselves. Jongleurs and Ménétriers, or Strollers and Minstrels, were common at all times; but the Troubadours, or Bards, followed a profession, which though very ancient, seems to have been laid aside in Greece and Italy when literature became common, and was revived only during the middle ages when it was again lost. Modern history during this dark period has no other materials to work upon than the fragments of these Bards, which though less respectable than those of much higher antiquity, would, if neglected, involve the annals of Europe in mere darkness, fable, and conjecture. A collection of old Ballads, says Bayle, is not an unprofitable companion to an Historian (*t*).

The pure Provençal Language was used in Dauphiné and Provence, then dependent on the empire; and in the three great provinces of Toulouse, Barcelona, and Poitou, with the duchy of Acquitain, by the Bards of Chivalry and Romance, a title their writings obtained from the Roman vulgar Language upon which that of the Troubadours was formed. The most ancient poems in this language that have been preserved, except a Satire by a Troubadour against an Irish poet, about the year 1000 (*u*), were written by William IX. Count of Poitou, born 1071. But this dialect was spoken, and songs which have been lost were composed in it, long before.

The Poetical History of our Richard the First, and his imprisonment in Germany on his return from Palestine, have lately been often cited from Fauchet's Antiquities (*x*), and are too

(*t*) *Oeuvres*, *Tom. i. p.* 221, *and* 300. *Nouv. de la Rep. des Lettres, Feb.* 1685. *art. ii.*

(*u*) *Hist. Litt. tom. vi. p.* 53.

(*x*) *Recueil de l'Origine de Langue et Poesie Francoise, Ryme, et Romans, Paris,* 1581.

well

well known to need enlargment here: however, as an introduction to a *Lay* or Song of Complaint written by that heroic prince during his confinement, I shall avail myself of an elegant translation of the old *Chronique* whence Fauchet had his account, as it was published in the Miscellanies of Mrs. A. Williams, 1766.

" Blondiaux was a poet of whom it is not told exactly when " he lived or died, otherwise than as he is found to have been " known to king Richard of England, who died in 1200. " A good French chronicle which is in my possession contains " the following narrative.

" Richard having had in the Holy Wars a quarrel with the " Duke of Austria, was afraid at his return home to pass in " his public character through the Austrian dominions for fear " of the Duke, or through those of France for fear of king " Philip Augustus, and therefore travelled in disguise. But " the Duke being informed of his arrival, seized him and " confined him in a castle, where he remained prisoner, none " knowing for a long time where he was.

" King Richard had retained in his service a Minstrel, or " Bard, whose name was Blondel. The Bard missing his mas- " ter felt his subsistence cut short, and the happiness of his " life very much impaired. He found the account well verified " of the King's departure from the Holy Land, but met with " none who could tell him with certainty whither he was gone. " and therefore wandered over many countries to try whether " he could find him by any intelligence.

" It happened after a considerable time thus spent, that " Blondel came to a city near the castle in which king Richard " his master was confined, and asking his host to whom it be- " longed, was told that it was one of the fortresses of the " Duke of Austria. Blondel then enquired whether there " were any prisoners in it, which was a question that he al- " ways took some indirect method of introducing; and was " answered by his host, that there was one prisoner, who had

" been

" been there more than a year, but that he was not able to " tell who he was.

" Blondel having received this information, made use of " the general reception which Minstrels find, to make ac- " ceptance in the castle; but though he was admitted, could " never obtain a sight of the prisoner, to know whether he " was the king; till one day he placed himself over-against the " window of the tower in which king Richard was kept, and " began to sing a French song which they had formerly com- " posed together. When the King heard the song, he knew " that the singer was Blondel, and when half of it was sung, " he began the other half and completed it. Blondel then " knowing the residence and condition of the king his mas- " ter, went back to England, and related his adventure to the " English Barons."

" This, continues Fauchet, is all the account which my " book affords me of the life of Blondel *(y)*."

The song written by Richard and Blondel, jointly, by which the place of his confinement was thus discovered, is preserved in an old French romance, called *La Tour Tenebreuse*, or the Black Tower *(z)*. This little poem is still in the ancient language of Provence, whereas the other writings ascribed to Richard seem to have been composed, or at least to have come down to the present times, in Old French, or *Langage Roman*.

B

Domna vostra beutas
Elas bellas faisos
Els bels oils amoros
Els gens cors ben taillats
Don sieu empresenats
De vostra amor que mi lia.

(y) The names Blondiaux and Blondel are thus confounded by this author.

(x) The Romance, so denominated, *Tirez d'un ancienne Chronique composee par* Richard, *suernomme Cœur de Lion, Roy d'Angleterre,* was published at Paris 1705.

R. *Si*

R. *Si bel trop affansia*
Ja de vos non portrai
Que major honorai
Sol en votre deman
Que sautra des beisan
To can de vos volria.

Imitated (*a*)

Blondel. Your beauty, lady fair,
None views without delight;
But still so cold an air
No passion can excite:
Yet this I patient see,
While all are shunn'd like me,

Richard. No nymph my heart can wound,
If favour she divide,
And smile on all around,
Unwilling to decide:
I'd rather hatred bear,
Than love with others share.

The Lay, or Song of Complaint, which was written entirely by our romantic monarch during his imprisonment, is inserted in the original by Mr. Walpole, in his *Catalogue of Royal and Noble Authors* (*b*), who seems unwilling to allow that Richard was an author, and still more that he possessed any considerable degree of poetical merit. The French critics, however, who are nothing less than partial to Richard, and the Italians, are less severe on his rhymes than our honourable countryman; and the French version of this song, in the history of the Troubadours (*c*), contains several natural and affect-

(*a*) From a translation of this song into more modern French, as inserted in *La Tour Tenebreuse.*

(*b*) Vol, i.

(*c*) *Hist. Litt. des Troubadours*, tom. i. p. 58.

ing sentiments, which, if we may suppose them to have been dressed in the most polished language of the time, though now obscure, uncouth, and obsolete, are such as would not have disgraced a professed bard of the twelfth century, much less an active and warlike prince, who had so many pursuits and occupations of higher importance on his hand (*d*).

As I have never seen an English translation of this early specimen of Romanse poetry, except of one stanza, which Rymer has given in his *Short View of Tragedy*, I shall endeavour to transfuse into our present dialect the ideas which this composition seems to contain, according to the copy of it which was printed in the preface to the *de la Tour Tenebreuse*, already mentioned.

Song by Richard the First, *Cœur de Lion*, written during his imprisonment in the *Tour Tenebreuse*, or Black Tower (*e*).

No wretched captive of his prison speaks,
Unless with pain, and bitterness of soul;
Yet consolation from the Muse he seeks,
Whose voice alone misfortune can controul.
Where now is each ally, each baron, friend,
Whose face I ne'er beheld without a smile,
Will none, his sov'reign to redeem, expend
The smallest portion of his treasures vile?

Though

(*d*) The learned editor of the late edit. of Chaucer's Cant. Tales, vol. iv. p. 62. has vindicated the character of Richard from an aspersion which was first cast upon him by Rymer, in consequence of a mistaken construction of a passage in Hoveden.

(*e*) *Ja nus hon pris dira razon,*
Adreschement se com hom dolens non;
Ma per conort pot il faire canson.
Prou ai d'amis, mas poure son li don
Onta i auron se por ma reenzon
Soi fait dos yver pris.

Though none may blush that near two tedious years,
Without relief, my bondage has endur'd,
Yet know my English, Norman, Gascon peers,
Not one of you should thus remain immur'd:
The meanest subject of my wide domains,
Had I been free, a ransom should have found;
I mean not to reproach you with my chains,
Yet still I wear them on a foreign ground!

Too true it is, so selfish human race!
"*Nor dead, nor captives, friend or kindred find,*'
Since here I pine in bondage and disgrace,
For lack of gold, my fetters to unbind,
Much for myself I feel, yet ah! still more
That no compassion from my subjects flows;
What can from infamy their names restore,
If, while a pris'ner, death my eyes should lose.

But small is my surprize, though great my grief,
To find, in spite of all his solemn vows,
My lands are ravag'd by the Gallic chief,
While none my cause has courage to espouse.
Though lofty tow'rs obscure the chearful day,
Yet, through the Dungeon's melancholy gloom
Kind Hope, in gentle whispers, seems to say,
"Perpetual thraldom is not yet thy doom."

Ye

Or sachon ben mi hom e mi baron
Engles, Norman, Pettaven et Guascon,
Qe ge n'avoie si povre compagnon
Qeu laissasse por aver en preison
Ge nil di pas, por nulla retraison
Mas qnquar soige pris.

Car sachon ben per ver certanament
Qu'hom mort ny pris n'a amye ne parent
Quant il me laissent por or ni por argent.

Mal m'es de my, may perz m'es por ma gent
Q'apres ma mort n'auron reperzhament
Tan longament soi pris.

Non meravil s'eu ai lo cor dolent
Qe messire met ma terra en torment
No li membra de nostre sagrament
Qe nos feimes andos cominalment
Ben sai de ver qe gaire longament
Non serai ge sous pris.

Mi

Ye dear companions of my happy days,
Oh Chail and Pensavin, aloud declare,
Throughout the earth in everlasting lays,
My foes against me wage inglorious war.
Oh tell them too, that ne'er among my crimes
Did breach of faith, deceit, or fraud appear;
That infamy will brand to latest times
The insults I receive while captive here.

Know all ye men of Anjou and Touraine,
And ev'ry bach'lor knight, robust and brave,
That duty now and love alike are vain,
From bonds your sov'reign and your friend to save.
Remote from consolation here I lie,
The wretched captive of a pow'rful foe,
Who all your zeal and ardour can defy,
Nor leaves you ought but pity to bestow.

As there was no situation so serious or deplorable in these *heroic times* of modern history, but that it was thought necessary to do homage to love, this song was addressed in the *envoi* from the Black Tower to a countess Soir, with equal devotion and gallantry.

Gaucelm, or Anselm Faidit, a Troubadour, who had been much esteemed and patronised by our Richard when he was Count of Poitou, and resided at the court of Provence during the life of his father Henry II. and who accompanied him to

Mi compagnon cui j'amoi e cui j'am
Cil de Chail & cil de Pensavin
Di lor chanzon qil non sont pas certain
Unca vers els non ai cor fals ni vain
Sil me guerroent il feron qe vilain
*Tan com ge soie pris**.

Or sachent ben Enjevin e Torain
E il Bachaliers qi son legier e sain
Qen gombre soie pris en autrui main
Il ma jnvassen mas il no ve un grain
De belles armes sont era voit li plain
Per zo qe ge soi pris †.

* This and the following stanza are not inserted in the *Tour Tenebreuse*, but are given from Mr. Walpole's copy.

† Of this stanza no notice is taken by the Abbé Millot, in his version of Richard's song.

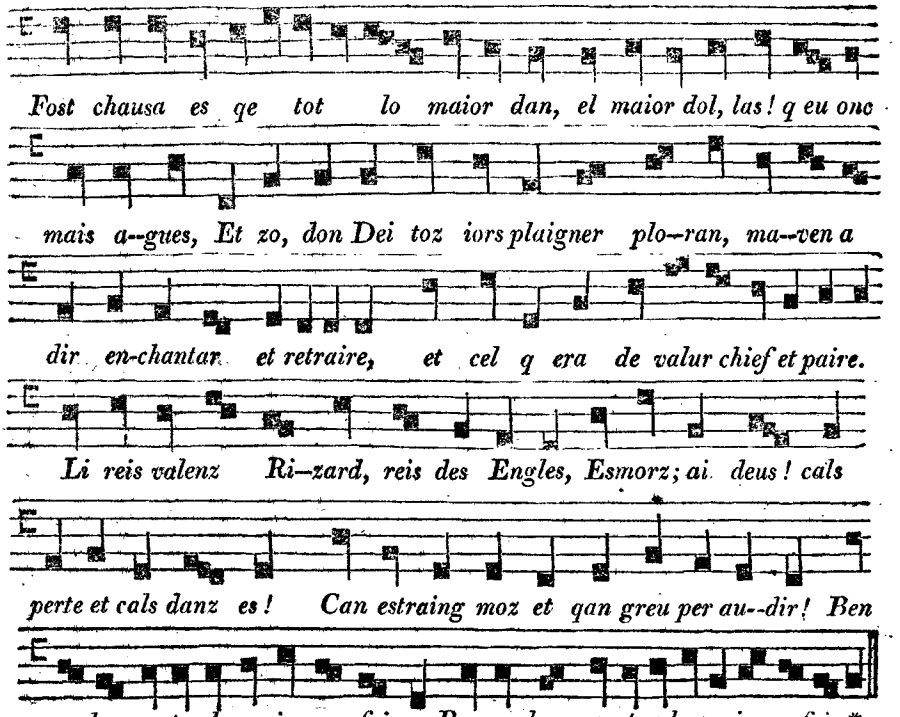
Palestine,

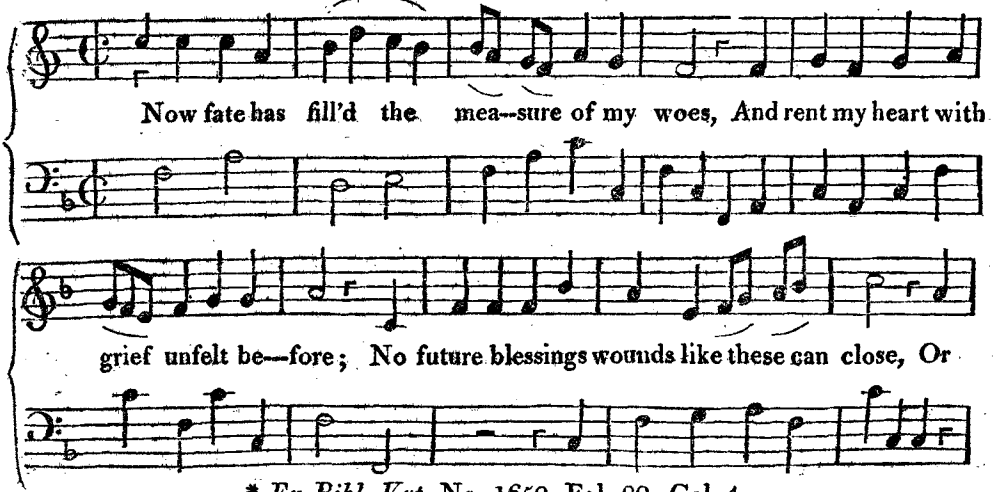
Palestine, in the Holy War, has left a poem on the death of his benefactor, which I found in the Vatican, among the MSS. bequeathed to that library by the queen of Sweden, No. 1659, with the *original music, by the bard himself*, who was as much admired by his cotemporaries for *setting* his poems to Music, as *writing* them: having been said in the old language of Provence, to have composed *de bons mots, & de bons sons*, good words, and good tunes. He seduced from a convent at Aix, and married, a beautiful nun, with whom he travelled on foot from one court to another, many years. This lady, besides her personal charms and accomplishments, had a remarkable fine voice, and was much admired for singing her husband's songs.

The melody to the verses on the death of Richard is the most ancient which I have been able to find to Provençal words, and as the original may be difficult to some of my readers in its antique guise, I hope the rest will excuse my attempting a translation of it.*

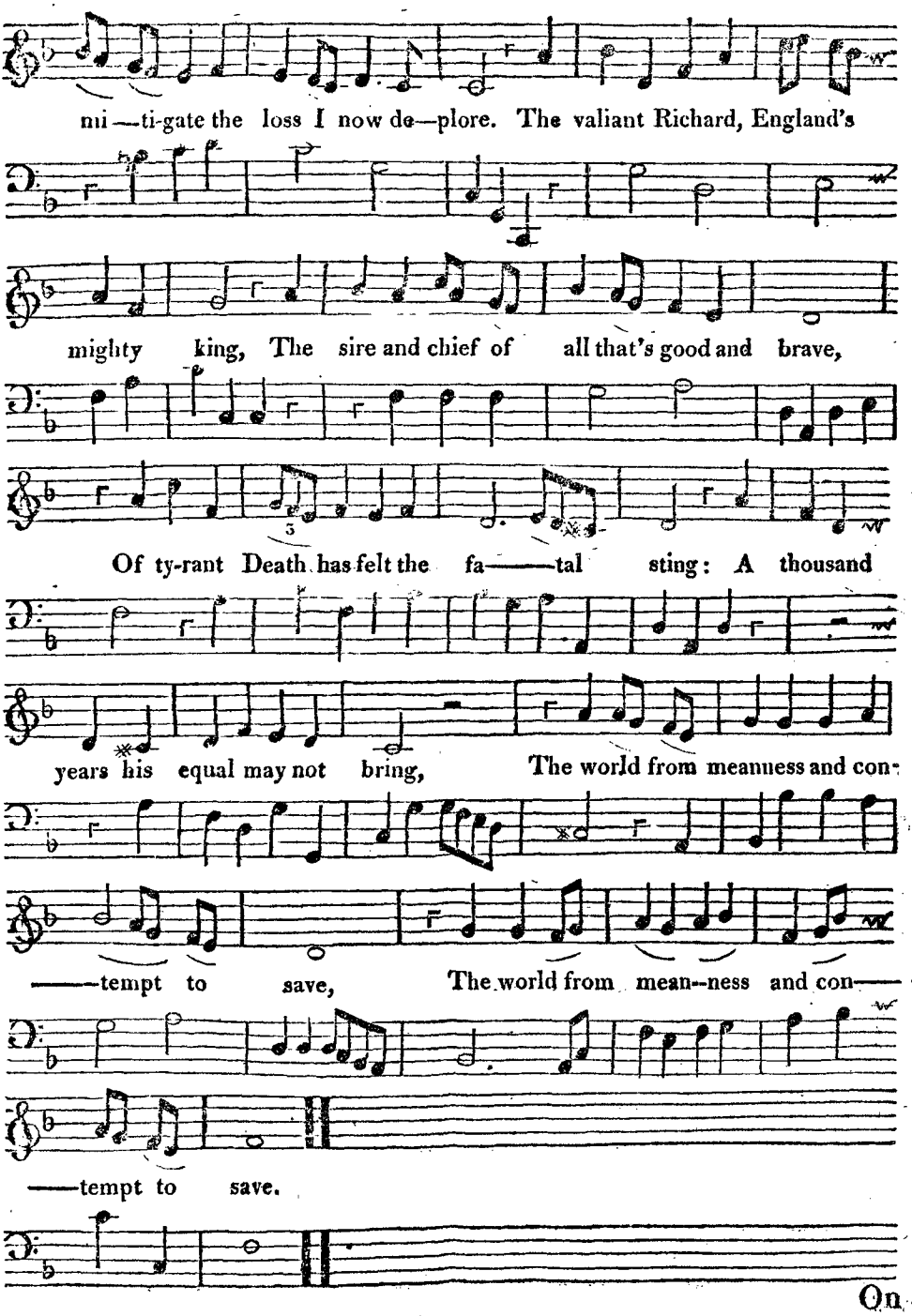
Nostradamus, in his life of this poet, tells us that he had long been unfortunate before he lost his royal patron Richard, which event completing his misery, he signalized his sorrow and affection in the following stanzas, of which I shall first give a fac-simile of the music in the same state as I found it in the Vatican, and afterwards the same melody, with a base, in modern notes, to which the translation is adjusted.

* No more than two stanzas are contained in the Vatican MS. and in these the words are so disfigured by bad orthography, and the verses so dislocated by careless arrangement, that I was obliged to have recourse to a much more correct copy of the same two stanzas, inserted in the Glossary to the late edition of Chaucer's Canterbury Tales, vol. v. p. 275, 6. For the rest of the stanzas, I have been allowed, in the most liberal and obliging manner, to transcribe them at my leisure from the beautiful and valuable MS. of Provencal songs in the possession of the Rev. Mr. Crofts. In this collection of the lyric compositions of the Troubadours, admirably written on vellum, there are no less than ten poems in different measures by Anselm Faydit. The handwriting of this MS. is uncommonly clear, and as correct as can be expected from the unsettled orthography of the times; but in this particular the scribe has been so capricious as to spell the name of our author three several ways in one page. For tho' in the title to each song he is called *Gonselm Faidiz, de Lemosi*; yet in the course of the second of his pieces his name is written *Gaucem*, and *Gaulelm Faidit*.





* *Ex Bibl. Vat.* No. 1659. Fol. 89. Col. 4.


mi—ti-gate the loss I now de—plore. The valiant Richard, England's
mighty king, The sire and chief of all that's good and brave,
Of ty-rant Death has felt the fa——tal sting: A thousand
years his equal may not bring, The world from meanness and con-
——tempt to save, The world from mean--ness and con——
——tempt to save.

On

On the death of Richard the First, by Gaucelm Faidit. Translated from the Provençal.

Now Fate has filled the measure of my woes,
And rent my heart with grief unfelt before;
No future blessings wounds like these can close,
Or mitigate the loss I now deplore.
The valiant Richard, England's mighty king,
The sire and chief of all that's good and brave,
Of tyrant Death has felt the fatal sting:
A thousand years his equal could not bring
The world from meanness and contempt to save.

Not Alexander's self, whose slaught'ring sword
Each warlike nation of the earth subdu'd,
Not Charlemagne, nor Arthur, Britain's lord,
Could boast such prowess, worth, and fortitude.
In this corrupt, this base, perfidious age,
In truth and wisdom he had no compeer;
Of half the actors on the world's great stage,
His splendid virtues could the hearts engage,
The rest his strength and valour taught to fear.

The friend of Virtue and of Honour's gone!
For though to all her trumpets Fame give breath,
Yet vain are great and glorious deeds, for none
Can shield the hero from the dart of Death!

* *For chausa es et tot lo maior dan,*
El maior dol, las! q eu onc mais agues,
Et zo, don dei toz iors plaigner ploran,
M aven a dir en chantar et retraire,
De cel q era de valorz cups et paire
Li Reis valenz Rizard, Reis des Engles,
Es morz; ai Deus! cals perda et cals danzes!
Can estraing moz et qan greu per audir!
Ben a dur cor toz hom qi po sofrir.

Morz es li Reis, et son passat mil an
Qanc tan pros hom no fo ne nol vit res,
Ne ja mais hom non er del son senblant
Tan lares, tan pros, tan ardiz, tals donaire;
Q Alixandre lo reis, qe venqi Daire
No cuit qe tan dones ni tan messes,
Ni one Karles ni Artus tan valgues,
Qa tot le mon sen fez, qin vol ver dir,
Als us deptar et als altres grazir.

Meraveill me del fals Segle truan
Qoi pot istar savis hom ni cortes.
Pos re noille val bel dons ni faich prezan,
Et donc per qe sefforzon paoc ni gaire?

Since

Since such the wretched state of human race,
Why should we fear to mingle with the dead?
For me I ask of God no other grace,
Than instant to arrive at that blest place
Where Richard's great and tow'ring soul is fled.

O potent Prince! who now in feats of arms,
In tournaments, or splendid courts shall shine?
Or who to modest worth display the charms
Of true munificence, with hand benign?
Ah! where will Genius now a Patron find?
Thy fond dependants an asylum, where?
No fost'ring father Fate has left behind,
But all, abandon'd by the world unkind,
Fly to the arms of Death, or wild Despair!

Now Pagans, Turks, and Saracens elate,
Who thought thee more than man of woman bo
Exulting in thy sad, untimely fate,
Will treat the Christian name with pride and scorn.
The holy sepulchre each day will be
A harder conquest to the faithful brave——
But such is God's inscrutable decree!
For Syria, had it been his will to free,
He still had kept his champion from the grave (g)!

Qa oras a mostrat morz qe pot faire
Qa un sol colp a lo meill del mon pres,
Totas lonors, toz los gauz, toz los bes?
O mais vedem qe res noi pot grandir,
Ben devriom menz doptar a morir?
Ai Seigner, reis valenz, & qes faran
Oimais armas, ni fort tornei espes,
Ne ricas corz, ni bel don alt et gran;
Pos vos noies qen eraz caps del aire?
Ne qes faran li livrat a mal traire
Cil qe eron en vostre servir mes,
Qatendion qel guierdon vengues?
Ni qes faran cels qes degran avir,
Qaviaz faich en gran ricor venir?
Longa ira et duol vida avran,
Et toz temps dol qar aissi lor es pres;
Et Sarracin, Turc, Paian, et Persan,
Qeos doptavon mais come nat de Maire,
Creisseran tan dorgoill tot lor afaire,
Qe plus gre ner lo sepolcre conqes.
Qar Deus lo vol, car sil no lo volgues
Et vos seigner vesqisses ses mentir
De Soria los navengra fozir.

O mais

(g) Though few classical imitations are discoverable in the writings of Provencal bards, yet there is a great similarity in this thought and the reflexion made by the ghost

But where will prince or potentate be found
The sacred tomb, like thee, to gain and save,
Or like thy brothers, Henry, early crown'd,
And courteous Geoffry, lov'd by all the brave!
No chief like these remains of human race,
Who day by day to certain conquest leads;
Their steps no future hero e'er will trace,
And he who now presumes to claim their place,
Must earn and keep it by transcendant deeds.

Oh! most rever'd of all the sons of Fame!
For ev'ry crime may God thy pardon seal!
Remembring thou wert foremost to proclaim,
Throughout the earth, the glory of his name,
And cause to assert with unremitting zeal.

Nostradamus says, that the Provençal language and poetry arrived at their greatest degree of splendour about 1162, and continued in favour till 1382. So that the period of their perfection was about two hundred and fifty years. Though this language is called Provençal, it is certain, says the authors of *l'Histoire Litteraire de la France*, that it was the more cultivated in Languedoc, Dauphiny, and Acquitain, than in the province that has given it a name: for in two great collections of

O mais non ai esperanza qell an
Reis ni princes qi cobrar la saubes.
Et cel Seigner quel vostre leu teran
Devon gardar co fos de prez amaire;
Ni tal faron vostri dui valen fraire,
Li iousner reis, el cortez cons Zoufres,
Et qui en loc remanra de vos tres,
Ben deu aver ferm cor et fin consir
De toz bons aips et si meteis iauzir.

Envoy

Bel Seigner reis, cel Deus qes perdonaire,
Verais hom, verais vida, verais merces,
Vos faza tal perdon com ops vos es;
Di qel tort avos perdon et fulir,
Et menbre li com lo saviez servir.

ghost of Hector, in the second book of Virgil's Æneid:

—— *si pergama dextra*
Defendi possent, etiam hac defensa fuissent.

Could any mortal hand prevent our Fate,
This hand, and this alone, had sav'd the state. Pitt.

the

the lives of these poets among the ancient MSS. in the Royal Library at Paris, out of an hundred and ten, not above eight or nine are Provençaux.

Not only our Richard the First, but the famous bishop of Lincoln, Grosseteste, Alexander the monk of Ely, St. Ældred, and several other English prelates and ecclesiastics distinguished themselves by their compositions in this language.

The southern provinces of France becoming, either by conquest or inheritance, subject to the French king, and losing their natural sovereigns, and, consequently, the splendour of their courts, the cultivation and favour of their language were suddenly discontinued, and it was soon as much disregarded as the jargon of any other provincial dialect. It has ever been the same with the language of countries that have lost their princes and independence: the Irish, the Scots, and the Welch who were once proud of their vernacular tongues and poetry, seem to have lost all desire of cultivating either, when their capitals were deprived of the presence of their natural and hereditary sovereigns.

The Provençals ceased writing after the fourteenth century. The Troubadours had degraded themselves by their licentiousness to such a degree as to be suppressed and banished with ignominy. Courts were disgusted with the crouds of these rapacious and corrupt artists without talents. Like the Knights Templars and the Jesuits, their disgrace and persecution became general; and there was no country in Europe that was disposed to pity or encourage them after they had been publicly censured and branded in France by Philip Augustus.

* * * * * * * *

It is very difficult to separate the Provençal dialect from the language that was spoken during the middle ages in other parts of the French dominions. The Normans made it their boast at the beginning of the eleventh century, that they spoke the Romanse

Romanse language with purity, particularly at Rouen (*g*). Some of the writers of those times call the French language *Lingua Gallica*, and some *Romana*, or *Romana Rustica*. The term Romanse, derived from the language in which tales and novels were first written, did not for many years after this period convey the same idea as at present. *Parler Roman* was another expression for speaking French. In the time of Charles V. of France, the same expression is used by Guillaume de Nangy. And as the rustic Romanse language was that of the courts of French princes in general, every heroic history and metrical narration, and indeed almost every thing that was written in that language, was called *Romans*, or *Romance*. This is confirmed by a line of the *Roman d'Alexandre*, by Lambert Li Cors:

Vestu comme François, et sot parler Romans.

He dressed like a Frenchman, and spoke the Romance.

It was not till the reign of Philip Augustus, at the latter end of the twelfth and beginning of the thirteenth century, says M. de la Ravaliere (*h*), that men of learning and reputation in the capital ventured to write in the vulgar tongue; when, still leaving the Latin tongue in possession of hymns, and other poems on sacred subjects, they exercised their talents upon themes merely secular; but most frequently in lyric compositions.

The present FRENCH LANGUAGE is allowed to have originated from corrupt Latin, ancient Gallic, and Teutonic, brought into Gaul by the Franks; but in the southern parts of France, bordering upon the Mediterranean, many Greek words are still distinguishable, which are supposed to have been brought thither by the colonies of Phoceans planted

(*g*) *Revol. de la Langue Fran.* p. 113. (*h*) *Anciennete des Chansons,* par le meme, p. 214.

there

there in remote antiquity, and, perhaps, by Greek merchants trading to Marseilles.

According to M. de Sainte-Palaie *(i)*, the principal difference between the French and Provençal languages during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, consisted in the terminations of the same words. When the French used the *e* feminine, the Provençals used *a* or *o*, neither of which were pronounced, as is the case in our words se*a* and people. The Provençal terminations resembled these of the Italian and Spanish languages, and where the French used *eux* and *eur*, the Provençals had *os* and *or*.

M. de la Ravaliere *(k)* observes that laymen in the provinces began to write the vulgar language much earlier than in the capital, where Latin was longer understood *(l)*. The year 1130 was the date of the first poem in French, of which tradition has preserved the name: *Prise de Jerusalem.* par le Chevalier Bechada; but no vestige of this work is come down to the present times.

The most ancient remnants of the French prose language are the laws of William the Conqueror, who died 1087, and the sermons of St. Bernard, written early in the following century, in which it appears that this language differed considerably from that of Provence, of the same period, as it was written by the Troubadours *(m)*.

But the early poets of Provence and Normandy rendered their dialects superior to all others at that time by their songs, and tales, which were read with great avidity. Works of amusement, being within the reach of every kind of reader, extend the influence of a language universally, while those of philosophy and science can only be read by the learned.

(*i*) *Mem. de Litt.* tom. xxiv. p. 680.

(*k*) *Ubi supra*, p. 119.

(*l*) In the first Crusade, 1095, the military cry or signal for battle, used by the French, differed but little from Latin; *Deu lo volt*, for *Deus illud vult.*

(*m*) *Recherches sur les plus anciennes traductions en langue Francoise, par l'Abbe Lebeuf*, Mem. de Litt. tom. xvii. 3me, partie.

The chief difference and difficulties in these dialects, to modern readers, arise from the capricious, or careless orthography in which they have been written: as the same word, by the same author, in the same line, is frequently disguised by a new combination of letters.

The French are unable to produce specimens of poetry in their vulgar tongue, or any of its dialects, of an earlier date than the conquest of England, 1066, or indeed than the beginning of the twelfth century, "So that probably," says the learned editor of Chaucer's Canterbury Tales, (*n*) "the oldest "French poem of any length, now extant, is a translation of "the *Bestiarius*, by Phil. de Thaun." The authors of the *Historie Litteraire de la France (o)*, suppose it to have been written about 1125, that is, thirty years before *le Brut*, which Fauchet places at the head of French poems *(p)*.

No canticles or hymns unmixed with Latin can be found in France with musical notes of so early a period as the twelfth century, except in ecclesiastical books, where the rhymes were generally masculine, because they best suited singing; "And "it seems," says the Abbe Le Beuf *(q)*, "as if the musical

(*n*) Vol. iv. p. 50.

(*o*) Tom. ix. p. 173—190.

(*p*) The *Bestiarius* is a kind of natural history, in rhyme; and *Le Brut* is the title of a metrical and fabulous history of Britain. It is called *Le Brut d'Angleterre*, from Brutus, the son of Æneas, the pretended founder of the British nation. The date of this composition, which is imagined to be only a translation, versified, of the History of Geoffery of Monmouth in Latin, is given by the author himself in four verses at the end of the work:

Puis que Dieu incarnation
Pris, pour notre redemption,
M. C. L. & cinq ans
Fist Maistre Wistace Romans.

This citation, from the preface to the *Fabliaux*, affords an additional proof in favour of the arguments used by the editor of the Canterbury Tales, concerning the name of the author of *Le Brut*: *Wistace* and *Eustache*, in French verse are trisyllables, and Vace, Wace, Guace, and Gasse, dissyllables. Now, if this Romanser's name be regarded as a trisyllable, there then will be nine syllables in the last verse of the Quatrain, which is one more than either of the rest contains.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
Puis que Dieu incarnation
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
Pris pour notre redemption
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
Mille cent cinquante et cinq ans
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
Fit maistre Wistace cest Romans.

Wace or *Gace* would certainly suit the metre better;

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
Fit maistre Wace cest Romans.

However, it is probable, such was the unsettled state of orthography before the invention of printing, that all these appellations implied one and the same person.

(*q*) *Traite Hist. du Chant Eccl.* p. 115.

"notes

" notes set to this old language would best discover when our " forefathers made a word consist of two or more syllables, " which we pronounce in one *(r)*."

It is not only the ecclesiastical books of Paris which furnish proofs of early chanting in the French language; still more ancient examples may be found in cities remote from the capital: Du Cange, under the word *Farsa*, and *Epistola farsita*, has proved that it was once universal in all the provinces of France; and Carpentier, his continuator, says, that they still sing the epistle of St. Stephen at Aix in Provençe, half in French and half in Latin; and this they call *Les plaints de Saint Esteve*, or, " The complaints of St. Stephen." The same practice subsisted very lately at Rheims; and in the rules for the church service of Soissons, written in 1097, under bishop Nivelon the first, it is ordained in the Rubric that three subdeacons, robed in sacred vestments, should sing *Entendez tuit a cest sermon (s)*.

The following specimens of their ancient chants to the French language, with which the people were amused or instructed on certain festivals, were found by the Abbé Le Beuf at Amiens. However, it was a common practice in the Gallic church during the ninth century, according to this author, to read the acts of saints during the mass, in Latin: but he supposes that this language was then sufficiently understood by the ancient Gallic families. The practice of singing canticles or carols in the vulgar tongue, on Christmas-eve, and thence called *noels*, in the country churches of France, had its origin about the time that the common people ceased to understand Latin.*

(*r*) The same expedient would greatly facilitate the reading our own old poets, by enabling us to ascertain the number of syllables in each line, and pointing out their true accentuation, could we but find the melodies to which they were originally set and sung: for though we should frequently meet with several notes to one syllable, yet no composer was ever so careless or ignorant, as to leave a syllable without a note.

(*s*) These are the first words of the prologue or introduction to the paraphrase, in old French, of the epistle of St. Stephen.

* The word *noel* is derived from *natalis*, and signified originally a cry of joy at Christmas. *Origines de Menage* in v. NOUEL.

Such

Such chants as were appropriated to St. Stephen's day, were usually sung in the following manner: the sub-deacon first repeated each verse of the epistle in Latin, and two choristers sung the explication ar paraphrase; all were mounted in a pulpit, in order to be the better understood *(t)*.

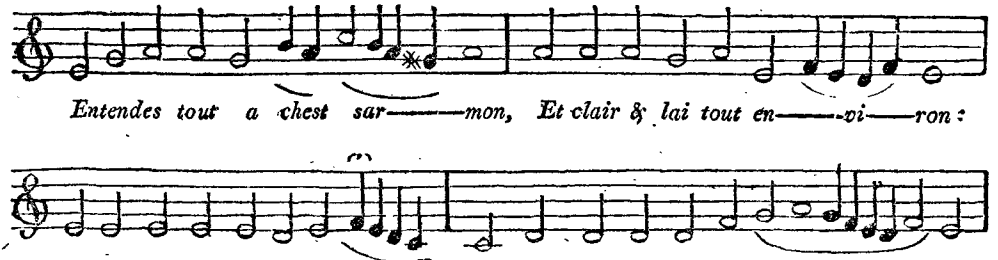
The missals, whence these specimens were extracted, are in Gregorian notes, written on a staff of four red lines, in the following manner:

Prologue. *In Die S. Stephani Epistola.*

En—ten—des tout a chest sar——mon

But I shall exhibit them in a more modern dress.

Prologue to the Paraphrase of the Epistle for St. Stephen's Day.



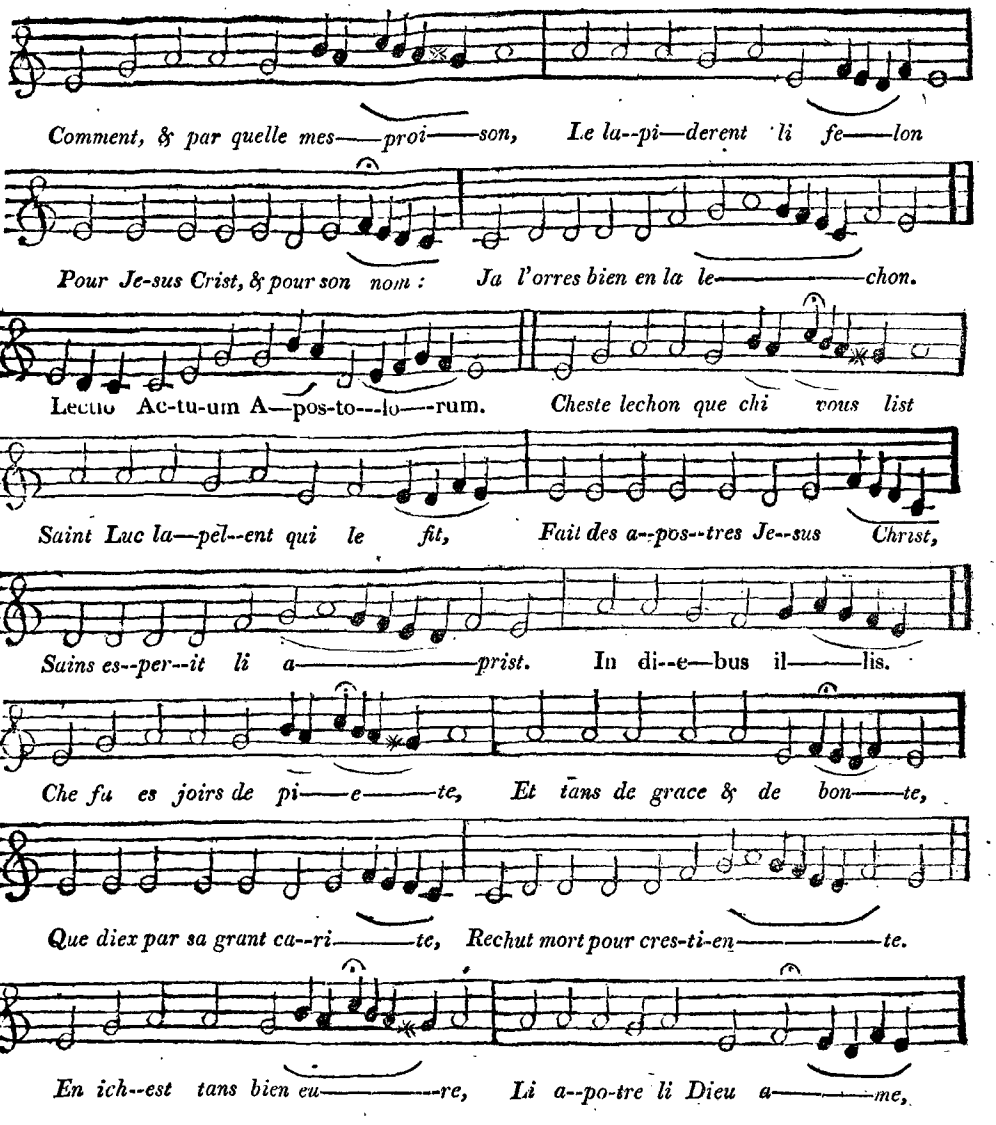
Entendes tout a chest sar——mon, Et clair & lai tout en——vi——ron:

Contu vous veil la pas--si——on De saint Es—teu—le le Ba——ron.

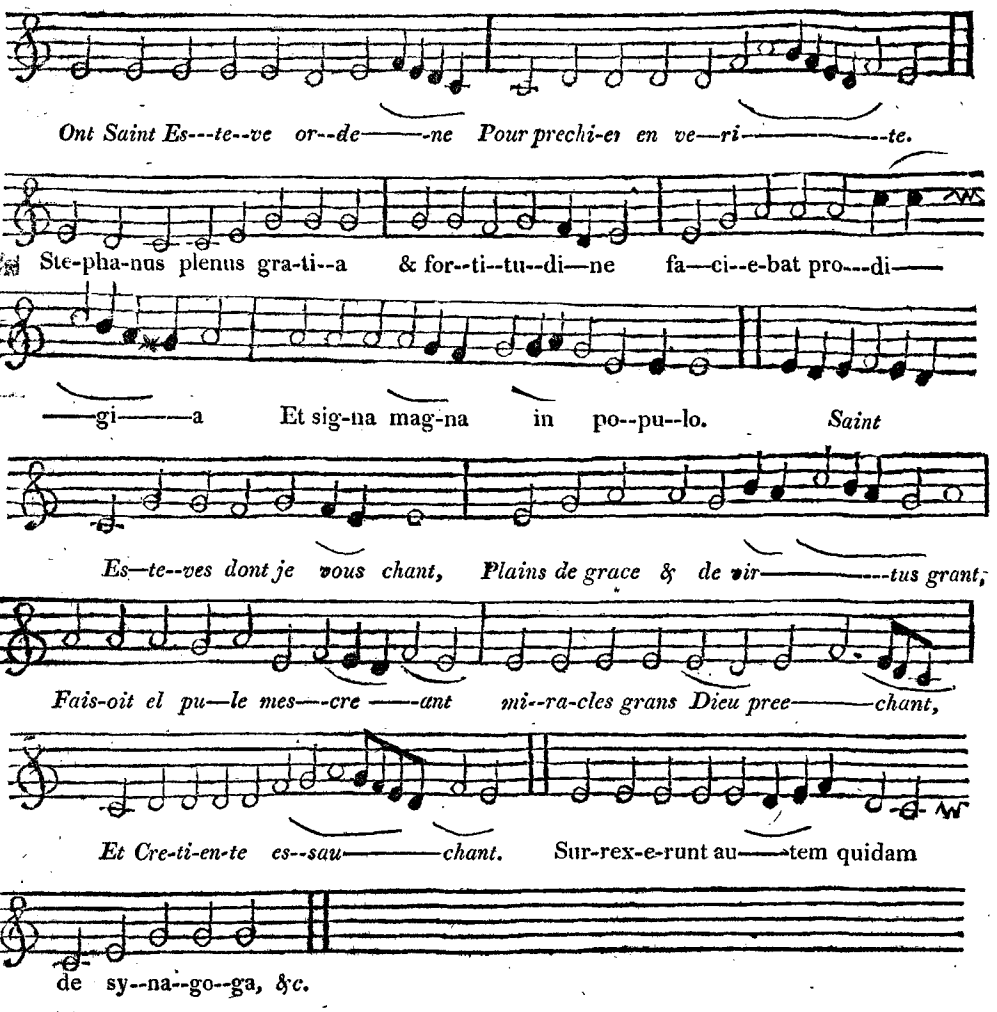
(t) Mr. Addison tells us, Spectator, No. 18. that when operas were first exhibited in England, "the Italian actors sung their "parts in their own language, at the same "time that our countrymen performed "them in our own native tongue." Indeed, part of the church-service in Russia is still performed in Greek, and part in the Sclavonian language.

(u) "Listen all to this sermon, both "clerks and laymen all around: and I will "relate to every one the passion of the "Baron St. Stephen:

"how



" how, and by what treason he was " wickedly stoned, for Jesus Christ and " for his name: here you will have it " in the lesson. [*Lesson from the Acts of " the Apostles.*] This lesson that he reads to " you, was written by St. Luke, in the " Acts of the Apostles of Jesus Christ, in- " spired by the Holy Ghost." *In diebus illis.* " It was in those days of piety, and of so " much faith and grace that God in his great " mercy died for Christianity. In this " happy time, the apostles beloved of God " chose

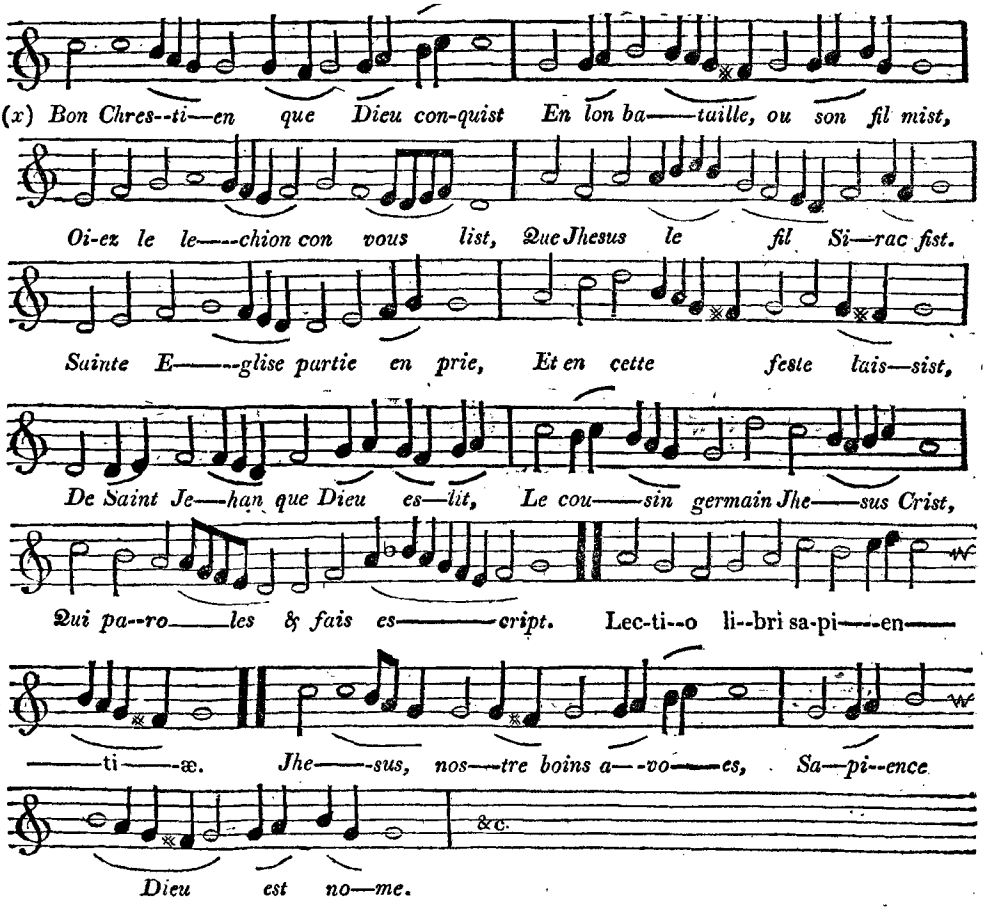


The melody of the preceding chant seems of much higher antiquity than the words, as it greatly resembles that which Meibomius has printed in his preface to the seven ancient Greek writers on Music, to which he thinks *Te Deum* was originally sung.

" chose St. Stephen to preach the truth." *Stephanus plenus gratia et fortitudine faciebat prodigia et signa magna in populo.* " St. Stephen of whom I sing, full of " grace and virtue, did great wonders " and miracles among the people, preach- " ing the word of God and the Christian " faith to unbelievers." *Surrexerunt autem quidam de synagoga,* &c.

The

The following Chant, for the Feast of St. John the Evangelist, was extracted from a MS. at Amiens, written about the year 1250.



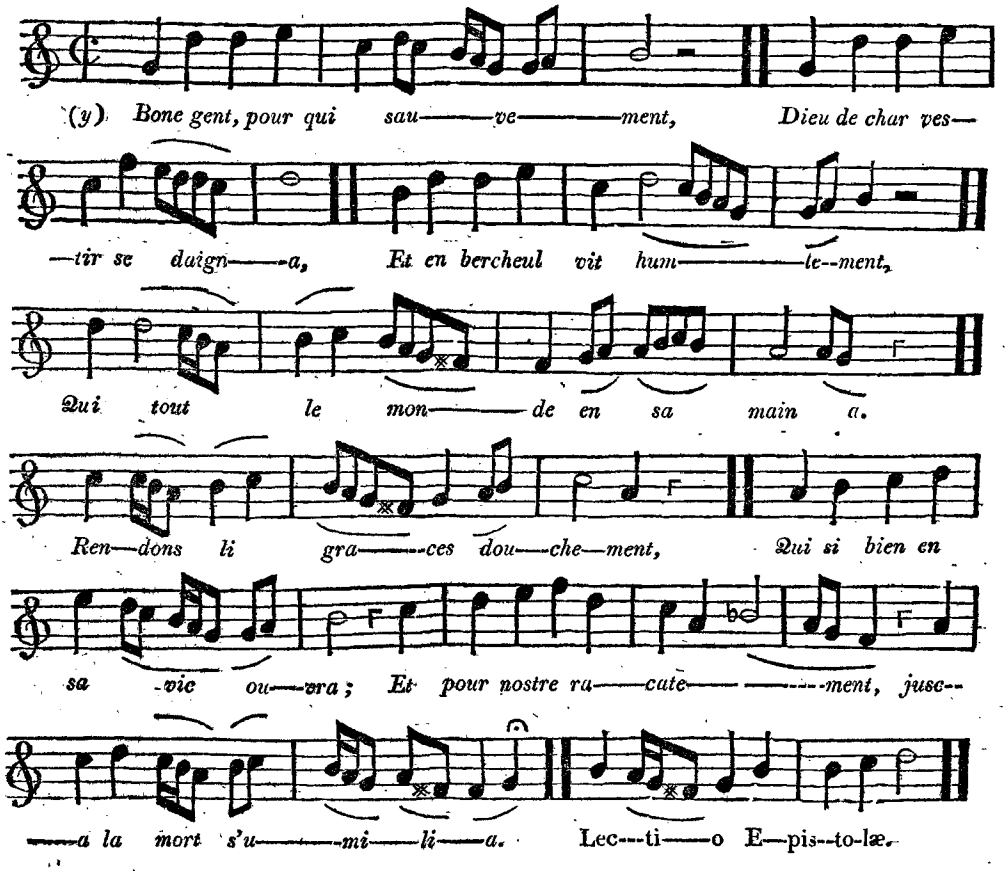
(x) "Good Christians, whom God conquered in long battle, when he sent his only Son, bear the lesson that is now read unto you, which Jesus the son of Sirac made."

"The holy church selected part of it, and uses it on this Feast of St. John, the cousin german of Jesus Christ, whom God elected, and who wrote both his words and actions." *Lectio libri sapientiæ.* "Jesus our good advocate, the wisdom of God is named, &c."

The

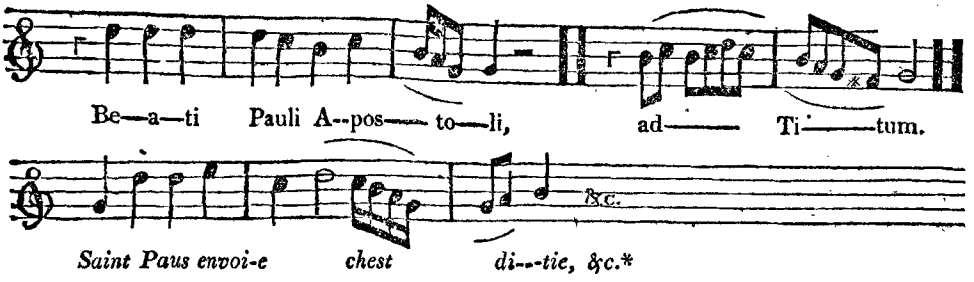
The same Chant is repeated several times to different words; but as these specimens are given more to shew the state of Music at so early a period, than that of Poetry, I shall quit this Melody, and insert another of the same antiquity, which, however, when written in common notes, and barred, seems more like a modern French secular air, than an ancient ecclesiastical Chant.

New Year's Day.



(y) "Good people, for whose salvation "God deigned to cloath himself in flesh, "and humbly live in a cradle, who has "the whole world in his hand. Render "him sweet thanks who in his life worked "such wonders; and for our redemption "humbled himself even to death. *Lectio* "*epistolæ*, &c.—Lesson from the Epistle "of St. Paul to Titus: St. Paul sent this "ditty, &c."

Here



This melody, compared with simple plain-chant, is very florid, and full of such embellishments as seem to have been in favour during the thirteenth century. The original copy consists of three kinds of notes, longs, breves, and semibreves, besides ligatures and triplets. "It is easy to suppose, says the "Abbé Le Beuf, that the design of those who established such "chants in some of the churches of France, was to distinguish "festivals and holy times, by the ornaments and graces with "which they were sung; as, in others was done by allowing "particular portions of the service to be performed in Faux-"bourdon, or Counterpoint (z)."

The French have at all times had a passion for such music as their country afforded. King Pepin made the chants of the church, which were indeed Roman, his particular study, and his son Charlemagne had Roman masters to teach it, and established schools for it in all parts of his empire. In the tenth century the singular attention that was paid to its culture would encourage a belief that it was regarded as one of the most necessary of the liberal arts, and had arrived at a higher pitch of perfection than is now easy to discover. Indeed the treatises that were written on the subject in the preceding century were innumerable; but the writers of the tenth and succeeding cen-

* Here the word *ditie*, from *Dictum*, is used in its primitive sense for an epistle, a saying, a sentence, and not for a poem, or song, to which it was afterwards appropriated.

(z) *Traite Hist. sur le Chant Eccles.* p.138.

turies hardly ever speak of the abilities of a man of letters without including, as an honourable accomplishment, his progress in music. There was no school in which it was not taught, and the greatest masters, such as Remi d'Auxerre, Hucbald of St. Amand, St. Odo of Cluni, Gerbert Scholasticus, and Abbon taught it with the same care as the most sublime sciences. It is to be wished, however, that some consummate judge of music and antiquity, of indisputable authority would kindly inform us, once for all, what were the excellencies of this music which were so highly esteemed and so diligently cultivated. "It is difficult to imagine, say the au-" thors of the *Histoire Litteraire de la France (a)*, that all this " care and study was bestowed upon mere plain chant. For " ancient authors who speak of chanting in the church, and of " other music, never confound them; nor does what they say " of the one at all suit the other. In the time of Charlemagne when the plain-chant of the Gallican church was changed for that of the Roman, no mention is made of a change in other music, which we may suppose remained the same as before."

In answer to this charitable remark of the pious authors of the Literary History of France it may be observed, that the venerable personages of whom they speak had too seriously renounced the vanities of the world to study and teach the light and scurrilous strains, as they were then called, with which the vulgar were captivated. The difficulty of understanding the peculiar property of each mode, and learning the numerous chants in the Antiphonarium, not only for the use of Sundays and common days, but for the several festivals throughout the year, must have employed all the time which ecclesiastics could spare from more serious and devout occupations. But that no distinction was made between the word music and plain chant is certain, from the titles of all the MS. tracts on these subjects that are come down to us; in which, though no other

(a) *To.* vi. p. 71.

rules

rules are given than merely for the ecclesiastical modes and canto fermo, yet they are called treatises on music: as Odo's dialogue beginning, *Quid est Musicæ?* The *Enchiridion Musicæ* of Hubald; and Guido's Micrologus, *Sive Libri duo* De Musica, in the dedication of which to Theodald the author himself says —*cœpi inter alia* Musicam *pueris* tradere. "Among other "things I began to teach the children (of our convent) music." The truth is that a rage for universality in sciences during this century impeded the progress of all. The study of the *Trivium*, comprehending grammar, rhetoric, and logic; the *Quadrivium*, arithmetic, music, geometry, and astronomy, including all the liberal arts, could afford no leisure for becoming profound in any one of them, and each individual contenting himself with that superficial acquaintance with the sciences which was required by his college, could never quit the beaten track, or penetrate new regions of intellectual space. The human mind has limits which are very remote from omniscience; and a rage for universal knowledge is more frequently the consequence of ostentation and frivolous curiosity than a serious desire to fathom the abyss of true science. Augustine, Boethius, and Cassidorus, wrote upon all the liberal arts (*y*); but the student who should endeavour to learn them by the scanty information to be found in their treatises, would have little less trouble on his hands, and be enabled to advance but little farther, than the original inventors of the arts they pretend to teach. To specify the numerous tracts on the subject of music written long after by the French clergy, of which several are still preserved in the king's library at Paris, and in other public libraries, would afford small satisfaction to the reader, without extracts; and indeed the extracts themselves were they to be given, would not, by their utility, repay the trouble of deciphering them.

(*y*) *Vide Fabric. Bib. Lat.*

It

It was not till the reign of Philip Augustus that Songs in the French language became common. Gautier de Coincy, an ecclesiastic of St. Medard de Soissons, composed a considerable number, which are still preserved in MS. among his other writings.

The most ancient French songs are called *lays*: "They were a "kind of elegies, says M. l'Eveque de la Ravaliere (*z*), filled with "amorous complaints. The origin of this species of composition "is such as rendered it necessarily plaintive: as the word *Lai* "is imagined to have been derived from *Lessus*, Latin, which "signifies complaints and lamentations. However there are "some lays which describe moments of joy and pleasure more "than sorrow or pain; and others upon sacred subjects (*a*).

Chaucer, who frequently uses the word *lay*, confines it wholly to songs of complaint and sorrow:

And in a lettre wrote he all his sorwe,
In manere of a complaint or a *Lay*,
Unto his faire freshe lady May.

Cant. Tales, v. 9754.

He was dispeired, nothing dorst he say,
Sauf in his songes somwhat wold he wray
His wo, as in a general complaining;
He said, he loved, and was beloved nothing.
Of swiche matere made he many *Layes*,
Songes, complaintes, roundels, virelayes——

Tran. T. 11255.

(*z*) *Anciente des Chansons*, tom. I. p. 225.

(*a*) The judicious and penetrating editor of Chaucer's Canterbury Tales, (see introductory discourse. vol. iv.) is of a different opinion, and thinks "that *Liod*, "Island. *Lied*, Teuton. *Leoth*, Saxon, "and *Lai*, French, are all to be deduced "from the same Gothic original." Skinner, very improbably, I think, imagines that all these words, especially the Anglo-Saxon *Ley*, and French *Lai*. are derived from *La*, the name of a musical note; but this syllable is never pronounced *lay*, in solmization, but *law*. Junius seems equally unfortunate in his genealogy of this word, which he derives from the Greek, ελεησον. The Dutch, he says, call a birth-day hymn, *Leysen*; and perhaps, continues he, from the frequent use of *Kyrie Eleison*, Κυριε ελεησον, on solemn festivals, the word *Lay* had its origin.

Thus

Thus end I this complaining or this *Lay*. ib.

In Spencer's time, however, its acceptation was more general, and as frequently applied to songs of joy, as sorrow:

To the maiden's sounding timbrels sung
In well attuned notes, a *joyous lay*. Fairy Queen.

Shakespeare and Milton use it likewise indiscriminately for every kind of song.

Lai seems a word purely Francic and Saxon, it is neither to be found in the Armoric language, nor in the dialect of Provence. The French poetess *Marie*, who in the time of St. Louis, about the middle of the thirteenth century, translated several tales from the Armoric language of Bretagne, calls them *lais;* but the term is of much higher antiquity. After its adoption by the Englist poets it soon became a generical term in poetry for every species of verse, as *Song* is now: but both these words still retain their particular acceptation as well as generical: for by a *song* is understood a short poem set to a tune, and this was the particular meaning of *lay*, in the last century among our musical writers.

Tales and songs, says the editor of ancient *Fabliaux et Contes François*, were the most common and ancient species of poetry. The French, naturally gay, chearful, and sportive, were more attached to this species of composition than any other nation, and communicated this love for lyric poetry to their neighbours. They must have been in possession of a great number of these songs and tales, because in all social meetings the custom was for every one present either to sing a song or tell a story, as appears by the end of the fable of the priest, *qui ot Mere à force*, where we read these verses.

A cest mots fenist cis Fabliaux
Que nous avons en rime mis,
Pour conter devant nos amis.

And according to John li Chapelain, in his ditty of the Sacristain of Clugny, it was customary for a bard to pay his reckoning with a story or a song.

Usage est Normandie,
Que qui hebergiez est, qu'il die
Fable ou Chanson a son oste
Ceste costume pas n'en oste
Sire Jehans li Chapelains.

In Normandy a song or tale
Is current coin for wine or ale;
Nor does the friendly host require
For bed and board a better hire.

In the thirteenth century the songs in vogue were of various kinds; moral, merry, and amorous. And at that time melody seems to have been little more than plain-song, or *chanting*. The notes were square, and written on four lines only, like those of the Romish church, in the clef of C, without any marks for time. The movement and embellishments of the air depend on the abilities of the singer. The compass of modern music is much extended since by the cultivation of the voice, for it was not till towards the end of St. Lewis's reign that the fifth line began to be added to the stave. The singer always accompanied himself on an instrument *in unison* (*b*).

The HARP passed for the most noble and majestic of instruments, and on this account the romancers place it in the hands of their greatest heroes, as the ancient Greek bards did the lyre.

(*b*) *Poesies du roy de Navarre*, Tom. ii.

This

This instrument was in such general favour that an old poet (*c*) has made it a subject of a poem, called *Le Dict de la Harpe*, "the Ditty, or Poem, upon the Harp," and praises it as an instrument too good to be profaned in taverns, or places of debauchery, saying that it should be used by knights, esquires, clerkes, persons of rank, and ladies with plump and beautiful hands; and that its courteous and elegant sounds should be heard only by the elegant and good.

It had twenty-five strings, to each of which the poet gives an allegorical name: calling one *Liberality*, another *Wealth*, a third *Politeness*, a fourth *Youth*, &c. applying all these qualities to his mistress, and comparing her to the harp.

The instrument which most frequently served for an accompaniment to the harp, and which disputed the pre-eminence with it in the early times of music in France, was the VIOL; and, indeed, when reduced to four strings, and stript of the frets with which viols of all kinds seem to have been furnished till the sixteenth century, it still holds the first place among treble instruments, under the denomination of *Violin*.

The *Viol* played with a *Bow*, and wholly different from the *Vielle*, whose tones are produced by the friction of a wheel, which indeed performs the part of a bow, was very early in favour with the inhabitants of France. These instruments, however, are frequently confounded by writers as well as readers; but, to remove all ambiguity, I shall give an engraving of a figure on the Portico of Notre Dame at Paris, which, according to Monfaucon (*d*), represents king Chilperic, with a Violin in his hand (*e*).

(*c*) Machau, who flourished in the fourteenth century, and of whom a farther account will be given in the present chapter.

(*d*) *Monumens de la Monarchie Francoise.* tom, i. p. 56. The cathedral of *Notre Dame*, at Paris, was founded by Childebert the First, in the sixth century: began to be rebuilt in the tenth century, by king Robert; was continued by his successors, and finished by Philip Augustus, who died 1223, after a long reign, which began 1180.

(*e*) See Plate II. No I.

On

On an antique bason, or ewer, dug up near Soissons, is a representation of a musician playing on a viol with a long bow. The late excellent antiquary, l'abbé Le Beuf, was of opinion that the workmanship of this bason was executed during the time of the first race of French kings, that is, before the year 752, which makes the use of the bow of much higher antiquity in France than can be proved in any other country. The design engraved upon this vessel, which was dug up in a place where a palace of one of the kings of Soissons is supposed to have stood, is divided into compartments, in one of which is represented a player on the Harp, exalted on a high seat; on his right hand is a Singer, with a roll of paper in his hand, and on his left a player on the Viol (*f*).

In the illuminations of a MS. of the beginning of the fourteenth century, containing the poems of the King of Navarre, and his cotemporary poets, described by M. de la Ravaliere (*g*), is the figure of a *Jongleur*, or Minstrel, sitting likewise on an exalted seat, who seems playing to the king and queen of Navarre (*h*). But a still more conspicuous monument of the early use and importance of the *Bow* in France may be seen on the portico of the chapel of St. Julian *des Menestriers*, at Paris, of which I likewise insert an engraving (*i*). This church was built 1331, by Jaques Grure and Hugues li Lorrain, two of the *Jongleurs*, or minstrels, of Philip de Valois: and in the History of the Troubadours (*k*), M. Millot tells us that William the Ninth, Count of Poitou, in one of his Poems, after relating a particular adventure with a common woman in very free terms, and reflecting upon his *bonnes fortunes*, or favour with the ladies, thanks God and *St. Julian* for his success. "It was then," says M. Millot, "customary, such was the "superstition of the times, for libertines to invoke Heaven

(*f*) See plate II. No 3.
(*g*) *Poesies du Roi de Navarre*, tom. I. p. 252.
(*h*) See plate II. No 4.
(*i*) Plate II. No 2.
(*k*) Tom. I. p. 11.

for

Pl. II. to face p. 264

"for success in their most profligate undertakings; and St. "Julian was the particular saint and protector to whom they "addressed themselves on such occasions." As, in higher antiquity, Mercury was the patron divinity of thieves (*l*).

The statue which is fixed at the portico of St Julian's chapel, is that of St. Genet, in whose hands the *Viol* and *Bow* are placed: an honour conferred upon him by the minstrels on account of his having been a Comedian by profession, and consequently one of their brethren (*m*).

The ancient and respectable monuments upon which the

(*l*) St. Julian, in order to expiate an involuntary crime, is said to have made a vow that he would receive into his house all passengers who should be in want of a habitation, by which he obtained the title of the *Hospitable Saint*, and was afterwards addressed as the patron of travellers, to whom prayers were made for a good lodging. *L'Oraison de S. Julian, & l' Hotel de St. Julien*, were afterwards used by the French in pleasantry, much in the same sense as with us, *dining with Duke Humphrey*. But in the tales written in old French so early as the twelfth century, the allusion was more licentious. Boccace (Giorn. II. nov. 2.) speaks of the *Paternostro di San Giuliano*, and makes Rinaldo, after a successful adventure with a female, return thanks to God and St. Julian: *Per la qual cosa Rinaldo Iddio, & San Giuliano ringraziando, monto a Cavallo*. La Fontaine, who has translated this tale, calls it *L'Oraison de St. Julien*.

(*m*) Surius* informs us that St. Genet lived in the time of the emperor Dioclesian; and that in order to entertain this prince and his people he frequently ridiculed the Christians upon the stage, where he undertook to represent the ceremonies of baptism, and performed himself the part of the person that was to be baptised: counterfeiting sickness, of which he was to be cured by becoming a Christian. But when the priest and exorcist appeared to perform the ceremony, he was admonished in a vision to renounce the errors of Paganism, and seriously assume the character of Christian; upon which, he instantly declared that he would no longer worship idols but receive the divine grace that was offered unto him, which the other actors and the audience imagined was done in order to render the scene more natural and amusing; he was therefore baptised according to all the Christian rites, and dressed in a white robe. After this, soldiers appeared as if sent by the emperor to drag him before the judge, where he was to worship a statue of Venus which was placed on the stage for the purpose: Genet, however, loudly protested that he was a Christian and would adore the true God, and not images of wood or stone. The emperor himself at first believed that this was only done to heighten his part; but at length finding that he continued to speak like a Christian and not an actor, he commanded him to be chastised before the people, and afterwards sent to a præfect of the name of Plautian, who finding it impossible to subdue his constancy by torture, ordered him to be beheaded. This event happened the twenty-fifth of August, 303.

* *Recueil des Saints*, tom. iv.

Viol appears, are proofs that it has long been a favourite instrument in France; and that the *Minstrels*, in the highest estimation with the public, were at all times the best *Violists* of their age.

Musicians who accompanied such bards as sung their own historical songs in the halls of princes and nobles at great festivals, are described by an old French poet who flourished about 1230, and who is quoted by Duchesne in his edition of the works of Alain Chartier, and by *Borel, Tres. des Antiq.*

Quand les tables otées furent
Cil jugleour in pies esturent
S'ont viols & harpes prises
Chansons, sons, vers et reprises
Et de gestes chanté not ont

Roman du Tournoyement de l'Antechrist.

When the cloth was ta'en away
Minstrels strait began to play,
And while harps and viols join
Raptur'd bards in strains divine,
Loud the trembling arches rung
With the noble deeds we sung.

Though the word *Minstrel* in our language is confined to *a musician who plays on instruments*, yet the term *Jonglerie*, in old French, included four different species of performers: the *Troubadours* who wrote, set, and sung their own verses; the *Singers*, employed by these poets and composers to whom nature had denied a voice; the *Diseurs*, *Narrators*, or *Romancers*, who in a kind of chant recited their metrical histories; and the *Players upon Instruments*, who accompanied the Troubadours and singers, or performed at feasts and revels without singing. These last exercised the art of minstrelsy so often mentioned by our poets. The French word *Jongliour* or *Jongleur*

is

is generally thought to be a corruption of *Joculator*; but this term originally implied a *Jester* or *Buffoon*, rather than a Musician. The etymology, therefore, of this word, which has been hazarded by M. de la Ravaliere (*n*), from *Ongle*, a nail; *Ongleur*, a thrummer of instruments with the nails, seems ingenious and probable; as the *Lyre*, *Cithara*, *Harp*, *Lute*, and *Guitar*, the most ancient stringed instruments, have at all times been played with the *nails*, and ends of the fingers.

Strolling Musicians of this kind abounded in France so early as the time of Charlemagne, who forbids their admission into convents (*o*); and in the first Capitulary of Aix la Chapelle (*p*), this prince speaks of them as persons branded with infamy. They continued, however, to amuse the great in private, as well as the people in public, as a distinct body of men, till the Troubadours introduced Poetry into France in the dialect of that country. Their licentiousness was frequently repressed, and their conduct regulated, by the police; and, during the reign of Philip Augustus, the Troubadours and Minstrels were involved in the same disgrace, and for some time banished the kingdom: which left such a stigma upon their order, as no efforts of genius, or austerity of manners, could entirely efface; though they were afterwards recalled and in some degree restored to public favour. It is observed by a late elegant French writer, that "though the proscription of Music and Poetry, "and the kind of inquisition which Philip established against "the *Jongleurs* in France, may have originated from the laudable intention of repressing those disorders which the abuse "of their profession had occasioned; yet, if he had reflected "that the fate of letters was at that time in the hands of the "*Troubadours*, and that among every people approaching towards civilization, the progress of virtue is generally pro-

(*n*) *Poes. du Roy de Navarre*, tome ii. p. 255.

(*o*) *Mem. de Litt.* tome xv. p. 581. & tome xvii. p. 222. 713, & seq.

(*p*) *Capit. Baluz.* tome i. art. 44. anno 789.

"portioned

" portioned to the cultivation of arts and literature, he would " have inflicted a less ignominious punishment on the objects " of his displeasure. For such is the empire of prejudice, that " the anathema it pronounces against the abuse of a profession " remains in full force, even after the reformation of those who " exercise it." This author ventures to pronounce the *Jongleurs*, or *Troubadours* and Minstrels, notwithstanding the contempt with which they are named at present, to have been the fathers of literature in France: " It was they who banished scholastic " quarrels and ill-breeding, and who polished the manners, " established the rules of politeness, enlivened the conversa- " tion, and purified the gallantry of its inhabitants. The ur- " banity, continues he, which distinguishes us from other peo- " ple, was the fruit of our *Songs*; and if it is not from them " that we derive our virtues, they at least taught us how to " render them amiable (*p*)."

MENESTREL, or *Minstrel*, so early as the eighth century was a title given to the *Maestro di Capella* of king Pepin father of Charlemagne; and afterwards to the *Coryphæus*, or leader of any band of musicians. However in process of time, the power of music over the munificence of the public being enfeebled by the multiplicity of those who had no other subsistence, it was thought expedient to try the force of new and different incentives to admiration and benevolence.

Among the *Metrical Tales* and *Fables* of the twelfth and thirteenth century, written in the Romanse or old French language, there is one still subsisting in the libraries of France, and in the Bodleian Library (*r*) intitled *Les deux Menestriels*, the Two Minstrels; in which their several talents necessary to their profession are displayed: from this I shall give an ex-

(*q*) *Tableau Historique de Gens de Lettres*, par l'Abbe de Longchamps, tome v.

(*r*) MS. Digby, 86.

tract,

tract, as it will shew at least the state of Minstrelsy in France at the time it was written (s).

"Two companies of minstrels meeting at a castle, endea-"vour to amuse its Lord by counterfeiting a quarrel. One of "them quitting his companions, insults a minstrel of the "other troop, calling him a ragged beggar, who never had "done any thing to deserve a better dress from his patrons; "and, in order to prove his own superiority, says with triumph, "that *he* can *tell stories* in verse, both in Romanse and Latin "tongue; can sing forty *Lays* and *Heroic Songs* (*t*), as well "as every other kind of songs which may be called for; that "he knew also stories of *Adventures*, particularly those of the "*Round Table;* and in short, that he could sing innumerable "romances, such as *Vivian*, *Reinhold the Dane*, *&c.* and *re-*"*late* the stories of *Flora and White-Flower*. He finishes the "enumeration of his talents by facetiously informing the spec-"tators, that he did not chuse his present employment for "want of knowing others; as he was possessed of several se-"crets by which he could make a great fortune: for he knew "how to circle an egg, bleed cats, blow beef, and cover houses "with omelets. He also knew the art of making goats-caps, "cows' bridles, dogs' gloves, hares' armour, joint stool cases, "scabbards for hedging-bills; and if he were furnished with a "couple of harps, he would make such music as they never "heard before." At length, after some additional abuse, he advises the Minstrel whom he attacks, to quit the castle without staying to be turned out; "For I despise you too much," says he, "to disgrace myself and comrades by striking such a "pitiful fellow."

(*s*) The remarks upon this Tale by the late excellent editor of *Fabliaux et Contes du XII. et du XIII. Siecle*, who has explained them in modern French prose, are so ample and satisfactory, that I shall here avail myself of his diligence and information; referring those who are in possession of that instructive and amusing work to vol. I. p. 299.

(*t*) *Chansons de Geste: Lays* have been described above, p. 260.

The other vilifies him in his turn, and asks how he dares presume to call himself a Minstrel, who does not know a single tale or ditty worth hearing. "For my part," says he, "I am "not one of your ignorant fellows who can only take off a "cat, play the fool, the drunkard, or talk nonsense to my "comrades; but one of those true and genuine Troubadours "who invent every thing they say."

Je Joueur
Ge sui Juglere *de* Vielle;
Si sai de Muse *et de* frestele,
Et de Harpe *et de* Chiphonie
De la gigue, *de l'*Armonie,
du
Et el salteire, *et en la* rote.
Je sais chanson
Sai-ge bien chanter une note;
fabliaux
Ge sai Contes, je sai fableax,
beaux dits nouveaux
Ge sai conter beax diz noveax
vielles nouvelles
Rotruenges viez et noveles,
Et servantois, et pastoreles,
d'amour
Si sai porter conseil d'amors
chapel fleurs
Et faire chapelec de flors,
d'amoureux
Et cainture de druerie
courtoisie
Et beau parler de cortoisie (*u*).

All the Minstrel art I know:
I the *Viol* well can play;
I the *Pipe* and *Syrinx* blow,
Harp and *Gigue* my hand obey.
Psaltry, Symphony and *Rote*
Help to charm the list'ning throng,
And *Armonia* lends its note
While I warble forth my song.
I have tales and fables plenty,
Satirs, past'rals, full of sport.
Songs to Vielle I've more than twenty,
Ditties too of ev'ry sort.
I from lovers tokens bear,
I can flow'ry chaplets weave,
Am'rous belts can well prepare,
And with courteous speech deceive.

(*u*) A few of the instruments of which the minstrel boasts he is master, and which are not explained in the translation of the verses, require some comment. The *Muse* is the muzzle or tube of a bag-pipe, without the bellows. Cornmuse was the name of a *horn*, or *Cornish pipe*, blown like our bagpipe. *Chalmy*, shawm in old English, is a clarinet of low pitch*; and *chalumeau* is French for a large bagpipe made of box, with a great *bourdon* or drone, as *musette* is for one of a small size. Of what kind of instrument was the *chiponie, cyfoine, symphonie*, is not very well known. Some of the quotations given by Du-Cange describe it as a wind instrument, and others as a species of drum, pierced with holes like a sieve. I have not the least doubt but that the instrument called a *rote*, so frequently mentioned by our Chaucer, as well as by the old French poets, was the same as the modern *vielle*, (see above, p. 263) and had its first name from *rota* the *wheel* with which its tones are produced. The *gigue* and *armonia* were instruments concerning which I can procure no information. The psaltry has been described in the first volume, (p. 519).

* Trompettès, hornè, and *shalmys*
The sea burnt all of fyre Grekys.
Rom. of Richard Coeur de Lion, written about the beginning of the 14th century.

The

The Minstrel then specifies the several poetical tales he can repeat, most of which are still subsisting; and then, having displayed his talents as a musician and a man of wit, he next describes his dexterity at tricks and slight of hand:

jouer
Bien sai joer de l'escambot,
l'escarbot
Et faire venir l'echarbot
sautant
Vif et saillant dessus la table.
maint jeu
Et si sai meint beau geu de table
d'adresse de magie
Et d'entregiet et d'artumaire
Bien sai un enchantement faire---
jouer bâtons
Ge sai joer des baasteax,
couteaux
Et si sai joer des costeax,
fronda
Et de la corde et de la fonde (x).

Joint stool feats to shew I'm able,
I can make the beetle run
All alive upon the table,
Where I shew delightful fun.
At my slight-of-hand you'll laugh,
At my magic you will stare;
I can play at quarter-staff,
I can knives suspend in air.
I enchantments strange devise,
And with cord and sling surprise

He moreover boasts that besides the *heroic songs* which his antagonist mentioned, he can sing many others, such as *Oliver*, *Roland*, &c. and then, like him, finishes by some vulgar pleasantries, telling the company that he had the honour to be acquainted with all the bailiffs, catchpoles, and renowned champions of his time: Augier Poupée, who at one stroke cuts off the ear of a cat with a sword: Herbert Kill-Beef, who breaks an egg with its point, &c. and the most celebrated Minstrels, *Firebrand*, *Smash*, *Turn-about*, *Sliver*, &c. At length addressing himself to his rival he advises him, if he has any shame left, never again to be seen in the same place as himself: "and you, my lord," says he, "if I have been more elo-"quent than he, I entreat you to turn him out of doors, to "convince him that he's an ignorant blockhead."

(x) With the Minstrel's legerdemain I have little to do, except to point out the origin of the word *Juggler*, from *Jonglcur*, a minstrel; who besides being a poet, musician, and buffoon, was expected to be a *conjurer*.

The

The profession of Minstrel at this time seems to have required such talents and abilities as it would be difficult to find in the possession of any modern musician. We will suppose his musical knowledge and performance upon instruments to have been as inferior to those of the present professors, as the instruments themselves were to those of modern construction; and indeed, though we may imagine it possible for a Minstrel to know Latin, and to be able to compose tales in that language, yet it is hardly probable that he would risk it. The editor of the Fabliaux, says that in all his researches after the remains of such productions, he has seen very few; and indeed they would have been prevented from becoming common, by the small number who would have understood them; so that the Minstrel's assertion in this particular may be regarded as a mere swagger, or challenge, which he knew would not be accepted. But all deduction made, his qualifications will still remain so numerous and of such a kind as, it is to be hoped, will place him out of the reach of rivalry in the present age: for I apprehend it would be difficult to find musicians now, who would venture to boast of such accomplishments, even if he were possessed of them, as making *amorous girdles*, delivering letters or messages for lovers, teaching them the pink of courtesy and flower of compliments, or how to ornament their persons in the most emphatical manner.

To what kind of air the metrical romances which he mentions were sung, is not left on record; but that it was as simple as the ecclesiastical chants, is natural to suppose, as these romances, consisting of many thousand lines, were too long to be set or sung to very elaborate music. The author of an old romance called *Gerard de Roussillon*, says that he has written it upon the model of the *Song of Antioch*, which the editor of Fabliaux imagines to imply, that it might be sung to the same tune. Nothing was more common for many ages after this

this period, than for poets to write *new songs* to *old tunes*, and for musicians to make *variations* on these tunes; for we find little else done by either during the reign of queen Elizabeth.

About the year 1330, the minstrels of Paris formed themselves into a *company*, and obtained a charter. The police frequently repressed their licentiousness, and regulated their conduct: Philip Augustus banished them the first year of his reign, but they were recalled by his successors, and united under the general name of *Menestraudie*, Minstrelsy; having a chief appointed over them, who was called *King of the Minstrels (y)*. Lewis IX. exempted them from a tariff or toll at the entrance into Paris, on condition that they would sing a song, and made their monkeys dance to the tollman, perhaps to prove their title to such indulgence; and hence arose the well-known proverb: *Payer en Gabades et en monnoïe de singe (z)*.

The associated Minstrels inhabited a particular street, to which they gave the name, which it still retains, of *St. Julien des Menestriers*. It was here that the public was provided with musicians for weddings, and parties of pleasure; but as a greater number of them usually attended on such occasions than were ordered, and all expected to be paid the same price, *William de Germont*, provost of Paris, in 1331, prohibited the *Jongleurs* and *Jongleresses* from going to those who required their performance, in greater numbers than had been stipulated, upon a severe penalty. In 1395, their libertinism and immoralities again incurred the censure of government, by which it was strictly enjoined that they should henceforth, neither in public nor private, speak, act, or sing any thing that was

(*y*) See Du-Cange, in V. *Rex Ministellorum*. Our king of the Fidlers, or Minstrels, in Staffordshire, was probably an establishment derived from the French, as the earliest mention of it in our annals is in 1338. *temp.* Hen. IV. and in the fourth year of Richard II. The records of France, however, have this title in the time of St. Lewis, and in that of his successor.

(*z*) *Essai sur la Musique Ancienne et Moderne*, Tom. I. p. 415. This is a fact, however, which, to be believed, requires more than a bare assertion: for an imposition so ludicrous and useless to the state, seems very unworthy of so grave and pious a prince as St. Lewis.

indecorous or unfit for modest eyes and ears, upon pain of two months imprisonment, and living on bread and water.

In the reign of Charles VI. they seem to have relinquished the juggling art, and to have confined themselves more particularly to the practice of music. It was about this time that treble and base rebecs, or viols with three strings, began to be in use, either to play in octaves to each other, or perhaps in a coarse kind of counterpoint, of which the laws were now forming: on this occasion the Minstrels assumed the title of *Players on high and low Instruments (a)*, and this pompous denomination was confirmed by a charter in 1401, which begins in the following manner:

"Charles by the grace of God, &c. &c. It having been "humbly represented, unto us, by the King of the Minstrels, "that since the year 1397 when they were formed and asso- "ciated into a company for the free and lawful exercise of "their profession of *Minstrelsy (b)*, according to certain rules "and ordinances by them formerly made and ratified, and by "which all Minstrels, as well players on high instruments as "low, having agreed and bound themselves to appear before "the aforesaid King of the Minstrels, to take oath and swear "to the performance of the covenants hereafter declared, "&c."

It appears from the ancient records of Paris that the *Dancing Masters* were incorporated in the same company with the Minstrels, under the denomination of *Maîtres joueurs d'instrumens, et Maîtres à danser;* and that the presentation of the living of St. *Julien des Menestriers* had at all times been allowed by the rules of the church of Paris to appertain to the said company as founders, lay-patrons, governors, and administrators of the said church (c).

(a) *Joueurs des Instrumens tant haut comme bas.*

(b) *Menetraudise.*

(c) "*Et les reverends peres de la doctrine "Chretienne de la prevote de Paris, re- "conoissent que de toute ancienneté et a per- "petuite*

The ancient historians and poets of France mention their *Military Songs* of very remote antiquity, in which were celebrated the heroic deeds of their favourite chiefs and most gallant commanders. These used to be sung in chorus by the whole army in advancing to attack an enemy; a custom probably derived from their German ancestors, as the privilege of leading off this kind of *War-Whoop* usually appertained to the Bard who had composed it. Charlemagne had a great passion for these heroic songs, and, like our Alfred, not only had them collected, but knew them by heart. However, the atchievements of this victorious prince and his captains obliterated those of their predecessors, and gave birth to new songs. One of these, in praise of Roland, the *Orland inamorato* and *furioso* of Boiardo, Berni, and Ariosto, was longer preserved than any of the rest. This, the French historians tell us, was begun at the battle of Hastings, where William became the conqueror of the English nation, by a knight called Taillefer, on whom this honour was conferred for his strong and powerful voice. Here he performed the office of *herald minstrel* (*menestrier huchier*) at the head of the Norman army, and was among the first that were slain in the onset (*d*).

The song upon Roland continued in favour among the French soldiers as late as the battle of Poitiers, in the time of their king John; who, upon reproaching one of them with

" *peinite*, le dits Maitres joueurs de Violon " et a danser, *sont les fotudateurs patrons* " *laiques, presentateurs, gouverneurs et ad-* " *ministrateurs de l'Eglise*, &c."

Drawn from the extracts inserted in the *Essai sur Mus. Anc. et Mod.* par M. Laborde, from the ancient patents and privileges of the minstrel's company. Tom. I. p. 418.

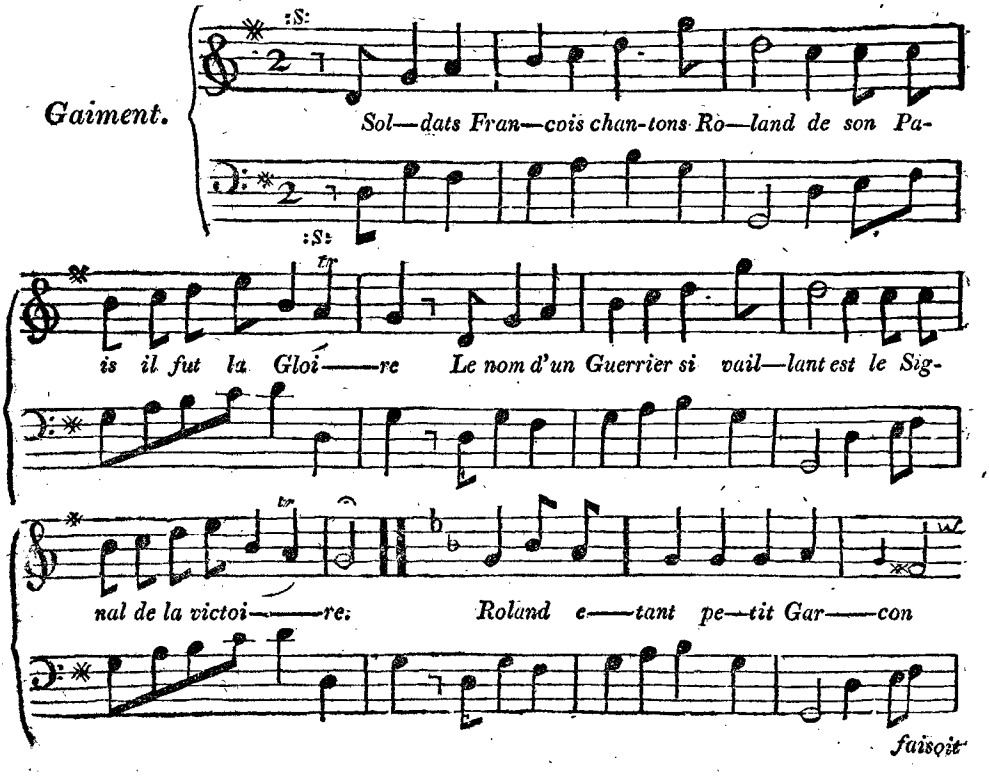
(*d*) The Ministrels were called Heralds, we find from an old French poem entitled *Le Dict. des Herauts*, by Baudoin de Conde, on account of the strength and clearness of their voices, which qualified them so well, not only for animating the soldiers in battle, but for making proclamations at tournaments and public ceremonies. *Fabliaux et Contes du XII. et du XII. Siecle.* Tom. I. p. 297. 8vo. 1779. Carpentier (*Suppl. Du-Cang. Gloss. Lat.* Tom. II. p. 750.) is of opinion that the French Heralds, called *Hiraux*, were the same as the Minstrels, and that they sung metrical tales at festivals: and Mr. Warton has given many proofs (Hist. Eng. Poet. vol. i. p. 332.) that in England they frequently received fees or largesse with the Minstrels.

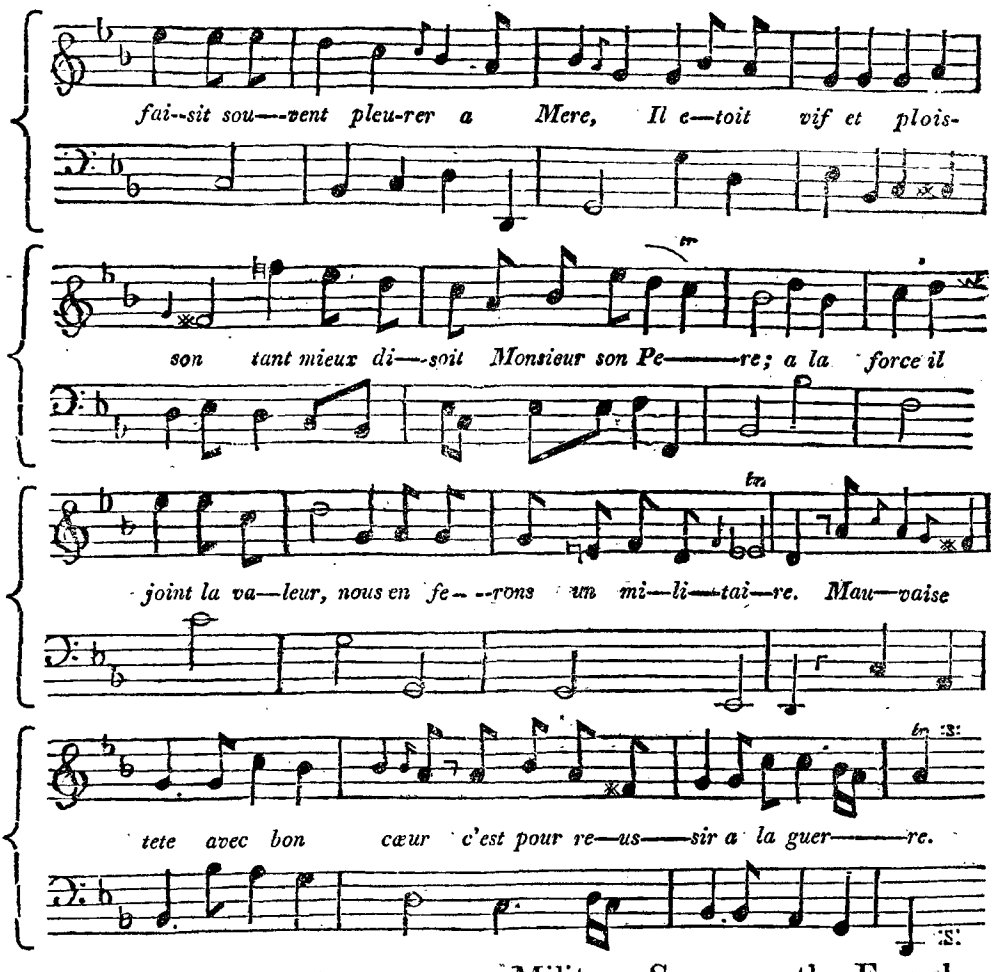
singing

singing it at a time when there were no Rolands left, was answered that Rolands would still be found if they had a Charlemagne at their head. But however popular this song may have been in the fourteenth century, it is not come down entire to the present times.

Yet the marquis de Paulmy having found some fragments of it in the writings of the old romansers, has collected and digested them into the following song, which seems to breathe so much of the true national and military spirit of France, that I shall insert it with the tune, and a translation.

CHANSON de ROLAND.





Chanson de Roland.

Soldats François, chantons Roland,
De son pais il fut la gloire,
Le nom d'un Guerrier si vaillant
Est le signal de la victoire..

Military Song, on the French Champion Roland.

Let ev'ry valiant son of Gaul
Sing Roland's deeds, her greatest glory,
Whose name will stoutest foes appal,
And feats inspire for future story.

Roland etant petit garçon
Faisoit souvent pleurer sa mere:
Il etoit vif et polisson—
Tant-mieux, disoit monsieur son pere—
A la force il joint la valeur,
Nous en ferons un militaire.
Mauvaise tête avec bon coeur
C'est pour reussir a la guerre.
Soldats François, &c.

Roland in childhood had no fears,
Was full of tricks, nor knew a letter,
Which though it cost his mother tears,
His father cried "So much the better:
"We'll have him for a soldier bred,
"His strength and courage let us nourish,
"If bold the heart, though wild the head,
"In war he'll but the better flourish."
Let ev'ry, &c.

II.

Le pere pensoit justement,
Car dès que Roland fut en age,
On vit avec etonnement,
Briller sa force et son courage;
Perçant escadrons, bataillons,
Renversant tout dans la mêlée
Il faisoit tourner les talons
Lui tout seul a toute une armée;
Soldats François, &c.

II.

Roland arriv'd at man's estate
Prov'd that his father well admonish'd,
For then his prowess was so great
That all the world became astonish'd.
Batallions, squadrons, he could break,
And singly give them such a beating,
That, seeing him, whole armies quake,
And nothing think of but retreating.
Let ev'ry, &c.

III.

Dans le combat particulier
Il nétoit pas moins redoutable,
Qu'on fut geant, qu'on fut sorcier,
Que l'on fut monstre, ou qu'on fut diable;
Rien jamais n'arretoit son bras,
Il se battoit toujours sans crainte,
Et s'il ne donnoit le trépas
Il portoit quelque rude atteinte.
Soldats, &c.

III.

In single combat 'twas the same:
To him all foes were on a level,
For ev'ry one he overcame
If giant, sorc'rer, monster, devil.
His arm no danger e'er could stay,
Nor was the goddess Fortune fickle,
For if his foe he did not slay
He left him in a rueful pickle.
Let ev'ry, &c.

IV.

Quand il falloit donner l'assaut,
Lui même il appliquoit l'échelle;
Il etoit le premier en haut,
Amis, prenez le pour modele.
Il passoit la nuit au bivac,
L'esprit gaillard, l'ame contente;
Ou dormoit sous un avresac,
Mieux qu'un géneral sous sa tente.
Soldats, &c.

IV.

In scaling walls, with highest glee,
He first the ladder fixt, then mounted;
Let him, my boys, our model be,
Who men or perils never counted.
At night, with scouts he watch would keep
With heart more gay than one in million,
Or else on knapsack sounder sleep
Than general in his proud pavilion.
Let ev'ry, &c.

V.

Pour l'ennemi qui resistoit
Reservant toute son audace,
A celui qui se soumettoit
Il accordoit toujours sa grace.
L'humanité dans son grand cœur
Renaissoit, apres la victoire;
Et le soir même le vainqueur
Au vaincu proposoit à boire.
Soldats, &c.

VI.

Quand on lui demandoit pourquoi
Les François etoient en campagne,
Il repondoit de bonne foi,
C'est par l'ordre de Charlemagne.
Ses ministres, ses favoris
Ont raisonné sur cette affaire;
Pour nous, battons ses ennemis,
C'est ce que nous avons à faire.
Soldats, &c.

VII.

Roland vivoit en bon Chrétien,
Il entendoit souvent la messe,
Donnoit aux pauvres de son bien,
Et même il alloit a confesse;
Mais de son confesseur Turpin
Il tenoit que c'est oeuvre pie
De battre, et de mener grand train
Les ennemis de sa patrie,
Soldats, &c.

VIII.

Roland à table etoit charmant,
Buvoit du vin avec délice;
Mais el en usoit sobrement
Les jours de gar de et d'exercice;

V.

On stubborn foes he vengeance wreak'd
And laid about him like a Tartar,
But if for mercy once they squeak'd
He was the first to grant them quarter.
The battle won, of Roland's soul
Each milder virtue took possession;
To vanquish'd foes he o'er a bowl
His heart surrender'd at discretion.
Let ev'ry, &c.

VI.

When ask'd why Frenchmen wield the brand
And dangers new each day solicit,
He said, 'tis Charlemagne's command
To whom our duty is implicit:
His ministers, and chosen few,
No doubt have weigh'd these things in private,
Let us his enemies subdue,
'Tis all that soldiers e'er should drive at.
Let ev'ry, &c.

VII.

Roland like Christian true would live,
Was seen at mass, and in procession;
And freely to the poor would give,
Nor did he always shun confession.
But bishop Turpin had decreed
(His counsel in each weighty matter)
That 'twas a good and pious deed
His country's foes to drub and scatter.
Let ev'ry, &c.

VIII.

At table Roland ever gay,
Would eat, and drink, and laugh, and rattle,
But all was in a prudent way
On days of guard, or eve of battle.

Pour le service il observoit
De conserver sa tête entiere,
Ne buvant que quand il n'avoit
Ce jour-la rien de mieux a faire.
Soldats, &c.

IX.

Il corrigeoit avec rigueur
Tous ceux qui lui cherchoient querelle,
Mais il n'etoit point querelleur,
Bon camarade, ami fidele:
L'ennemi seul dans les combats
Trembloit, voyant briller sa lame,
Et pour le deriner des soldats
Il se seroit mis dans la flame.
Soldats, &c.

X.

Roland aimoit le cotillon,
(On ne peut guere s'en defendre)
Et pour une reine, dit on,
Il eut le cœur un peu trop tendre:
Elle l'abandonne un beau jour
Et lui fait tourner la cervelle;
Aux combats, mais non eu amour:
Que Roland soit notre modèle.
Soldats, &c.

XI.

Roland fut d'abord officier,
Car il etoit bon gentilhomme;
Il eut un régiment entier
De son oncle, Empereur de Rome.
Il fut comte, il fut general,
Mais vivant comme a la chambrée
Il traitoit de frere, et d'egal
Chaque brave homme de l'armée;
Soldats, &c.

For still to king and country true
He held himself their constant debtor,
And only drank in season due,
When to transact he'd nothing better.
Let ev'ry, &c.

IX.

To captious blades he ne'er would bend,
Who quarrels sought on slight pretences;
Though he, to social joys a friend,
Was slow to give or take offences.
None e'er had cause his arm to dread
But those who wrong'd his prince, or nation,
On whom whene'er to combat led
He dealt out death and devastation.
Let ev'ry, &c.

X.

Roland too much adored the fair
From whom e'en heroes are defenceless,
And by a queen of beauty rare
He all at once was rendered senseless.
One hapless morn she left the knight,
Who, when he miss'd her, grew quite frantic,
Our pattern let him be in fight:
His love was somewhat too romantic.
Let ev'ry, &c.

XI.

His mighty uncle, Charles the Great,
Who Rome's imperial sceptre wielded,
Both early dignity and state
With high command to Roland yielded.
Yet though a Gen'ral, Count, and Peer,
Roland's kind heart all pride could smother,
For each brave man from van to rear
He treated like a friend and brother.
Let ev'ry, &c.

Among

Among the most ancient Songs on the subject of *Love* which have been preserved in the French language, are those of the unfortunate *Chatelain de Coucy*, whose story is truely tragical. In a chronicle written about the year 1380, and cited by Fauchet, we are told that in the time of Philip Augustus and Richard the First, there was a valorous and accomplished knight in the Vermandois, six leagues from Noyon, in Picardy, who was extremely enamoured with the wife of the lord of Fayel, his neighbour. After many difficulties and sufferings incident to such an attachment, the lover determined to take the cross and accompany the kings of France and England to the Holy Land. The lady of Fayel, when she discovered his intention, wrought for him a beautiful net, with a mixture of silk and her own hair, which he fastened to his helmet, and ornamented the tassels with large pearls. The parting of these lovers was of course extremely tender. On the arrival of Coucy in Palestine, he performed many gallant and heroic actions, in hopes that their fame would reach the ears of the beloved object whom he had left in Europe; but, unfortunately, at a seige in which the Christians were repulsed by the Saracens, he received a wound which was soon pronounced to be mortal, upon which he entreated his esquire the instant he should be dead, to have his heart embalmed and carry it to the lady of Fayel, together with the ornament which she had worked for him, in a little casket with other tokens of her affection, and a letter full of tenderness written with his own hand on his death-bed. In this request he was punctually obeyed by his friend and esquire; but unfortunately, on his arrival in France, when he was hovering about the castle of the lady's residence, in order to seize the first opportunity that offered of delivering the casket into her own hands, he was discovered by the lord of Fayel her husband, who knowing him, and suspecting that he was charged with dispatches to his wife from the *Chatelain*, whom he hated more than any other human creature, he fell upon

the esquire, and would have instantly put him to death, had he not begged for mercy, and informed him of the business with which he was entrusted by his deceased master (*e*). The enraged husband therefore seizing the casket, dismissed the affrighted 'squire, and went instantly to his cook, whom he ordered to dress the embalmed heart it contained, with such sauce as would make it palatable, and serve it up for dinner. In this he was obeyed by the cook, who at the same time prepared a similar dish, in appearance, for his lord's use, of which he eat, while his lady dined upon the heart of her lover. After dinner the Seigneur de Fayel asked how she liked the dish of which she had been eating? On her answering, very well; "I thought," said he, "you would be pleased with it, "supposing it to be a viand of which you were always very fond, and for that reason I had it dressed." The lady, suspecting nothing, made no reply; but her lord continuing the subject, asked her if she knew what she had been eating? she answered in the negative; "Why then," said he, "for "your greater satisfaction I must inform you that you have "eaten the heart of the *Chatelain de Coucy*." To be thus reminded of her friend, made her very uneasy, although she could not believe that her husband was serious, till he shewed her the casket and letter, which when she had examined and perused, her countenance changed, and after a short pause, she said to Fayel, "It is true, indeed, that you have helped "me to a viand which I very much loved; but it is the last "I shall ever eat, as after that every other food would be "insipid." She then retired to her chamber, and as she never

(*e*) Such was the gallantry of these times, that not only the lady but her husband felt a kind of disgrace if her beauty was neglected: all married females had their chevaliers, by common consent of the married men; but, if there was no latent cause of antipathy, the surly seigneur de Fayel must have had a head differently constructed from his neighbours, for he could never be prevailed on to regard the *Chatelain's* partiality to his lady in the light of an *obligaton*.

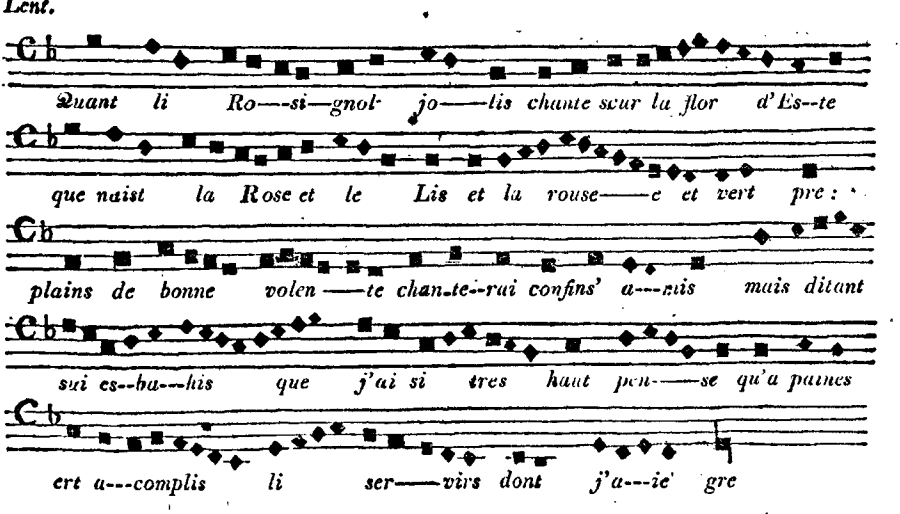
more

more could be prevailed on to take any kind of sustenance, fasting and affliction soon put an end to her days *(f)*.

As love is a stimulus to poetry, this unhappy and romantic knight, no less distinguished by his misfortunes than talents, has left behind him some of the most elegant and affecting songs in the French language, which have been preserved in MSS. that are near 450 years old, and cited by all cotemporary writers as models on the subject of love (*g*). As the ancient melodies are still subsisting to some of these, I shall select two of the most pleasing, for the satisfaction of my musical readers, who probably will find them equally rude and doleful with the Air of nearly the same antiquity, which has been already inserted, from Anselm Faydit.

Chanson du Châtelain de Coucy.

Lent.

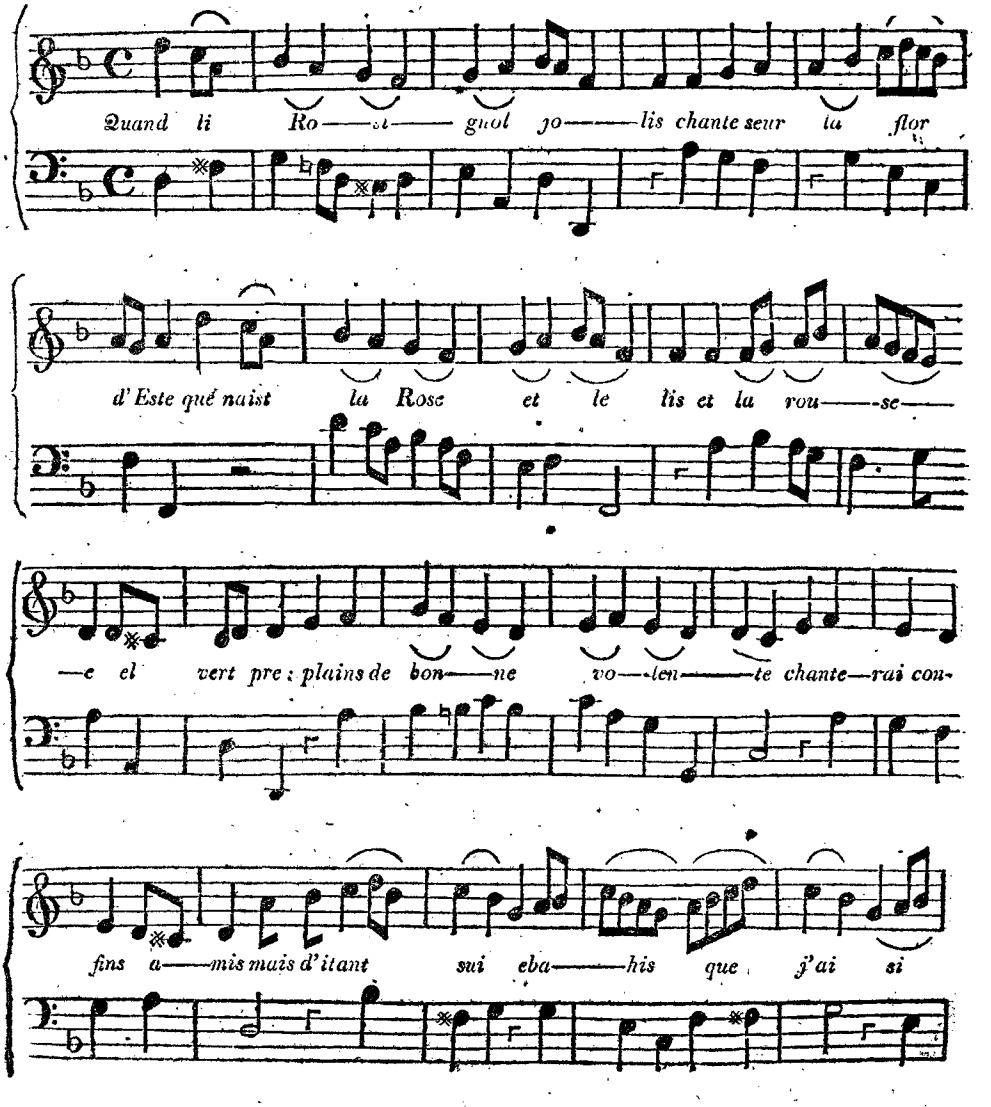


(*f*) The reader will recollect that this melancholy story has not only been the subject of several tales, poems, and romances, but has likewise been lately represented with success on the stage. However there are persons in France who suspecting the authenticity of the narration, are inclined to think it was originally fabricated by some Minstrel or Troubadour in a Romance. An English metrical Romance on the subject of this story, called *The Knight of Courtesy, and the Lady of Faguel*, still subsists. See Warton's Hist. of Poetry, vol. I. p. 212.

(*g*) They have lately been published in the *Essai Sur la Mus. Anc. et Mod.* to the number of twenty-three, from an ancient MS. in the possession of the Marquis de Paulmy.

Chan-

Chanson du Châtelain de Coucy.



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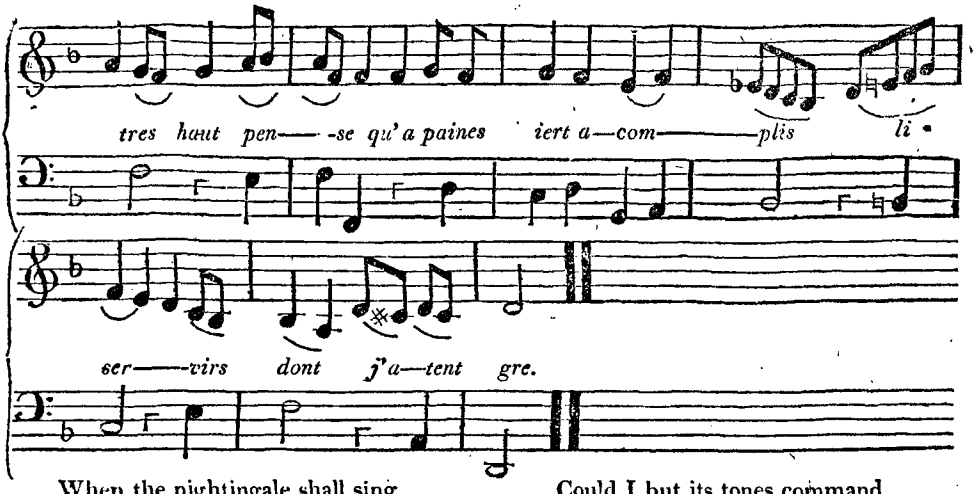
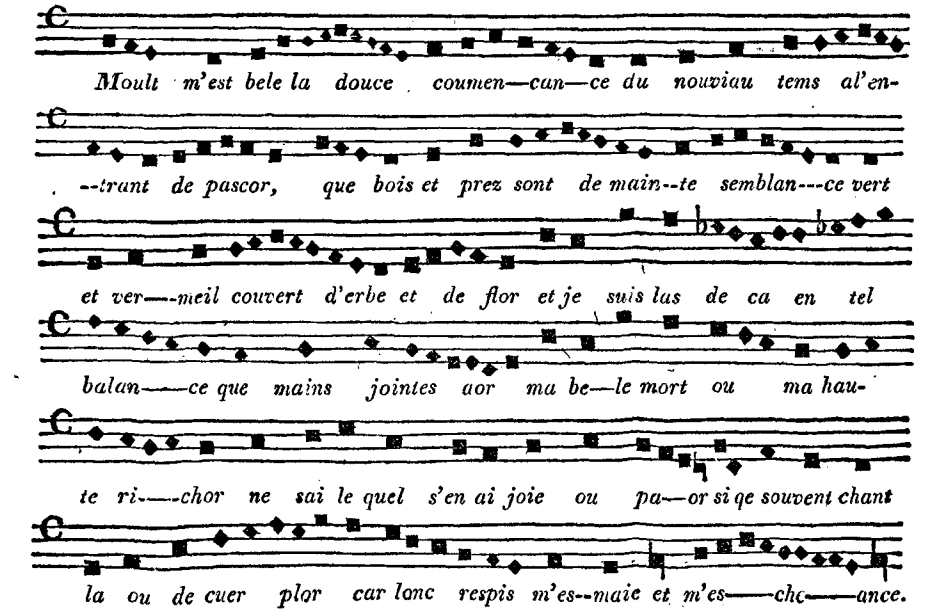


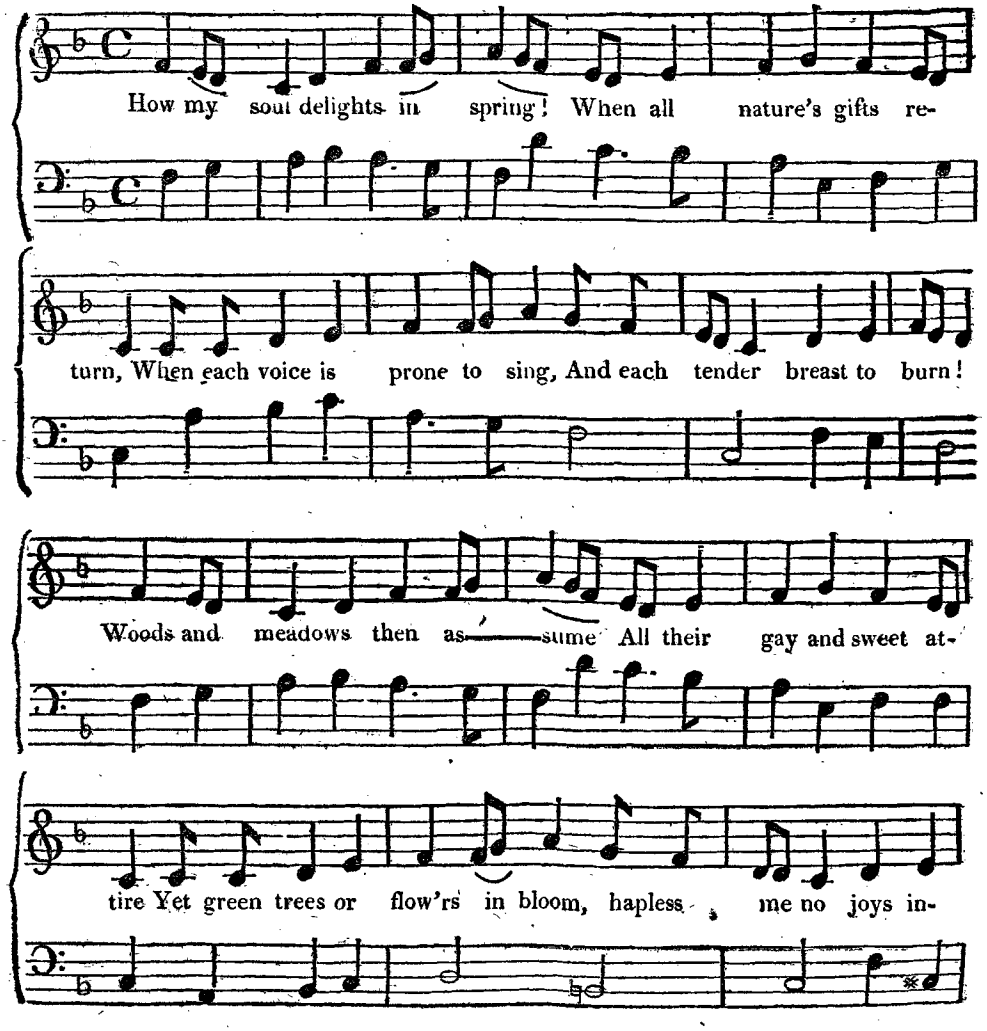
When the nightingale shall sing
Songs of love from night to morn;
When the rose and lily spring,
And the dew bespangles thorn;
Then should I my voice expand,
Like a lover fond and true,
Could I but its tones command
And the tender strain pursue;
But his love who fears to tell
Notes of passion ne'er can swell.

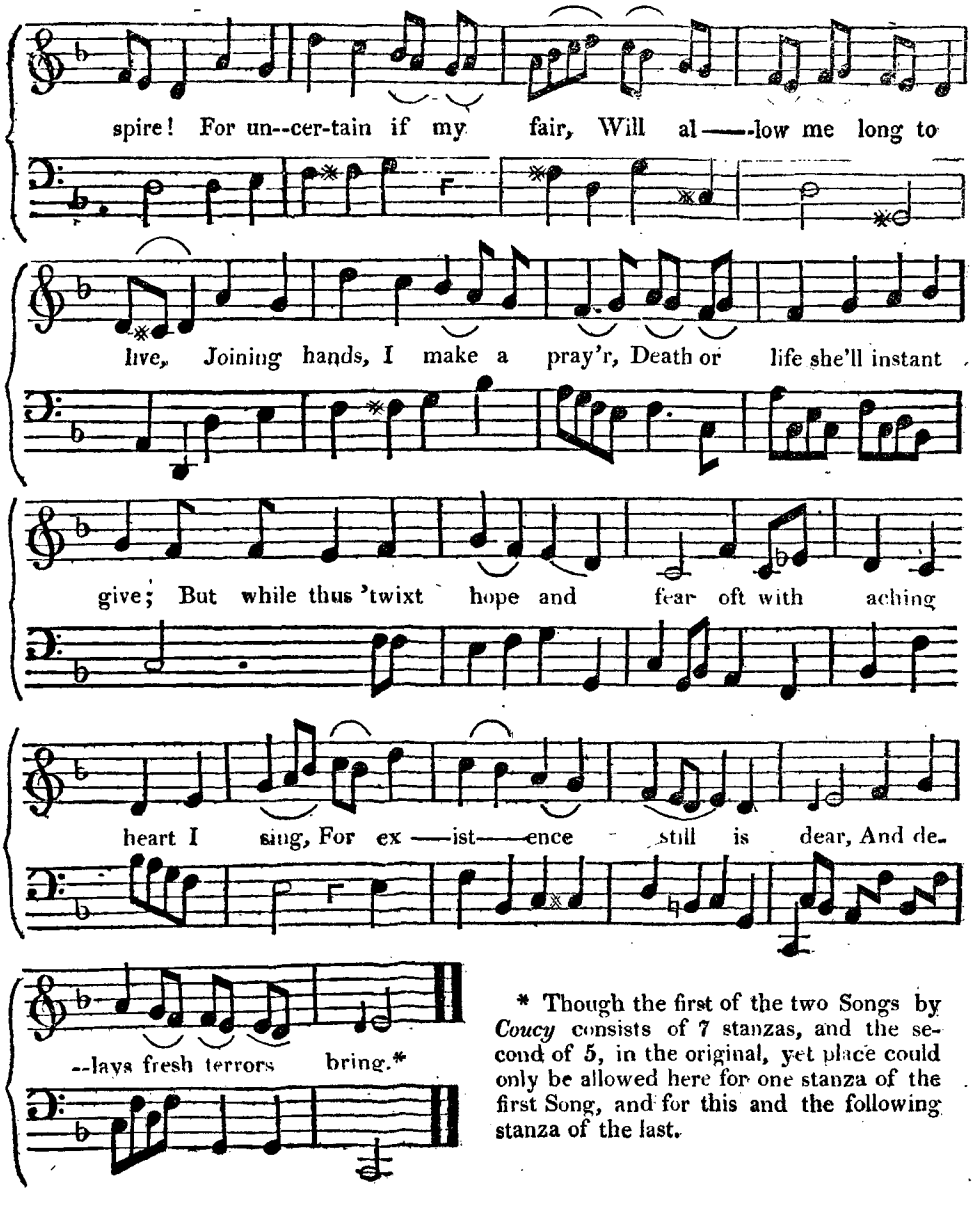
Autre Chanson du Chatelain de Coucy.

Lent.



Another Song from the Chatelain de Coucy, written and set about the year 1190.





* Though the first of the two Songs by *Coucy* consists of 7 stanzas, and the second of 5, in the original, yet place could only be allowed here for one stanza of the first Song, and for this and the following stanza of the last.

Ha! franche riens, puisqu'en vostre manoie
Me suis tous mis, trop me secorés lent;
Car nus dons n'est cortois qui trop délaie:
Si s'en esmaie icil qui s'i atent.
Uns petiz bien vaut mieuz, se Dex, me voie
Qu'on fait cortoisement,
Que cent greignor fais ennieusement.
Car qui le suen donne retraiamment,
Son grè en pert: & si coste ausiment
Con à celui qui bonement outroie.

Ah! ingenious soul! too late
Will ere long assistance come;
In your hands is plac'd my fate,
Speedy then pronounce my doom.
Gifts too much our pride alarm
If reluctance interpose,
And destroy the pleasing charm
Which from courteous bounty flows.
Want of value in the boon
Graceful kindness reconciles,
Nought is slight that's granted soon
If it come array'd in smiles.
Those who long their gifts withhold
Have on gratitude no claim;
Be they love, or be they gold
Still they lose their worth and aim.

In the time of Philip de Valois, between the year 1228 and 1250, the French had more than thirty musical instruments in use, of which even the form of several is unknown to the present age. In an ancient MS. poem of the King of France's Library *(h)*, a concert is described, in which all these instruments are named *(i)*.

But nearly as many are *represented* in the beautiful illuminations of the splendid copy of the *Roman d'Alexander* in the Bodleian Library (*k*), where they are placed in the hands of Musicians. Among these are the following well known Instruments of modern times: Flutes, Harps with ten strings, Hautbois, Bassoons, Trumpets, small Kettle drums carried by a boy and beaten by a man, Cymbalum, Tambour de Basque, two long speaking Trumpets, two large Hand-bells, Guitars, Bagpipes of various forms and size, a Dulcimer in shape, but held against the breast and thrummed with the fingers, a Vielle, Viols, or Rebecs with three strings, played with a clumsy bow (*l*), and Regals, or portable Organs. The Bodley tran-

(*h*) No. 7612.
(*i*) *Voyer le Discours sur* L'Anciennete des Chansons, *dans le premier Tome des Poes. du Roi de Navarre, p.* 247.
(*k*) No. 264, large folio, on vellum.
(*l*) See plate II. No. 4.

script

script of this metrical romance was finished 1338, and as it is recorded in letters of gold that *che livre fu parfais de la Enluminiere au* XVIII. *davryl par* Jehan de Grise *l'an de grace* MCCCXLIII. it seems as if the illuminator had been six years employed in painting the embellishments; in which, besides grotesque figures and musical instruments in the margin, the principal incidents of the Poem are represented at the beginning of each book or canto, where the heads, drapery, buildings, arms, and military engines are well designed and coloured, for so early a period, and exquisitely finished (*m*). But this is only the copy of a more ancient MS.; for the Romanse, according to Borel (*n*), was begun in 1140, by Lambert li Cors, or the Short, and continued by Alexandre de Bernai (*o*). It consists of near 20,000 lines.

In the middle of the Poem we have the following Song set to Music in Gregorian Notes, written upon five red lines, and preceded by these Alexandrine Verses, in which measure the whole work is composed:

" *Des menestreus huchie | fit li roi grant marée*
" *Tout entour le pays | adroite aironnée*
" *Cascun aporte trompe | ou violle attemprée*
" *Nacaires (p) et tabors | de grande renommée*

(*m*) This very beautiful MS. once belonged to the father of the unfortunate earl Rivers, who was put to death by order of Richard III. 1483, as appears by the following memorandum written in an old and difficult hand, on the outside leaf at the end:

Chest livre est a Monseigneur Richart de Wideville Seigneur de Riviers, ung des compagnons de la tres noble Ordre de la Jartiere —et le dit Seigneur achetat le dist livre l'an de grace mille CCCCXLVI. *le premier jour de l'an a Londres et le VI. an de la coronement de nostre victorieux Roy Edward quart du nom, & le second de la coronnemon de nostre virtueuse Royne Elizabeth.*

(*n*) *Tresor de recherches et Antiquitez Gauloises et Francoises,* Par. 1655.

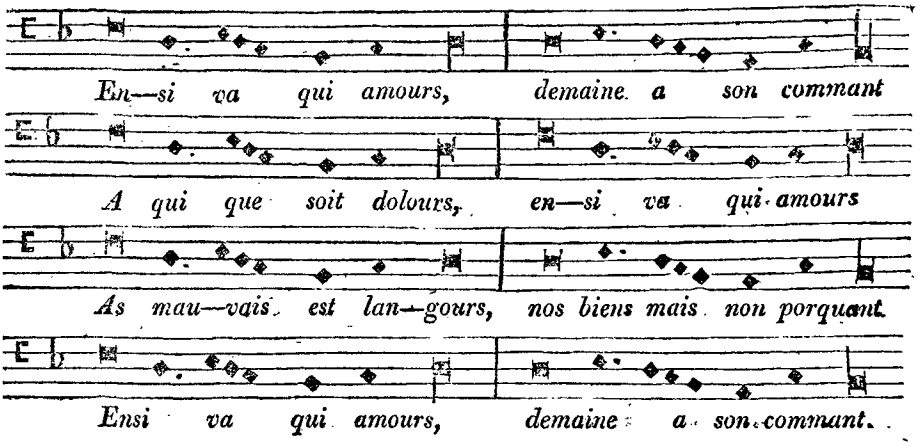
(*o*) It is quoted by Lacombe, *Dict du vieux Langage,* p. 470, as written in 1150.

(*p*) *Nacaires* are often mentioned by the old French poets, and *nachare* by the Italian. Du Cange describes *nacara* to be a kind of brazen drum used in cavalry, yet Chaucer names it in the company of military *wind* instruments:

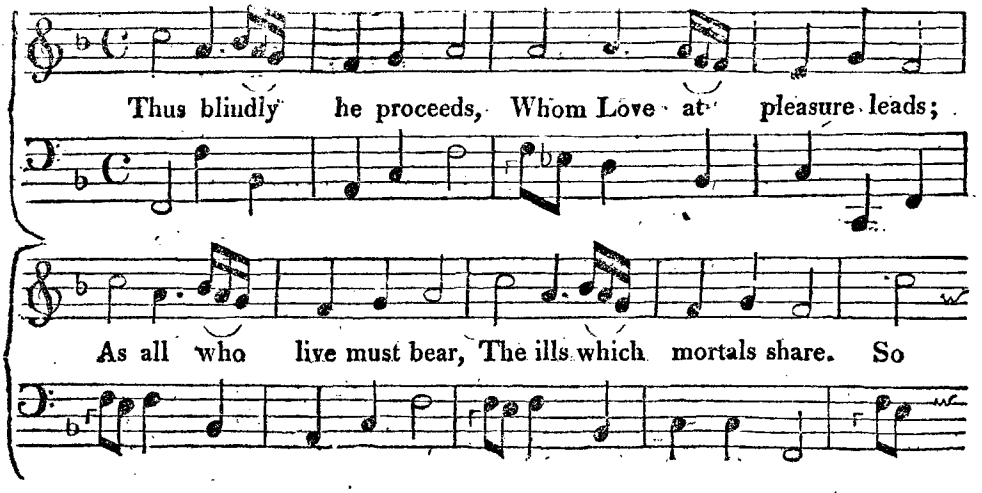
Pipes, trompes, *nakeres,* and clariounes
That in the bataille blowen blody sounes.
Knight's Tale.

" *Vers la feste sen vont | chantant de randonnée*
" *Laigle fu devant yeus | ki bien fu empenèe (q).*"

Chanson du Roman d'Alexandre.

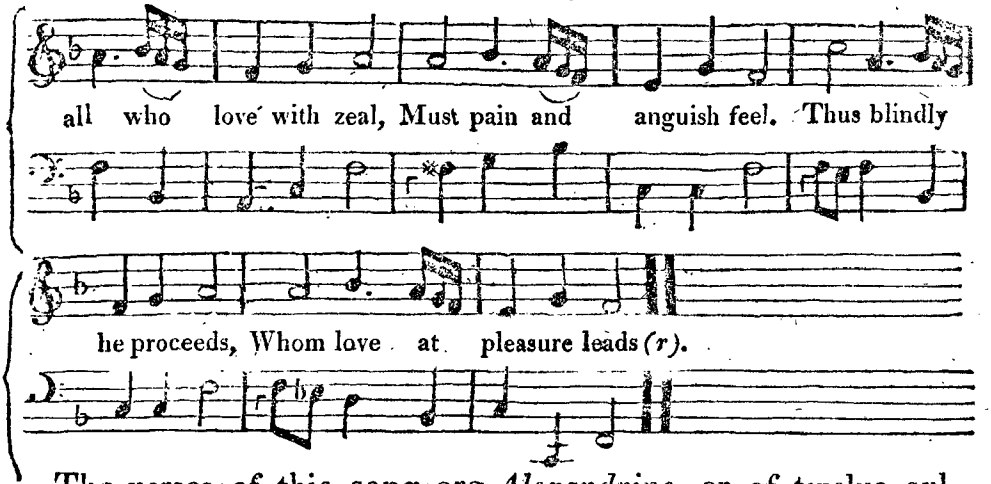


The same Melody in Modern Notes.



(*q*) Of herald minstrels now a num'rous band
In crowds assemble at the king's command:
Some trumpets bring, with viols others come,
And some with tymbals or the noisy drum.
Singing they approach the feast, with due decorum
And view the full-plum'd eagle borne before 'em.

who



The verses of this song are *Alexandrine*, or of twelve syllables, like the narrative part of the Poem, with this differ-

(r) After unsuccessfully applying to many learned persons to assist me in construing the difficult parts of this Song, I had ventured to guess at its meaning before I was favoured with an answer to a request which I had made to a friend at Paris, begging he would consult the copy of the Roman d'Alexandre in the Bibl. du Roi [No. 7190] in order to discover whether something had not been omitted or erroneously transcribed in the Bodley MS. which there was great reason to suspect. But though I received information that the Song could not be found in the MS. of the Royal Library at Paris; yet I shall insert here the account of this copy of the celebrated Roman d'Alexandre which accompanied the information, as it will doubtless afford satisfaction to curious enquirers concerning the ancient literature of France. —"The Roman d'Alexandre is divided "into three separate parts, and was writ- "ten by three different authors. Each of "these parts has a particular title: the "first is called *Le Roman d'Alexandre;* the "second *La Vengeance d'Alexandre*; and "the third *La Mort d'Alexandre.*

"There is still in the same folio volume "which contains these three MSS. an- "other work upon *the death of Alexander,* "which is entitled *Les Vœus du Pan,* or "the Peacock's Predictions."

The following translation of the Songs as it stands in the Bodley copy has been procured from the learned M. Bejau, keeper of the MSS. in the Royal Library at Paris, which I am happy in presenting to my readers:

Ensi va qui amours | Demaine a ton commant
Ainsi va l'amour Il domine a son gre.
A qui que soit dolours | Ensi va qui amours
Il attriste qui que ce soit, Ainsi va l'amour
As mauvais est langours | Nos biens mais non porquant.
Ah la lengueur est funeste, Mais notre bonheur ne depend pas de nous.

ence.

ence, that one of them is likewise *Leonine*, in which the end rhymes to the middle:

Ensi va qui amours demaine a son commant.
A qui que soit dolours, ensi va qui amours,
As mauvais et langours, nos biens mais non porquant,
Ensi va qui amours demaine a son commant.

This same *Refrain* or burden appears in another Song which is inserted in an ancient *Fabliau* or tale among a large collection of poems of the thirteenth century in the king of France's library (*s*). It is difficult now to discover which was written first, but the occasion of the song in the Fabliau is so curious that I shall present the reader with a sketch of the whole narrative in which it is introduced. The title of this Fabliau is *Le Lay d'Aristote*, in which it is related that Alexander the Great, after his conquest of India, forgetting the glory he had already acquired, and his plans of future conquests, shut himself up continually with a beautiful female, of whom he was violently enamoured. His officers murmured at the absence of the young hero, without daring to reproach him; but his tutor Aristotle, hearing of the discontents in the army, was less ceremonious, and upbraided him with the impropriety of his conduct. Alexander feeling the force of the philosopher's remonstrances, without loving his mistress the less, for some time discontinued his visits: however being at length unable to repress his passion any longer he returned; and, amidst the tears, caresses, and reproaches with which he was received by the beautiful object of his affection, confessed, in order to exculpate himself, that his absence had been occasioned by the murmurs of his officers, and the censures of his master Aristotle. The lady instantly resolving to be revenged upon the philosopher, made Alexander promise to be at his window early the next morning. At break of day she went into the garden of the palace: her

(*s*) No. 7218. It was first printed among the *Fabliaux des Poetes Francois des* xii, xiii, *et.* xiv. *Siecles*, tom. I. p. 173. Par. 1766, and has since appeared among the *Fabliaux*, published in 1799. tom. I. p. 197.

deshabille

deshabille is elegantly described; the Song, which she sings in a soft voice as a lute, is inserted in the tale, and is simple and pretty. Upon her arrival under the window of Aristotle, he shuts his books, and, in spite of his wisdom and reflection, finds himself unable to resist the desire of approaching her: the seducing blandishments and coquetry of the fair are as well described as the awkward advances of the philosopher. At length, she complains to him of the ill offices which had been practised, in order to alienate from her the affections of Alexander. Aristotle boasts of the influence he has with the prince, and promises to exercise it in her favour, upon condition that she will first lend a favourable ear to the passion which he has conceived for her himself; but she tells him that nothing will convince her of his sincerity, but his going upon all-fours, and carrying her on his back through the garden: even to this he consents; yet still, that she may ride more at her ease, she insists upon his fetching a saddle; she then mounts, and laughing, sings:

Ainsi va qui amors maine, &c.

which is precisely the burden of the song that has just been given from the Roman d'Alexandre.

When the young monarch had been sufficiently amused by the *Equestrian* figure his master had made, he descends into the garden, says the fabulist, and asks him if he had lost his senses, and forgotten all his fine precepts in favour of continence? Aristotle lifts up his eyes, and, with the utmost shame and confusion, confesses that he was mistaken—"I reproached "your majesty (says he) with that intemperance in youth, "from which my old age has not been able to protect me."

It was a common practice with the old old French poets to make a particular line of an old song the *Refrain*, or burden, of a new; but whether that of the song in the Roman d'Alex-

andre alludes to the transaction related in the Fabliau, or whether the song in the Fabliau was an imitation of that in the Roman, I am unable to determine. These two songs will at least illustrate each other, and the resemblance seems too great to have been produced by accident.

The songs of THIBAUT, king of Navarre, are by some placed at the head of those that have been preserved in the French language, as those of Guillaume IX. duke of Aquitain, are in that of Provençe. There were, indeed, songs written in both languages, before these princes had done poetry the honour to make it their favourite amusement; but the chief part of those of higher antiquity than the time of these patriarchs of Provençal and French versification, are either lost, or thought of little value.

And as the paraphrases on the Epistles, which have been inserted above, are the most ancient *Sacred Songs* now subsisting in a vulgar tongue, to which the original music has been preserved; so the Provençal and French melodies, of which a specimen has already been given, are the most ancient that I have been able to find to *Secular Songs*. Of nearly equal antiquity, however, are the lyric compositions of Thibaut, count of Champagne, and king of Navarre.

This prince was born in 1201, and died 1254. He was cotemporary with Philip Augustus, and Lewis the Eighth and Ninth, which last prince he accompanied to the Holy War. It has been said by several historians, that he was much captivated by the charms of queen Blanche of Castile, mother of St. Lewis, to whom many of his songs were addressed; but this point of history has been disputed with great zeal by M. l'Eveque de la Ravaliere, the editor of Thibaut's Poems, which he published in 1742, with notes, and a history of the revolutions in the French language, from the time of Carlemagne to that of St. Lewis, together with an Essay on the Antiquity of French Songs. This learned prelate has defended the honour

nour of queen Blanche with his pen, five hundred years after her decease, with as much prowess and true chivalry as the most valiant champion of injured innocence could have done with his sword and lance, had he been animated by the presence of that princess, and the heroism of the times in which she lived.

I shall present the reader with two specimens of the king of Navarre's poetry and music; for it was not sufficient for the Bards of his time to compose good verses; they were expected to set them to music themselves, if they were to be sung; and it appears from the lives of the Troubadours, by Nostradamus, that most of the Provençal poets were practical musicians, and set their own songs. It was said of William, Count of Poitou, *qu'il sut bien trouver & bien Chanter*: that is, could *sing* or set verses to music as well as write them; and in the character of Bernard de Ventadour, a Provençal poet of the twelfth century, he is called *Le Chanteur*. *Il etoit courtois & bien appris*, says his historian, *et savoit Composer et Chanter*. Rambaud de Vaqueiras, one of the best poets in the Provençal language, also speaks of the *sons*, or tunes, which he had made for his mistress, as well as words.

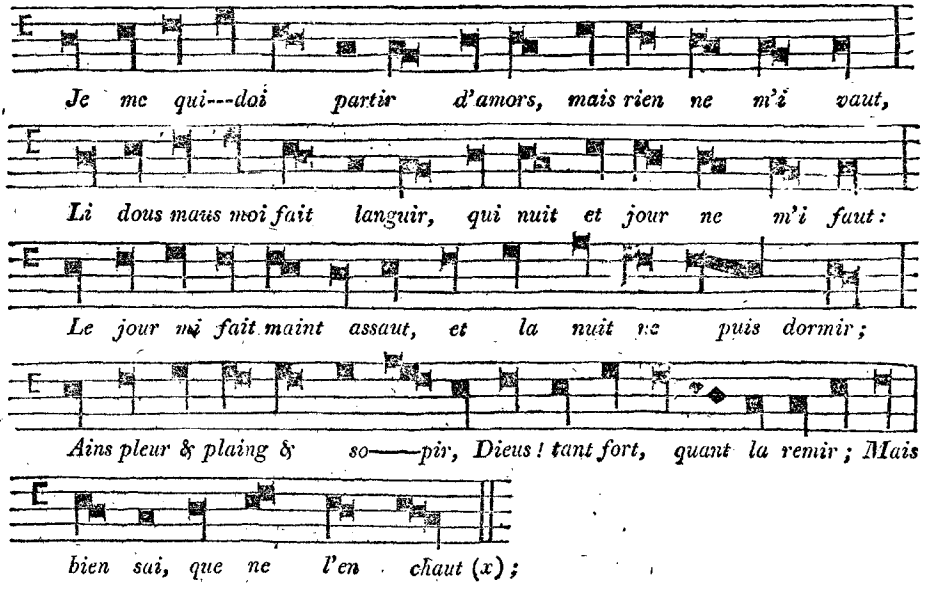
Les grandes Chroniques de France tells us, that Thibaut at the age of thirty-five, having conceived a violent and hopeless passion for queen Blanche, was advised by wise and prudent counsellors to apply himself to music and poetry, which he did with such success that he produced "the most beautiful "Songs and Melodies that have ever been heard;" *(t)*. and as it is the opinion of the French antiquaries and critics, that the tunes which have been preserved in the most ancient MSS. of the songs of this prince are those which were originally set to them by himself, they are the more curious and valuable, not

(t) I shall give the passage in the original, from Fauchet---*Et pou ce que profondes pensees ingendrent melancolies, il luy fut dit d'aucuns sages hommes, qu'l s'estudiast en beaux sons, et doux chants d'instruments: & si fit-il. Car il fit les plus belles Chansons, et les plus delectables et Melodieuses, qui onques fussent oyes en Chansons ne en Instruments.* Des Anciens Poetes Francois, fol. 565.

only

only as being the productions of so great a personage, but as genuine remains of the state of melody in France at so early a period. And, indeed, when they are written in modern characters, accompanied by a base, and the measure is regulated by bars, they remind us of many French airs of the present century, and shew that vocal melody has remained nearly stationary in France, ever since the beginning of the thirteenth century. The words of the first song being serious, the tune may serve as a specimen of the *airs tendres* of that period.

I shall first give an exact *fac-simile* of this air from the Vatican copy among the queen of Sweden's manuscripts, *(u)* to the original words; and then a free translation, adapted to the original melody, written in modern characters.

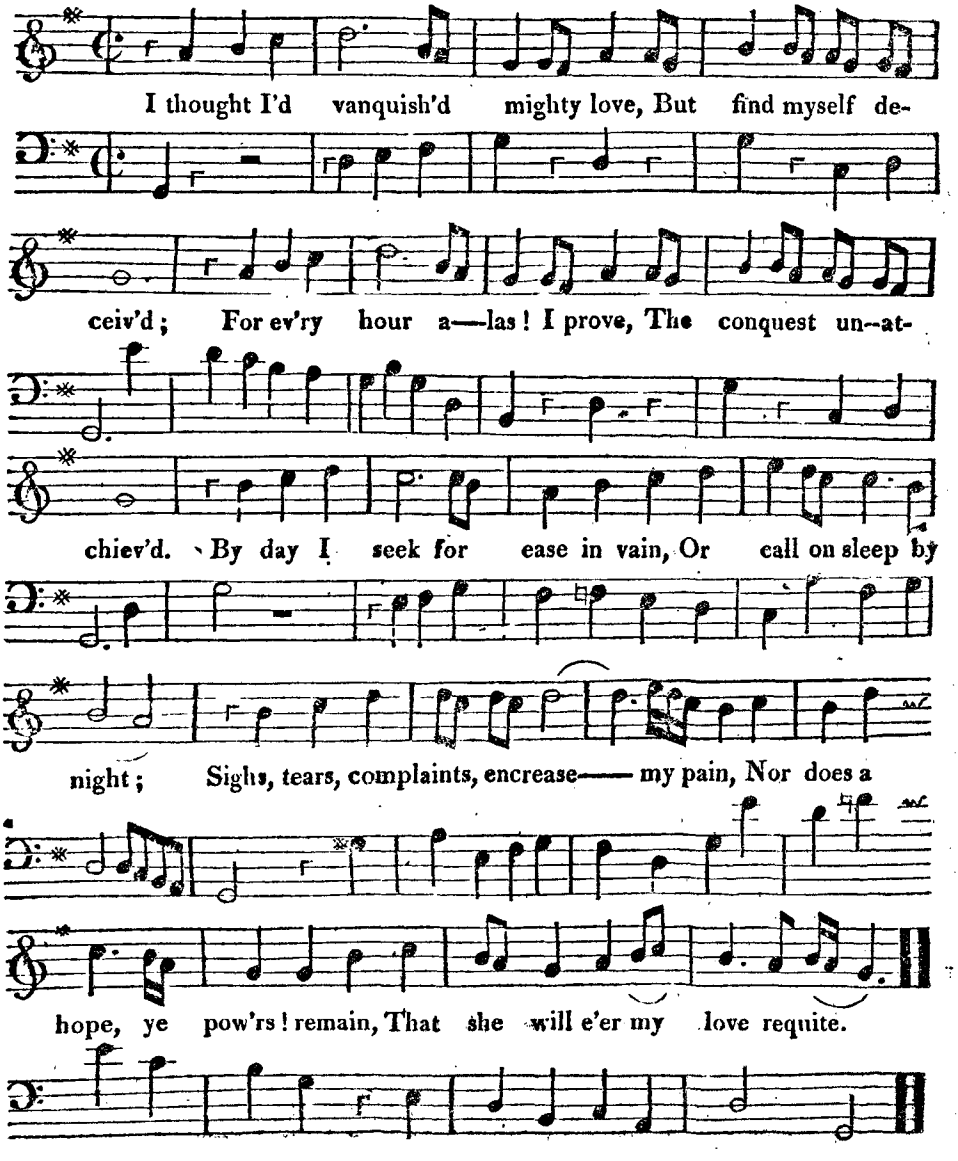


(u) No. 59.

(x) A very incorrect copy, both of the words and music of this Song, has been printed by Crescimbeni, *Comment d'la Volg. Poesia*, tom. I. p. 283; where, besides wrong notes, there has been such little attention paid to the *plicæ*, or characters with double tails, which in this melody are manifestly signs of augmentation, that it requires great critical sagacity in a musical reader to regulate the measure. I have corrected the words by M. de la Valiere's copy, (*Poesies du Roi de Navarre*, tom. II. p. 57.) which seems more exact than that which I had procured in the Vatican.

Song

Song from Thibaut King of Navarre, adapted to his original Melody.



II.

Nus ne doit amors trair,
Fors ke garçons et ribaut,
Si ce n'est pour son plaisir,
Je ne vois ni bas, ni haut,
Ains veuil, quel me truit bault,
Sans guiller, et sans mentir;
Mais si je puis consievir
Le cherf, qui tant set fuir,
Nus n'est joyeux, com Thiebauz.

II.

The libertine alone betrays
The kind and constant heart,
But I would die ten thousand ways
Ere pain to her impart.
No thought my throbbing breast can cheer
But her in bliss to see:
Yet in her coy and wild career
Could I but catch this flying deer
How happy then would Theobald be

III.

Le cherf est avantureux,
Car il est plus blanc que nois,
Et si a les crins ans deux,
Plus biaux, que ors espenois;
Li cherf est en un desfois,
A l'entrer molt perilleux,
Car il est gardé de leus,
Ce sont felons envieu,
Qui trop heent les cortois.

III.

This lovely deer, more white than snow,
With locks like burnish'd gold
Which o'er her polish'd shoulders flow,
Courageous is, and bold.
In peril oft she stands at bay,
Where wolves with cunning fraught
Are on the watch by night and day
To seize the courteous as their prey
Who set their wicked wiles at naught.

IV.

Fins chevaliers angoisseux,
Qui a perdu son harnois,
Ne vielle, cui art li feu,
Maison, vigne, et blé et pois,
Ne kachiere, qui prent sois,
Ne moigne luxurieux,
N'est envers moi angoisseux,
Que je ne soie de ceus,
Qui aiment de sur leur pois.

IV.

A brave accomplish'd knight o'ercome
And stript of arms and fame,
While barn and vineyard, house and home
Are food for fire and flame;
Than me less torture feels and pain
While rigour thus I prove,
For never did I yet attain
The gift seraphic of a swain
Who could without a premium love.

V.

Dame une riens vos demant,
Cuidiés vos, ke ne soit pechiés
D'occire son vrai amant?
Oil voir; bien le sachiés,
Si vous plait, si m'achiés;
Car je le veuil et creant,
Et se mieus m'amés vivant,
Se le vos dis en oiant,
Molt en seroie plus liés.

V.

The slightest, smallest boon to share
Is all I humbly crave,
To drive away the fiend Despair
And snatch me from the grave.
And is it then no crime to wound
A faithful lover's heart?
To hear his sad complaints resound,
Then dash him to the abyss profound,
Nor at his cruel suff'rings start?

VI.

VI.

Dame, où nule ne se prent,
Mais ke vos voilliés itant,
C'un poi i vaille pities.

VI.

Pronounce, my fair, a milder doom
Before you've kill'd me quite,
For pity then too late will come
When plung'd in endless night.
A little love while yet I live
Is worth a world in grave,
And 'tis œconomy to give
When by a trivial donative
A heavy future charge we save.

The last stanza, which is not entire in the original, has been amplified in the English, to supply a sufficient number of lines, for the melody.

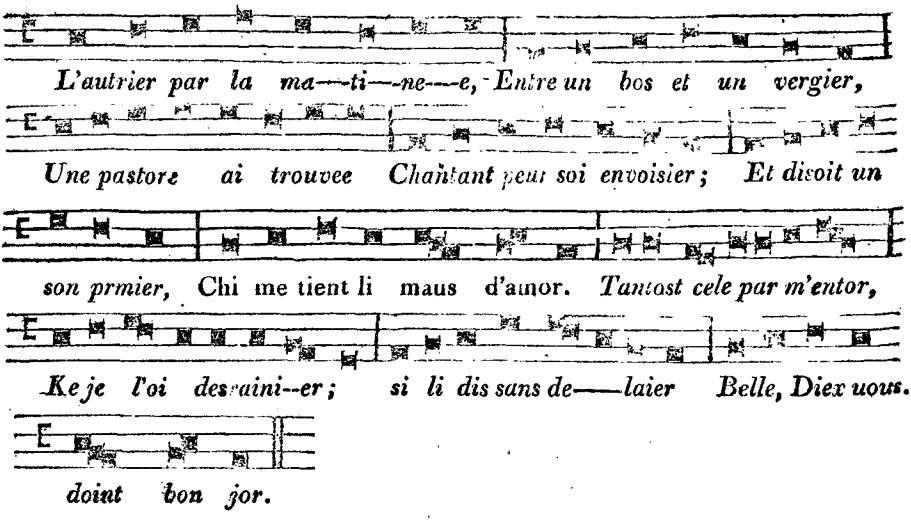
At the end of all the Songs by the King of Navarre, and by almost all the poets of nearly the same period, there is an imperfect stanza, which is called the *Envoi*, or address to some particular person, for whom probably it was written. To what part of the tune the *Envoi* was sung, or if sung at all, I have not been able to discover.

The following Song being written upon a more gay subject than the preceding, the tune, which is simple and pleasing, seems of the same cast as many modern light French airs in gavot time, called *Vaudevilles*. I shall first give it in the square Gregorian notes, as it stands in all the ancient MSS. and in M. de la Valiere's copy, where neither the flats, sharps, or bars have been marked, but all are left to the penetration and sagacity of the performer. In France, tradition may still have preserved these Melodies in the memory of many of the natives; but elsewhere, the following copy, unless explained, would be but of small use.

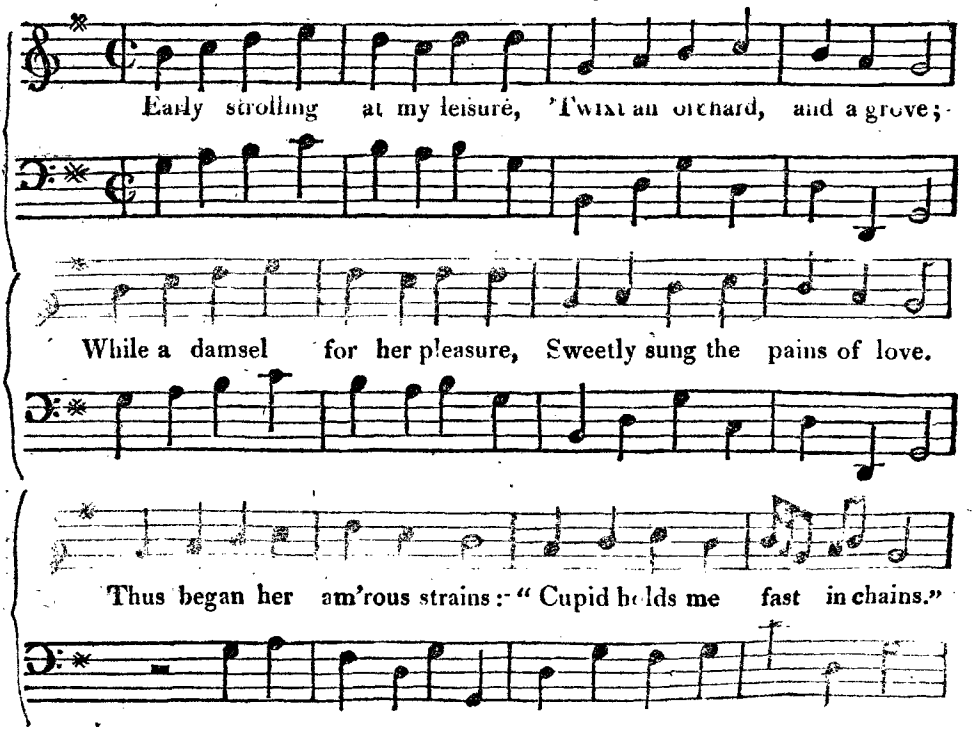
The royal Troubadour, in that spirit of chivalry and gallantry which seemed to govern mankind during his reign, sets out, *Un beau Matin*, in quest of adventures, and relates his success in the following Song.

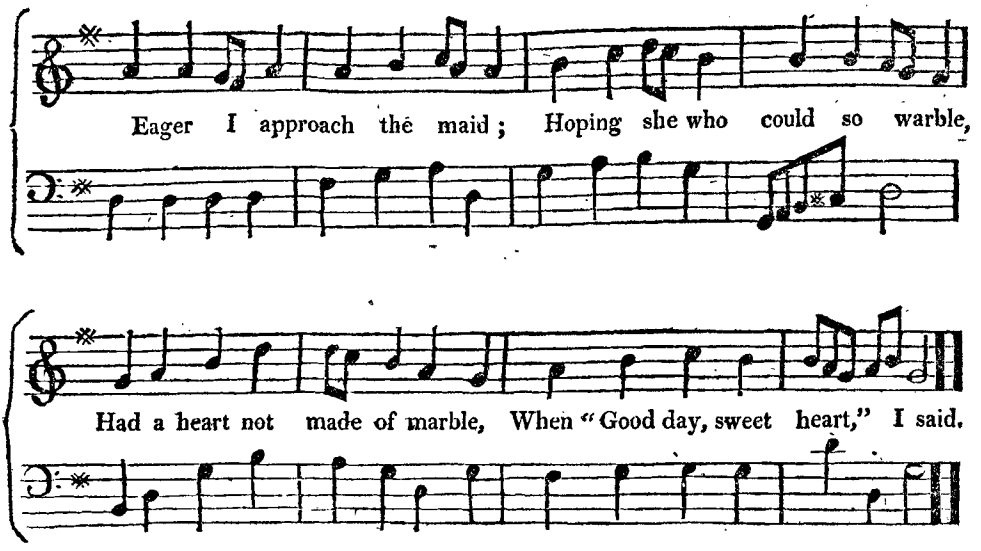
Chan-

Chanson du Roi de Navarre.



Translation, *totidem Syllabis.*





Mon salu sans demoree
Me rendi, & sans targier,
Molt iert frece et colouree
Se mi plot a acointier;
Bele, vostre amor vous quier,
S'aures de moi riche ator
Elle repend, Trecheor
Sont mais trop li chevalier;
Miex aim Perrin mon bergier
Ke riche hom menteor.

Bele, ee ne dites mie,
Chevallier sont trop vaillant:
Qui set donc avoir amie
Ne servir a son talant,
Fors chevaliers, & tel gent?
Mais l'amors d'un bergeron,
Certes, ne vaut un boton,
Partes vous donc en itant;
Et m'ames; je vous creant,
De moi aures riche don.

Sire, par Sainte Marie,
Vous en parles por noiant,
Mainte dame, auront trichie,
Cil chevalier sosduiant,

She return'd my salutation
With a look so fresh and pure,
I'd have risqu'd my soul's salvation
Her affection to secure.
If you love me, strait, I said,
Fine as queen you should be made.
"Knights (she said) are full of art:
"First they win a girl, then cheat her—
"Sooner I wou'd wed with Peter
"Than a lord that's false of heart."

Much, my dear, you are mistaken;
Gentlemen alone can love;
Honour, ne'er by them forsaken,
All deceit must disapprove.
Learn a stupid clown to slight,
Who your worth can ne'er requite;
Him to vulgar charms consign;
If, my life, you will endeavour
To love me as well, you ever
Shall be happy, rich, and fine.

By Saint Mary, Sir, you are losing
All the pains you take to ensnare;
Words so soft and so amusing
Must have ruin'd many a fair;

Trop sont fol & mal pensant,
Pis valent, que Guenelon ; (y)
Je m'en vais en ma maison,
Ke Perrin est ki m'atent,
M'aime de cuer loiaument ;
Abaisies votre raison.

J'entendi bien la bergiere,
Kele me veut eschaper ;
Molt li fis longe proiere,
Mais ni puce rien conquester :
Lors la pris a acoler,
Et ele giete un grant cri :
Perrinet, trai, trai,
Dou bois prenent a huer,
Je la lais, sans demourer
Sor mon cheval m'en parti.

Quant ele m'en vit aler,
Si mi dist, pour ramposner,
Chevaliers sont trop hardi.*

But the fame is spread abroad
Of the tricks, deceit, and fraud,
Practis'd by each gilded beau ;
If your words were ten times sweeter,
Still I would be true to Peter ;
Therefore, pray Sir, let me go.

Here she shew'd disapprobation,
And a wish to get away,
Nor had pray'r or supplication
Power to prolong her stay.
Then, embolden'd by despair,
In my arms I seize the fair ;
When with terror and affright,
Loud she roars for help, on Peter,
As if bear began to eat her
With a furious appetite.

Peter, to the cries she utters,
Answers in the neighb'ring grove ;
Num'rous threats of vengeance mutters,
Furious to relieve his love :
Hearing this, I though it best
Instant to give up the jest ;
Swift I mount my palfry—when,
Seeing I through fear was flying,
Loudly she continued crying—
" Fie on all such gentlemen !"

The specimens hitherto given of music in France have been confined to mere melody, without base or additional parts, in harmony, as there are no remains of written discant, or counterpoint, applied to the melody of songs, earlier than the fourteenth century. There are, however, compositions of that period still subsisting, which prove that music in parts had been cultivated there, and the rules of harmony settled by nearly the same laws as those by which it is at present governed.

(y) An archbishop of Sens, in the time of Charles the Bald, of so treacherous and infamous a character, that his name became proverbial.

* The deficient measure in this stanza, as in that of the preceding song, has been supplied in the translation, for the sake of the music.

The

The late abbé Lebeuf, in the year 1746, gave a very ample and satisfactory account to the Academy of Inscriptions at Paris, of two volumes of French and Latin poems, preserved in the library of the Carmelites of that city, "with a description of the kind of music to which some of these poems were "set."

In 1747, the count de Caylus having found in the king of France's library, No. 7609—2, a duplicate of these poems, gave likewise an account of them to the same Academy, in two memoirs. The author, Guillaume de Machau, is styled by the count, *poet and musician;* and both these excellent critics agree that he flourished about the middle of the fourteenth century, and died in 1370. Among the poems which are written upon various subjects, there is an infinite number of *Lais*, *Virelais*, *Ballads*, and *Rondeaux*, chiefly in old French, with a few in Latin, and set to music: some for a single voice, and others in four parts, *Triplum*, *Tenor*, *Contratenor*, and a fourth part, without a name. In these full pieces, as the words are placed only under the *tenor part*, it is natural to conclude that this was the principal melody. In the music, which is written with great care and neatness, notes in a lozenge form, with *tails* to them, frequently occur; these, whether the heads were full or open, were at first called *Minims;* but when a still quicker note was thought necessary, the white or open notes only had that title, and the black were by the French called *Noir*, and by the English, *Crotchets;* a name given by the French, with more propriety, from the hook or curvature of the tail, to the still more rapid note, which we call a *Quaver.*

The Latin poems are chiefly motets, and for a single voice: some of which are written in black and red notes, with this instruction to the singers: *nigræ sunt perfectæ, & rubræ imperfectæ.* An admonition worth remembering by those who wish to decipher music of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries,

turies, in which red notes frequently occur. It was an easy expedient of diminution, till the invention of printing, when the use of ink of different colours, on the same page, occasioned the expence and trouble of double printing. The abbe Lebeuf observes, that the dissection and accelerated motion of notes, during these ages, gave great offence and scandal to pious and sober Christians. In a *Kyrie Eleison* to the Gregorian chant, which is called Tenor, the three parts that are added to it are called Triplum, Motetus, and Contratenor. In the second volume of these poems the common chants of the whole mass, and even the Credo, are written in four parts (*z*). There are many French ballads and Rondeaux in three parts: Tenor, Triplum, and Contratenor.

The fourteenth century seems the æra when music in parts, moving in different melodies, came first into general favour; for of the preceding age no music can be found of more than two parts in strict counterpoint of note against note.

Machau calls his collection of Songs set to music, *Remedes de Fortune*, regarding music as a specific, or at least an opiate, against the ills of life. In the illuminations to these lyric compositions, an assembly of minstrels is represented, with thirty or forty musical instruments, of which he gives the names. His poem called *Le dit de la Harpe*, which has been already mentioned, is a moral and allegorical piece, in the style of the famous *Roman de la Rose*, by Guillaume de Lorris, and Jean de Meun.

Neither the Abbe Lebeuf, nor the Count de Caylus, have produced specimens of Machau's musical compositions; indeed, the Count frankly confesses, that, though he has studied them with the utmost attention, and consulted the most learned musicians, he has been utterly unable to satisfy his curiosity

(z) This mass is supposed to have been sung at the coronation of Charles V. king of France, 1364.

con-

concerning their intrinsic worth. A correspondent at Paris had promised me transcripts of some of these pieces, which however are not yet arrived; and the confession of M. de Caylus renders my disappointment less mortifying; as I could hardly hope to succeed in solving enigmas which have already defeated superior sagacity (*a*).

However, sufficient exercise for patience and musical acuteness may be found nearer home; for in the British Museum, the Pepysian Collection, Magd. Coll. Camb., and in the Music School at Oxford, there are copies of music in, in parts, of the fourteenth, fifteenth, and beginning of the sixteenth centuries, which have long since been thought utterly unintelligible to the generality of musicians.

In the Museum (*b*), there are fragments of three musical treatises (*c*), in the second of these, which must have been written about the latter end of the fourteenth century, minims appear; and at the end there is an old French song in two parts, of which, both the words and music are difficult to read. Few of the words indeed have been written, and those are very much obliterated. All that I can discover is that they allude to one of the allegorical characters in the *Roman de la Rose*, the principal personages in which are *Jalousie*, *Bel Accueil*, *Faux Semblant*, &c (*d*). But the ligatures and want of bars render the music

(*a*) Indeed it was natural to expect assistance in this particular from the author of *Essai sur la Musique Ancienne et Moderne*; but though he has inserted a dry and petulant critique, by a friend, upon the narrative which the Count de Caylus and the Abbe le Beuf have given of this old French poet-musician, no specimens either of his melodies or Counterpoint are inserted in that voluminous work: which seems so particularly intended to blazon the talents of French composers, that not a single specimen of music in parts by those of any other country has had admission, except the celebrated canon of *Non nobis Domine* by our William Bird; which, by being inserted among French canons, without the author's name may perhaps pass in the crowd for the production of a native of France.

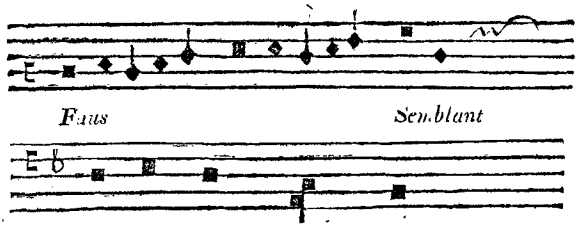
(*b*) *Bibl. Reg.* 12. c. vi. 5.

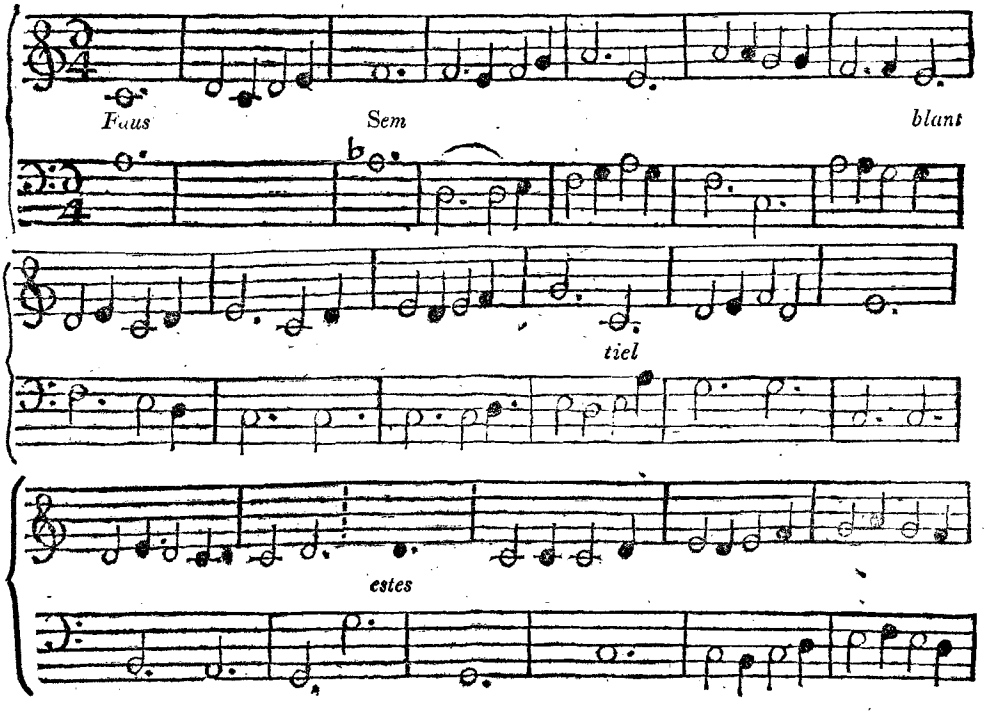
(*c*) *Tractatus Musici* 3. *Liber quondam Monachorum S Edmundi.*

(*d*) Maitre Guillaume de Lorris, author of the first part of *Le Roman de la Rose*, flourished about 1260; and Jean Clopinel, dit de Meun, continued it forty years after the death of Guillaume, during the reign of Philip le Bel, about the year 1300. It was more than fifty years after this period

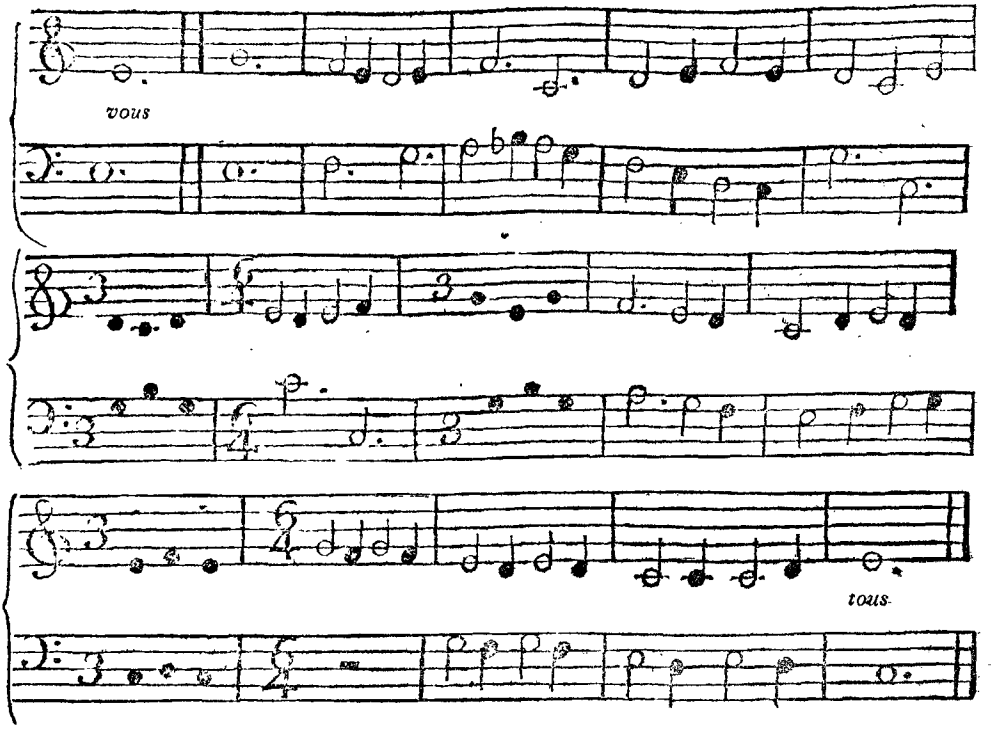
music still more difficult to decipher. I shall save the reader however all the trouble I am able, by inserting the notes, such as I conjecture them to be, in modern characters, and dividing the measure by bars.

The words, contrary to the usual practice of ancient times, are not set under the *tenor* part, which in this Song does not form the principal melody.





that our Chaucer made an English poem of it. Of this moral, satirical and allegorical fable, which has been frequently printed in the original, there are four editions, of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, in his Majesty's Library at the Queen's Palace, one of which is in prose.



There is some faint attempt at Air in this Tune, and we admire a little Melody in these early productions, as we do of first dawnings of reason in an infant. Of the Harmony, or Base, I can say but little; as when the MS. was unintelligible and conjecture failed me, I supplied deficiencies by modern rules of composition.

As our chief enquiry in this chapter is after the first Melodies that were set to modern languages, and as we have endeavoured to gratify the reader's curiosity concerning those of Provence and the northen parts of France, we shall now proceed to give some account of the state of Vocal Music in Italy at this early period, during the formation of its language.

From

* * * * * * * * * * *

From the intimate connexion and close union of the arts, it is hardly possible to trace the progress of music in ITALY without speaking of its language; which has long been universally allowed to be more favourable to singing than any one that the numerous combinations of letters in all the alphabets of modern times has produced. And if the French, Provençal, and Spanish dialects can be deduced from the Latin, how much more easy is it to trace the Italian from that source; which is itself frequently so near pure and classical Latin, that no other change or arrangement of words seems to have been made, than what contributed to its sweetness and facility of utterance?*

That the Italian tongue is derived from the vulgar language of the ancient Romans, seems the opinion of the best critics; but to discover and point out by what degrees it was smoothed and polished to the state in which Dante, Petrarca, and Boccaccio found it in the fourteenth century, would require more time, and occupy more space in this chapter than the subject seems necessarily to require. However, as the Italian language has been truly called by Mestasio *Musica Stessa*, and is so favourable to *vocal purposes* as to be more musical in itself, when merely *spoken* with purity, than any other in Europe, an enquiry into the causes of its mellifluence and natural melody does not seem foreign to a history of that art, which has been brought to such perfection by the natives of Italy, that their refinements are adopted and rendered the criterion of grace and elegance in every other country where music is cultivated.

Muratori (*e*) has given innumerable passages from authors, of the eighth and ninth centuries, to prove, that after the Franks and Germans were settled in Italy, *articles* were used in the Latin language, instead of *pronouns* and changes of

* Howel however observes that he can make a sentence that shall be at once Spanish and Latin, but that he could never do the same with Italian.

(*e*) Dissert. 32.

ter-

termination, in order to save the trouble of inflecting the cases in nouns; but pretends not to say what this vulgar language was, or whether the clergy preached to the common people, or merchants carried on their correspondence, in Latin or Italian.

The learned Maffei *(f)* allows the Provençal, French, Spanish, and Italian languages to be descendants from the Latin, but denies that the ancient inhabitants of Italy adopted any words from the Goths or Huns who invaded them. The genius of the German, Francic, or Teutonic language, which was spoken by the Lombards, was so diametrically opposite to that of the Italians, that it seems incredible there should have been any exchange or union of dialects between them: the one being as remarkable for its numerous consonants and harsh terminations, as the other for its open vowels and mellifluous endings. As it is the opinion of this profound critic that the Romans had always a *vulgar* dialect, less grammatical and elegant than that of the senate and of books, he supposes the French, Spanish, and Italian languages to have been different modifications of this rustic, plebeian dialect. But it is as difficult to assign a reason for all these daughters of one common mother being so dissimilar, as it is to account for the little resemblance that is frequently found between other children of the same parents. And why the French language should have so many *nazal* endings; the Spanish so many *sibillating*, and the Italian alone have none but *vocal* terminations can only have been occasioned by some particular and radical tendency in the vulgar and plebeian language of each country, from very high antiquity.

The Romans had two words for most purposes, the one elegant and used by writers and persons of education, and the other vulgar and common. The word *caput*, for instance, was an elevated expression for the head, and *testa*, used by

(f) *Verona illust.* tom. I. lib. xi.

Ausonius, an ignoble expression for the same thing. *Os*, the mouth, according to Plautus and Juvenal, was called *bucca* by the common people; whence the word *bocca* in Italian. *Equus*, a horse, according to Horace and Perseus, was called *caballus* and *caballinus* by the plebeians, which the Italians have softened into *cavallo*. The learned author has collected a great number of proofs in confirmation of his opinion that the Romans had at all times two languages; the one elegant, grammatical, and used by the patricians and the learned; and the other mean, vulgar, inaccurate, and used only by the plebeians. That this vulgar language was more the parent of the Provençal, French, Spanish, and Italian languages than pure Latin, appears by the examples he has furnished; but the Italian was not only derived from the trivial and vulgar words in the Latin language, but from grammatical solecisms and popular inaccuracies of pronunciation. It is not to be imagined that the common people of Rome at any period spoke such correct and elegant language as their best authors have left us in their writings. Ever eager to convey their meaning, and to arrive at the true end of speech by the shortest road, they hate the trouble of polysyllables, and have a natural propensity to abbreviate them. Of this the Marquis Maffei has likewise furnished innumerable examples in the Latin tongue of very high antiquity. As *sis* for *si vis*; *ain* for *aisne*; *sire nipse* for *similis re ipsa*; and *cauneas* for *cave ne eas* (*g*). But elisions of consonants were still more frequent: as *per hoc* was softened into *però*, *sic* into *si*; and by the omission of the *m* final in the accusative case singular of nouns, as *amore* for *amorem*, *fama* for *famam*, &c. innumerable words in the Latin language insensibly became Italian; and as it was impossible for the common people, ignorant of grammar, to know all the necessary inflexions of nouns, it was natural for them to take greater liberties with the accusative and ablative

(*g*) *Cic. Divin.* lib. ii.

cases

cases than any other, and it is from these two cases that the genius of the Italian language is chiefly derived.

The learned marquis goes through all the cases of nouns and tenses of verbs; shews the formation of adverbs, and the mutation of letters, in order to remove harshness and facilitate utterance. And it appears that the Roman soldiers and common people totally lost the terminations *um*, *ur*, and *us*, which rendered the article necessary to distinguish cases, numbers, and persons, as well as auxiliary verbs to facilitate the conjugations of other verbs. It was the opinion of Muratori, that these changes and corruptions were occasioned by the Barbarians who invaded Italy; but both Maffei and Severino have proved that the Romans had introduced them long before the Goths, Franks, or Vandals had invaded them.

This language continued long to partake of its barbarous origin, remaining rude, unformed, and without rules, as long as the use of Latin was preserved in courts of justice, public acts, and polite conversation; and it was not till the twelfth century that the Muses honoured the vulgar language of Italy so far as to admit it into their concerts.

The superiority of the Tuscan dialect over all the others of Italy is ascribed by Gravina (*k*) to the ancient democratic form of government at Florence, which, before the Medici family had usurped the sovereignty, furnished the citizens with frequent opportunities of speaking in public, and encouragement for polishing their language "in order to bring the peo-"ple over to their opinions, by the sweetness of their elo-"quence (*l*)."

(*k*) *Della Ragion Poet.*

(*l*) Of the great number of provincial dialects in Italy an idea may be formed from Quadrio's account of them, vol. i, p. 207, where it appears that books have been written and translations made, many of which have been printed, in *Bergamasca, Bolognese, Calabrese, Fiorentina rustica di Contado, Friulana, Genovese, Milanese, Modanese, Napolitana, Padovana, Perugina, Romanesca, Sanese, Siciliana,* and *Veneziana.* In all these, and more, the Rev. Mr. Cr ſts, in his valuable collection of uncommon books, is in possession of printed specimens.

That

That every language of a learned and commercial people is greatly changed in the course of a few centuries, is well known. Horace complains of the want of permanence in that of the Romans; Quintilian tells us that in his time scarce any of the ancient language was left; and in the time of Justinian, new inflexions and modes of speech, neglect of syntax, abbreviations, and vulgar barbarisms, were leading to a new language. But like the provincial dialects of most countries this language was many ages merely colloquial, and never admitted into books.

It was the custom for the learned to write their familiar letters in Latin, even to women, so late as the time of Petrarca, when it was still customary to preach in that language; but preaching was then less frequent than at present. Even so late as the year 1500 the bishops and dignified clergy, after preaching in Latin to a select congregation of well educated persons, had their sermons repeated the next day to the common people by the friars in the vulgar tongue. The sermons of these early periods by St. Francis, St. Anthony of Padua, Bernardino da Siena, and many others that have been preserved, are all in Latin. But it is a curious circumstance that after this period many sermons are found in half Latin and half Italian; for the preachers, accommodating themselves by degrees to the vulgar, avoided the trouble of a regular translation, by interlining the Latin with fragments of Italian (*m*). But this is still less extraordinary than the barbarism of our English sermons, which not many years ago were almost half Latin. An Italian congregation, from the affinity of the two languages, was likely to understand a considerable part of what was uttered in Latin, which was not the case with the English. The sermons of the famous Jeremy Taylor, in the time of Charles the First, are crowded with Greek in every page.

(*m*) *Sorgimento d'Italia, dall' Abate Saverio Bettinelli,* tom. II. p. 15.

When

When Dante wrote his *Vita Nuova*, in the beginning of the fourteenth century, he said that the Italian language had not subsisted more than one hundred and fifty years; and that it was at first used by some poet for the sake of his mistress, by whom the verses addressed to her in Latin began to be understood with great difficulty (*n*).

And Muratori (*o*) furnishes a specimen of Italian Rhymes from the Mosaic in the Cathedral of Ferrara, so early as 1135.

Il mile cento trempta cinque nato
Fo questo tempio a Zorzi consecrato,
Fo Nicolao Scolptore,
E Glielmo fo l'Autore.

Corticelli in his *Eloquenza Toscana* asserts that "in Italy Lyric Verses preceded all other poetry; and so general is the love for this species of versification, that there is no nation, however barbarous, without it." And this author imagined that Lyric Poetry had its rise in Tuscany about the year 1184 (*p*), upon the following occasion: the emperor Frederic Barbarossa being hunting in Mugello, a delightful country of Tuscany, and a stag passing precipitately by him, Ubaldino Ubaldini, a valiant Florentine knight, seized him by the horns and held him while the emperor slew him; for which bold and dexterous service the emperor gave him the stag's head, with a permission to assume it in his family arms. Ubaldino composed an inscription to commemorate this event, which is still to be seen engraved on marble at Florence, and though written like prose, it consists of short verses, in rhyme, with a mixture of Latin words; and is supposed to have been the first attempt

(*n*)—*Il primo che commincio a dire come Poeta volgare, si mosse, perocche volle fare intendere le sue parole a donna, alla quale era malagevole ad intendere i versi Latini.* Delle Opere di Dante, vol. v. p, 57. Ediz. di Ven. 1741.

(*o*) Dissert. 32.

(*p*) Crescembeni fixes it at the same period. *Prcf. alla Stor. della Volg. Poesia.*

at Lyric Poetry in Tuscany, but he believes that the first songs in modern languages were written in Sicily: whence the art passed into Provence among the Troubadours, of whom the Italians learned it about the thirteenth century (*q*).

Few other vestiges of poetry are to be found before the year 1200. Rhymes written upon the subject of Love by the emperor Frederic the Second, who was born in 1194, are among the most ancient that have been preserved (*r*).

Though the French began to write in their own dialect much sooner than the Italians, yet their language was brought to no perfection before the last century; but the writings of the Italians, of the fourteenth century, are still regarded as models of perfection, with respect to diction, and construction.

According to Crescimbeni, the Italian written language was not wholly formed till the thirteenth century, though it was colloquially used much earlier. Many verses and memorials still remain of the Italian tongue during this period. But the Sicilians, says the same writer, were the first who committed to paper verses in Italian, whose success excited other poets in Italy, especially the Tuscans, to imitate them; and Petrarca was in doubt whether the Sicilians imitated the Provençals, or the Provençals the Sicilians in their poetical compositions. But as both these countries were long under the same sovereigns, the inhabitants would naturally cultivate and encourage the same arts and language (*s*). If the Sicilians were the first poets in the vulgar tongue, they were at least very negligent in preserving sufficient examples of their ancient

(*q*) Crescembeni has inserted this early essay of Italian Versification in the first volume of his *Comment. Intorno all' Ist. della Volg. Poes.* lib. I. p. 12.

(*r*) Ib. tom. III. lib. I.

(*s*) The Counts of Barcelona were Sovereigns of Provence from 1102 to 1245, from which time it was possessed by the Kings of Sicily, till 1480. This accounts for the Spanish words which frequently occur in the Provencal language, as well as for the great number of words of that dialect to be found in the Italian tongue.

poetry

poetry to ascertain its title to priority. Indeed Muratori (*t*) says that the most ancient Sonnets in the Italian language were written by the Sicilians; but he neither gives specimens, nor names the authors of them.

Crescimbeni (*u*) however confesses, as Bembo, Redi, and many Italian writers of eminence had done before, that the Provençals were regarded by his countrymen as the fathers of their poetry (*x*); and that Dante, Cino da Pistoia, Guido Cavalcante, Petrarca, and Bocaccio, allowed them to have formed their own language, and produced an infinite number of poems, long before the Italians could boast of either. Indeed by a comparison of the most ancient Italian poems now subsisting with those of Provence, it appears that they imitated the forms and structure of the poetical compositions of the ancient Troubadours, who furnished them likewise with their poetical terms of art which are the same in both languages (*y*).

In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries all the nations of Europe began to cultivate their language and poetry; but the fruits of none have retained their taste and sweetness, except the Italian. Latin, at this time, was but rarely used for common purposes, and in the two following centuries it was almost wholly confined within monastic walls (*z*).

With respect to the music of the middle ages in Italy, Muratori (*a*) asserts, with seeming truth, that it did not wholly perish: and mentions from the History of Malaspina (*b*) a chorus of women singing through the streets accompanied

(*t*) *Dissert.* 40. & *della Perf. Poes.* tom. I. p. 7.

(*u*) *Introd. alle Vite de' Poeti Provenzali*, p. 2.

(*x*) *Come di padri della sua Poesia.*

(*y*) The Provencal poets had no *versi sciolti*, or blank verse, like the Italians; all their poetry was in rhyme, so that it seems as if the Italians in their blank verse had imitated the Latins, and in rhyming the Provencals.

(*z*) As the Latin language was in use, and generally understood longer in Italy, its native country, than elsewhere; it seems to account naturally for the cultivation of the *vulgar tongue* there, at a later period than in some other parts of Europe.

(*a*) Dissert. 24.

(*b*) Lib. iv.

with

with Cymbals, Drums, Flutes, Viols, and other musical instruments, in the year 1268, when Prince Conrad was marching against Charles the First, King of Sicily. He likewise gives an account (*b*) of the continuation of the Pagan custom of hiring women, *præficæ*, to sing and weep over the dead at their funerals, till the fourteenth century (*c*); at which time, and afterwards, it was customary among the Lombards to have an epithalamium sung at the weddings of all persons who could afford it.

Innumerable bands of tumblers, buffoons, rope-dancers, musicians, players on instruments, and actors were then retained in the courts of princes, who, by their gambols, farces, sports, and songs, diverted the company (*d*). These were called in Tuscany *Giullari* and *Giocolari*, and, by those who mentioned them in Latin, *Joculares* and *Joculatores*. These fabricators of amusement never departed without being well rewarded. But what appears the most extraordinary and different from our present customs is, that the costly and gorgeous robes which it was usual for princes to receive from other great personages who visited their courts at feasts, or upon their marriage, as marks of their friendship and respect, were bestowed on these people. Benvenuto Aliprando, an old rustic poet in his Chronicle (*e*) describes a marriage at the *great court* of Mantua, in the year 1340, while under the dominion of the Gonzaga family. "At that time," says he, "the different princes and nobles of Italy, whose names he "mentions, presented the Gonzaghi with a variety of rich "and precious vestments, which were called *robe*, robes, "and which were afterwards given to musicians and buffoons," as the old poet informs us in the following lines:

(*b*) Dissert. 23.

(*c*) See the word *computatrix* in Du Cange: "In their dirges they used to "enumerate the virtues and celebrate the "nobility, riches, beauty, and fortune of "the deceased; hence *computatrices*, com-"puters, counters, enumerators of the "qualities and perfections of the person "whose funeral they attended." The practice is still continued in Ireland, and, according to Le Brun, among the Turks.

(*d*) Dissert. 29.

(*e*) Lib. ii. cap. 53.

Tutte

Tutte le robe sopra nominate
Furon in tutto trent' otto e trecento,
A buffoni e sonatori donate (f).

The family of Gonzaga in return reciprocally exercised munificence towards the nobles who visited them, as the same old poet informs us in the following rude verses:

Otto giorno la corte si durare
Torni eri, giostri, bagordi facia,
Ballar, centar', e sonar facean fare.
Quattro cento sonator si dicia
Con buffoni alla corte si trovoe.
Roba e danar donar lor si facia.
Ciascun molto contento si chiamoe, &c. (g).

With what magnificence the princes of the house of Visconti supported their court at Milan during the same century, is frequently described by Corio the historian (*h*); but he particularly excites our wonder by his account of the solemn pomp with which the nuptials of Lionel duke of Clarence, son of Edward the third king of England, was celebrated in 1368, with Violante the daughter of Galeazzo Visconti, duke of Milan. This event is circumstantially related by several other ancient historians of Italy; and Aliprando of Mantua tells us that Lionel gavé five hundred superb dresses to the minstrels, musicians, and buffoons who were then assembled at Milan; that Galeazzo presented them with many more, and Bernabo, his brother, rewarded them munificently with money on the occasion.

(*f*) And all these costly robes of state
In all three hundred thirty-eight,
To fidlers and buffoons were given.

(*g*) Eight days these sports were held, where valiant knights
In tilts and tournaments their prowess show,
And minstrels, full four hundred, crown the rites,
While dance and song teach ev'ry heart to glow.
To these and each buffoon who here was found
Or gold was giv'n, or robes of costly sort;
And all, so well their spritely arts were crown'd,
Depart contented from the splendid court.

(*h*) Bernardo Corio, the author of a History of Milan, was born in that city, 1460.

The splendid robes and gorgeous attire of Bards and Minstrels at all times are upon record. The flowing vest of Orpheus in the triple capacity of Priest, Legislator, and Musician, is specified by Virgil (*i*); Arion is related by Herodotus (*k*) to have leaped into the sea in the rich vestments he usually wore in public; Suidas speaks of the saffron robe and Milesian slippers worn by Antigenides (*l*); and the performers in the Tragic Chorus, which used to be furnished at the expence of some wealthy citizen of Athens, wore also a splendid and costly uniform.

In France the *Jongleurs*, and in Provence the *Troubadours*, or Minstrels, during the middle ages, had frequent presents of costly robes from their patrons. In the *Fabliau*, *Conte*, or Tale of the red Rose, a female complains to a *vavassar*, or yeoman, of his having taken from her a robe, to give to the Minstrels.

Bien doit estre vavassor vis,
Qu'il vuet devenir menestrier;
Miez voudroi qui fussiez rez, (rasé)
Sans aigue (eau) *la teste & le coul,*
Que ai n'y remansist chevoul,
S'apartient à ces Jongleours
Et à ces autres Chanteours,
Qu'ils ayent de ces Chevaliers
Les robes, car c'est lor Mestiers (m).

Fabliau de la Rose vermeille.

The custom of presenting Musicians with superb and expensive dresses during the fourteenth century, in the manner already related, seems to have travelled into England, and to have continued here till after the establishment of the king's band of four-and-twenty performers: part of their present salary be-

(*i*) *Æn.* lib. vi. 645.
(*k*) *Clio.*
(*l*) *In Antigenid.*
(*m*) I would not own the wretch for kin
Who wou'd the Minstrel trade pursue,
He'd better *dry* shave head and chin,
And, with the hair, cut off the skin,
Than herd with such a worthless crew.
Let splendid knights with usual pride
On Fidlers lavish such rewards,
But 'tis to meaner fools denied
To strip themselves for vagrant Bards.

ing

ing still paid at the wardrobe office as an equivalent for the annual dress with which they used to be furnished at his Majesty's expence. To this we may add, that the Waits, or Musicians who attend on the Mayor and Aldermen, in most of our incorporate cities and towns, are furnished with splendid cloaks.

The most ancient prose writings that have been preserved in the Italian language, except books of accounts, are the Letters of Fra Guittone d'Arezzo, who flourished about 1250, and who was likewise a Poet, and celebrated both by Dante and Petrarca *(n)*. But Dante himself has long been regarded by the Italians as the great founder of their language and versification; and indeed he seems to have been as much the father of Epic Poetry in the Italian language, as Shakspeare is of the English Drama, for by preceding every other Poet of eminence in his country, his licences either of language or imagery became laws; and there is a certain boldness in his sentiments as well as diction, which very much resembles that of our Dramatic Bard. His penetration into the secret recesses of the human heart, his happiness in supplying the defects of historical narration, his pursuit of the human passions and affections through all their secret windings and doublings, and his invention of infernal tortures adequate to every species of crime, as well as the chief part of the poetical language in which he has described them, help to fortify the parallel; and if to such excellencies as are in common with both these writers we add the simplicity of his expression, and that he is sublime in imagery and ideas more than in words, that he is utterly free from the *concetti* of which many of his countrymen have been accused, and that he has neither borrowed from Homer like Virgil, nor from Virgil as Tasso has done, though he modestly calls him his master *(o)*; that neither chi-

(n) *Vide Supra*, p. 103.

(o) *Tu se' lo mio maestro*——— Inf. Cant. 1. 85.

But it seems only to have been in point of *style* and *expression*:

Tu sei solo colui, da cu' io tolsi
Lo BELLO STILE *che m'a fatto onore.*

valry,

valry, romance, nor Gothic manners have furnished him with the incidents or machinery of his poem, as was afterwards the case with Pulci, Boiado, Ariosto, and Tasso, he will appear justly entitled to the praise and admiration which have long been bestowed upon him by his countrymen.

This great poet, like our own Milton, had the misfortune to live at a period when his countrymen, divided into implacable factions, were mutually meditating the destruction of each other, under the names of Guelfs and Ghibellines. The Guelfs were partizans of the Papal power, and the Ghibellines of the Imperial; and Dante by joining the latter, who were unfortunate, was driven from Florence, the place of his nativity, and obliged to end his days in exile and misery. He tells us himself that he began his *Commedia* at the age of thirty-five, before his misfortunes, and finished it in banishment (*p*).

Franco

(*p*) Why a Poem on such grave subjects as Hell, Purgatory, and Heaven, should be called *Commedia*, has never yet been satisfactorily accounted for by the critics. If Dante had not given it that title himself in the body of the work, where, *Inf.* 16. 127, he swears by the notes of his Comedy

—— *e per le note*
Di questa COMEDIA *letter ti giuro,*

and if Boccaccio in his life had not continued it, we might have supposed such an appellation to have been a fantastic conceit of some later editor; but we are sure that the word *Commedia* in the time of Dante did not imply the same kind of composition as at present; for there were no plays, called Tragedies and Comedies, written or exhibited in Italy for a long time after the death of Dante. It would indeed fill many pages if I were to quote the different reasons that have been assigned by the learned in Italy for this appellation; but if we may believe the venerable author himself, it was in pure humility that he entitled his poem *Commedia;* for in his Latin Essay on the Italian Language, *de Vulgari Eloquio*, lib. ii. cap. 4. he divides eloquence into three styles or classes, the great, the less, and the plaintive: or the Tragic, Comic, and Elegiac. Whence we may discover his reason for calling his Poem a Comedy. However, in dedicating the third Canticle or Book to Can Grande della Scala, he says: *Io chiamo l'Opera mia* Commedia, *perche scritta in umile modo, e per aver usato il parlar volgare, in cui comunicano i lor sensi anche le donnicciuole.* "I call my work a Comedy, on account of "its being written in a simple and humble "style, and in the vulgar tongue, in which "even unlettered women express their "thoughts." Very few of the learned in Dante's time condescended to use any other language than Latin; and it was his first idea to write his Poem in that language.

As Dante in humility calls his own Poem a Comedy, so for a different reason, he makes Virgil style his Eneid a Tragedy;

Euripilo ebbe nome, e cosi'l canta
L'alta mia TRAGEDIA *in alcun loco.*
Inf. 20. 112.

Chaucer, in his definition of Tragedy, used the word in a vague sense, merely to imply a melancholy story:

Tra-

Franco Sacchetti (*q*), one of the most ancient writers of Italy, tells us (*r*) that the first part of Dante's work, which was written before his exile, was not only read by his countrymen during his life-time, but known by heart, and sung through the streets by the common people. And in one of this author's novels it is said, that a certain ballad-singer called Manescalco, and a country fellow, so provoked Dante as he was passing by, with their vulgar and corrupt manner of pronouncing the words, that he could not refrain from severely chastising them for their ignorance. We may easily imagine that the music of such singers was not more refined than their pronunciation, and that the melody to which they sung the *terze rime* of Dante was equally simple and rustic with that to which the Gondolieri of Venice still sing the *ottave rime* or stanzas of Tasso, and which is little more than a species of canto fermo. However, it is discoverable in many parts of Dante's writings, that he was not insensible to the power of such music and musical talents as his age afforded.

Scochetto was the cotemporary and friend of Dante, and not only a Poet but an able Musician, as is concluded from the title of an ancient MS. of a *Ballatella*, which informs us, that the *words* were by Dante, and the *tune* by Scochetti: *Pa-*

Tragedie is to sayn a certain storie
As olde bookis makin us memorie,
Of him that stood in gret prosperitee,
And is yfallen out of high degree
In to miserie, and endeth wretchedly.
And they been versified communly
Of six feet, which men clipen *examitron*:
In prose eke bin endited many on,
And eke in metre, in many a sondry wise.
v. 13979.

Thus a ballad in Dr. Percy's Collection (Reliques of Anc. Eng. Poetry) is called *The Lady Isabella's* TRAGEDY. Chaucer's monk calls each of his little tales *Tragedies*:

— *Tragedies* first I wol telle
Of which I have a hundred in my celle.

The monk, to give a specimen of his learning, not content in telling the company in plain English, that tragedies are composed of verses of *six feet*, adds the technical Greek term, *Exametron*: now the iambic verse of tragedy was called *Trimetron*; *Hexameter* being always confined to *Heroic, Epic*, verse, It seems therefore, as Chaucer makes no mention of *Dialogue* in describing such *Tragedies* as the monk is about to relate, which are merely sorrowful tales, that by *Exametron*, he meant the *Heroic* verse used in Epic or narrative Poetry, when grave and tragic stories were told in the learned languages.

(*q*) This author was born 1310, and died 1390.

(*r*) *Novella* 114 & 115 *della prima parte.*

role di Dante, e Suono di Scochetti (*s*). And it is said by the commentators of Dante that his friend Casella, whom he meets in purgatory, was an excellent Musician.

Dante was born in 1265, and died 1321. In the Vatican Library (*t*) a Ballatella, or Madrigal, of Lemmo da Pistoja, who flourished about the year 1300, is preserved; upon which there is the following memorandum: *Lemmo da Pistoja; e Casella diede il Suono.* Implying that the words by Lemmo, were set to Music by Casella; which agrees very well with the time when Dante feigns to have met him in Purgatory, The Poet tells us that he began to write his Inferno in 1300, when he was thirty five years of age (*u*).

There is something in the description of this imaginary rencontre so simple and affectionate, that I cannot help wishing to convey an idea of it to my English reader. Dante, after visiting the infernal regions with Virgil, is conducted by the same poet into purgatory; where, soon after his arrival, he saw a vessel approach the shore laden with departed souls, under the conduct of an angel, who brought them thither to be cleansed from their sins, and rendered fit for Paradise: as soon as they were disembarked, says the poet, "they began like "beings landed on a foreign shore, to look around them:

On me when first these spirits fix their eyes,
They all regard me with a wild surprise;
Almost forgetting that their sins require
The purging remedy of penal fire:
When one of these advanc'd with eager pace,
And open arms, as me he would embrace;
At sight of which I found myself impell'd
To imitate each gesture I beheld.
But vain, alas! was ev'ry effort made,
My disappointed arms embrace a shade:
Thrice did vacuity my grasp elude,
Yet still the friendly phantom I pursued.

Così al viso mio s'affisar quelle
Anime fortunate tutte quante,
Quasi obbliando d'ire a farsi belle.
I' vidi una di lor trarresi avante,
Per abbracciarmi, con sì grande affetto,
Che mosse me a far lo simigliante.
O ombre vane, fuor che nell' aspetto!
Tre volte dietro a lei le mani avvinsi,
E tante mi tornai con esse al petto.

(*s*) *Crescembeni, Ist. del'a Volg. Poes.* p. 409.

(*t*) No. 3214, p. 149.

(*u*) *Nel Mezzo del Cammin di nostra vita.*

Di

My wild astonishment with smiling grace
The spectre saw, and chid my fruitless chase.

Di maraviglia, credo, mi dipinsi :
Perchè l'ombra sorrise, e si ritrasse,
Ed io, seguendo lei, oltre mi pinsi.
Soavemente disse, ch'i posasse :

The voice and form now known, my fear suspend,
O stay, cried I, one moment with thy friend!
No suit of thine is vain, the vision said,
I lov'd thee living, and I love thee, dead.

Allor conobbi chi era; e pregai,
Che parlarmi un poco s'arrestasse.
Risposemi : così, com'i t'amai
Nel mortal corpo, così t'amo sciolta :

But whence this haste?—not long allow'd to stay,
Back to the world thy Dante takes his way—

Però m'arresto : ma tu perchè vai?
Casella mio, per tornare altra volta
Là dove i' son, fo io questo viaggio :

Yet let this fleeting hour one boon obtain,
If no new laws thy tuneful pow'rs restrain,
Some song predominant o'er grief and woe
As once thou sung'st above now sing below;

Diss' io——
——Se nuova legge non ti toglie
Memoria, o uso all' amoroso canto,
Che mi solea quetar tutte mie voglie,

So shall my soul, releas'd from dire dismay,
O'ercome the horrors of this dreadful way.

Di ciò piaccia consolare alquanto
L'anima mia, che con la sua persona.
Venendo quì è affannata tanto.

Casella kindly deign'd his voice to raise,
And sung how *Love the human bosom sways,*
In strains so exquisitely sweet and clear,
The sound still vibrates on my ravish'd ear;
The shadowy troops, extatic, listening round,
Forgot the past and future in the sound.

Amor, che nella mente mi ragiona (*t*),
Cominciò egli allor sì dolcemente,
Che la dolcezza ancor dentro mi suona.
Lo mio maestro, ed io, e quelle gente,
Ch'eran con lui, parevan sì contenti,
Com' a nessun toccasse altro la mente.

(*t*) This is the first line of one of Dante's own odes, as he tells us himself: *Convito,* Canzone II.

Milton

Milton has addressed a Sonnet to Henry Laws, on his Airs, in which he alludes to Dante's affection for Casella :

Harry, whose tuneful and well measur'd Song
First taught our English Music how to span
Words with just note and accent, not to scan
With Midas' ears, committing short and long ;
Thy worth and skill exempts thee from the throng,
With praise enough for envy to look wan :
To after age thou shalt be writ the man,
That with smooth air could'st humour best our tongue,
Thou honour'st verse, and verse must lend her wing
To honour thee, the priest of Phœbus quire,
That tune'st their happiest lines in hymn or story.
Dante shall give Fame leave to set thee higher
Than his Casella, whom he woo'd to sing
Met in the milder shades of purgatory.

This Sonnet, one of the best of twenty-three which were written by our great poet Milton, shews how difficult and unnatural the construction of this species of poem is in the English language; whereas from the great number of similar terminations in the Italian tongue, and the success of Petrarca, it has long been the favourite measure of Italy for short compositions. However, Muratori *(x)* thinks it extremely difficult to his countrymen to make a good Sonnet; and compares this kind of Poem to the bed of Procrustes, where the legs of those that were too short were stretched, and those too long were cut to the size of the bed. Antonio à Tempo, a Civilian at Padua, in his Treatise on Poetry 1332, distinguishes sixteen different kinds of Sonnet.

Dante however regarded the *Canzone* as the most perfect species of lyric composition *(y)*. For this Poem he establishes laws which are less rigid than those of the Sonnet. Indeed he defines poetry in general, " rhetorical fiction, *set to music.*"

(x) Della Perfetta Poesia. *(y) Della volg. Eloq.* cap. 4.

Among

Among the definitions of this writer I find the word *Cantilena* used as a diminutive of *Canzone*. When the Song is written on a grave or tragic subject, says he, it is called *Canzone*, and when comic, by diminution, *Cantilena*. This word is now appropriated as a musical term to distinguish the treble part, or principal melody of any composition, from the base and other inferior parts. *Canto* too, which was applied very early in the Italian poetry to different portions of a poem, was taken from *Cantus*, Lat. and *Canto*, Ital. the upper part or melody in a composition of many parts.

What was afterwards called *Madrigale*, Dante terms *Madriale*; the etymology of which word has been much disputed; but it seems as if its first application was to religious poems, addressed to the Virgin, *alla Madre*: whence *Madriale* and *Madrigale*: but being afterwards applied to short poems upon love and gallantry, by the Italians and French, the original import has been forgotten. Indeed it does not seem probable that the word *Madrigal* should originally have implied a *Morning-Song*, as some have imagined, the Italians having been long in possession of the term *Matinata*, a lover's matins under the window of his mistress, as they have of *Serenata*, for an *Evening-Song*.

The most ancient melodies that I was able to find in Italy which had been originally set to Italian words, were in a collection of *Laudi Spirituali*, or sacred songs, preserved in a large MS. of the Magliabecchi Library, at Florence.

It was the opinion of Father Menestrier (*z*) that Hymns, Canticles, and Mysteries in the vulgar tongues of Europe had their origin from the pilgrims who went to the Holy Land. St. Francis d'Assise, born 1182, is mentioned by Crescimbeni and other Italian writers among the first pious persons of that country who exercised their genius in composing Hymns and Spiritual Songs called *Laudi*, in the form of Canzonets. *Le Laudi*, which were likewise called *Lalde*, *Lodi*, *Cantici*,

(*z*) *Sur les Drames en Musique.*

or *Canticles*, are compositions in praise of God, the Virgin Mary, or the Saints and Martyrs. They resemble Hymns as to the subject, but not the character and versification: Hymns having been originally constructed on Greek and Roman models; but the *Laudi*, or Spiritual Songs, are entirely of Italian invention.

A society for the performance of these religious poems was instituted at Florence so early as the year 1310, the members of which were called *Laudesi*, and *Laudisti*. In the fifteenth century this species of sacred poetry was very much esteemed and practised, as is manifest by the various collections that were made of them, one of which was printed 1485. In the next century several volumes of them were published, among which there are many poetical compositions on sacred subjects by Politian, Bembo, Lodovico Martelli, and other eminent poets (*a*). In the last century, though their favour was somewhat diminished, yet besides a large volume composed by Serafino Razzi, and published by the author, 1608, there were many collections of these Spiritual Songs printed.

Crescimbeni tells us, that the company of *Laudisti* of St. Benedict at Florence went to Rome during the time of the grand jubilee in the year 1700, and sung through the streets in procession several *Laudi* that were written by the celebrated Filicaia. In most of the ancient collections Melodies were prefixed to each of these Songs. They were at first little more than Chants, and without Base. However, according to the commentary on Boccaccio by Sansovino, published at Venice 1546, they were afterwards sung in many different parts. 'There are in Florence," says he, "several schools of ar-'tizans and mechanics, among which are those of Orsanmi-'chele, and Santa Maria Novella. Every Saturday after nine 'o'clock these assemble in the church, and there sing five or 'six *Laudi*, in four parts, the words of which are by Lo-'renzo de'Medici, Pulci, and Giambellari; and at every *Laud*

(*a*) *Quadrio, Storia d'Ogni Poes.* vol. ii. p. 446.

"they

" they change the singers, and to the sound of the organ dis-
" cover a Madonna, which finishes the festival. And these
" singers, who are called *Laudesi*, have a precentor whom they
" denominate their captain or leader."

This company still subsists, and during my stay at Florence in 1770, I frequently heard them sing their Hymns through the streets in three parts, and likewise in their church, accompanied by an organ (*b*).

Of the antiquity of this institution, as the MS. volume of *Laudi Spirituale* which I found in the Magliabecchi Library at Florence is an indisputable proof, I shall here insert the preface to the collection, which is an historical account of the establishment of a company of *Laudisti*, who sing in the church of the humble Fraternity of All Saints, at Florence; which company was ordained and established by the will and authority of the Friar William, master general of the aforesaid order, Nov. xi. MCCCXXXVI. to the honour and glory of our Lord Jesus Christ and the blessed Virgin Mary his Mother, as well as of all the holy and venerable Saints of Paradise. And may all those who are or shall be of this company, enjoy the fruits of grace in this life, and after death be rewarded with divine and eternal glory, Amen (*c*).

" These are the Hymns which are written, published, and
" ordained by the noble and holy members of the said com-
" pany of Friars of All Saints at Florence, according to the
" table of contents: and first,

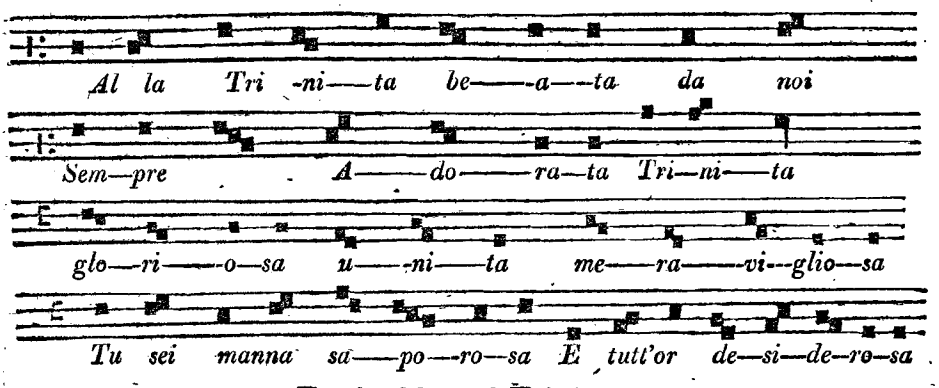
(*b*) Present State of Music in France and Italy. Art. FLORENCE.

(*c*) *In nome di Dio Amen. Questo Libro e de la Compagnia de le Laude che si cantano ne la Chiesa di frati dogni Sancti di Firenze dell ordine degli umiliati. La quale compagnia fue ordinata e comineiata per auctoritate e volonta di missere Frate Guilielmo maest o generale del sopradetto ordine degli umiliati, nel* M.CCC.XXXVI. *a di* xi *del mese di Novembre ad honore e a riverenzia del nostro Signore Idio, e de la Virgine gloriosa Maria sua madre, e di missere Sancto Benedecto e di missere Sancto venerando et di Madonna Sancta Lucia Virgine, e di tucti Sancti e le Sancte di Paradiso, et a fructo di gratia in questa vita a tucti coloro che sonno e saranno de la decta compagnia, e dopo la loro morte a beata gloria divina et rna. Amen.*

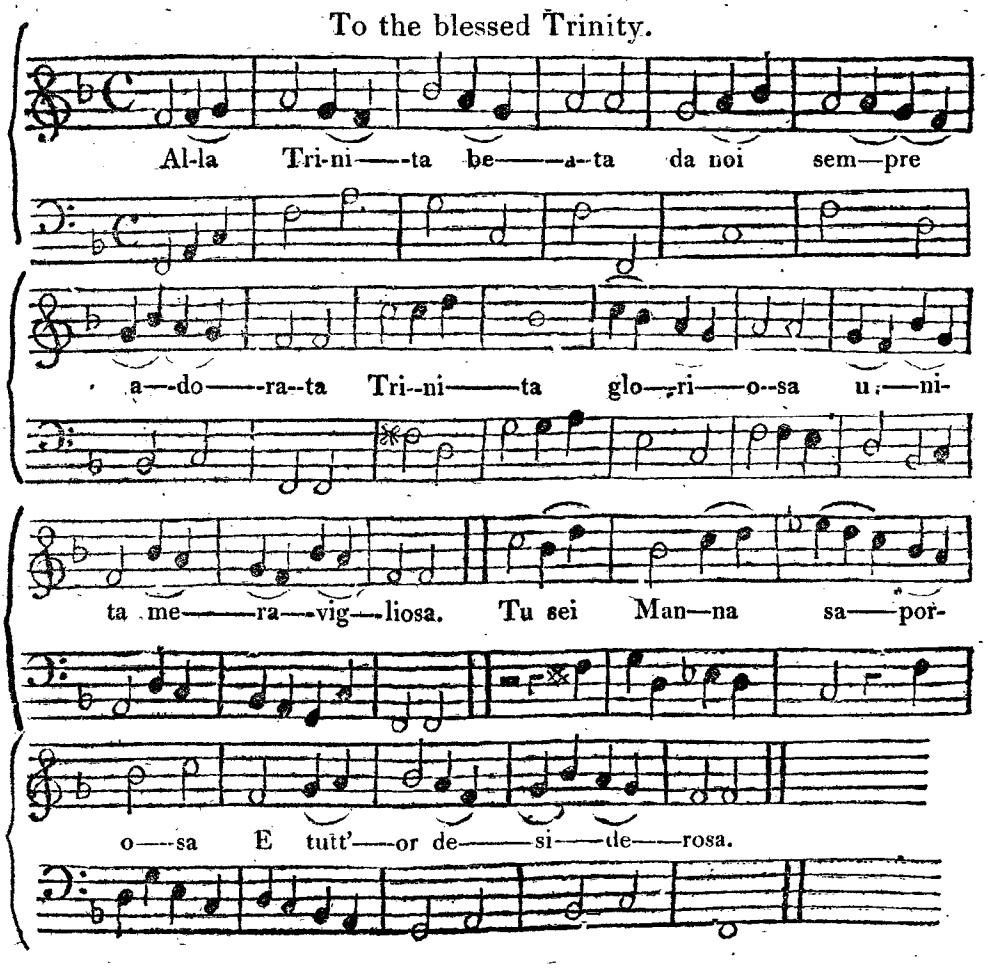
Queste sonno le Laude le quagli sonno inscripte e publicate e ordinate per gli nobili e Sancti Huomini de la predicta compagn a di Frati degni Sancti di Firenze secundo che in questa Tavola si contiene. In prima alla Trinita beata.

Alla

Alla Trinità.



To the blessed Trinity.



But few memorials remain relative to Secular Music, during this dark and Gothic period, equally indisputable and interesting with the use that was made of it in Rome at the time when the poet PETRARCH was crowned laureat; a circumstance not wholly unconnected with the subject of musical history.

The custom of crowning persons who had distinguished themselves in Poetry and Music, which was almost as ancient as the arts themselves, subsisted till the reign of the emperor Theodosius, when the Capitoline games being regarded as remnants of Pagan superstition were utterly abolished (*d*). These arts being afterwards involved in the ruin and desolation of Italy, and every other civilized part of Europe, by the irruptions of Barbarians, were but little cultivated or encouraged: yet, now and then a Poet seemed to arise from the ashes of former Bards; but as few were able to read their productions, and, indeed, as few of them deserved to be read, it removes all surprize at the little honour that was bestowed upon poets in Italy for many ages after the subversion of the Roman empire.

It was not till near the time of Petrarch that poetry recovered its ancient lustre and importance, or was invested with its former prerogatives. However, at this period the union that had so long subsisted between Poetry and her twin-sister Music was so entirely dissolved that she shared none of her honours, and only performed the part of an humble attendant on the occasion. But the time was not then very remote when Music triumphed in her turn, over her insolent relation, by setting up a separate interest, and delighting the public without her aid or assistance. For, in consequence of additional characters being invented for the different duration of sounds, a new species of instrumental composition was cultivated, which was

(*d*) See page 6.

capable of affording great delight to the lovers of harmony, without the help of poetical numbers, or even the tones and articulations of the human voice in its performance. And, since this period, a poet has been more in need of the assistance of others to exhibit his productions than the Musician; who, after he has finished a composition suited to his own powers, executes it frequently himself in such a manner as is seldom equalled by future performers.

In the year 1340, Petrarch had the honour of receiving two letters on the same day: one from the Roman senate, and the other from the university of Paris, inviting him to accept the laurel crown; and having given the preference to Rome, on his arrival in that city, in 1341, during the pontificate of pope Benedict XII, he found every thing prepared for the ceremony of his coronation, by the senator count Orso dell' Anguillara. The design was announced in the morning, by the sound of trumpets, when the people, curious to see a festival which had been interrupted for so many ages, assembled in great crowds from all quarters.

Petrarca marched to the Capitol, preceded by twelve youths, dressed in scarlet, and of the best families in Rome, singing verses composed by the poet; who was attired in a robe, presented to him by Robert the Good, king of Naples, who had taken it off his own back and desired him to wear it on the day of his coronation. The principal citizens of Rome, habited in a green uniform, and crowned with flowers of different kinds, attended Petrarca in procession. After these marched the senator, accompanied by the chief members of the Roman Council. When he was seated, Petrarca, being summoned by a herald, pronounced a short oration. Afterwards, when he had thrice cried out *long live the Roman people! long live the senator! may God preserve their liberty* (e)!

(e) *Viva lo popolo Romano! viva lo senatore! Dio lo mantenga in libertade!*

he

he kneeled before the senator, who, after a short speech, took from his own head a crown of laurel, and placed it on that of Petrarca, saying, "The crown is the meed of virtue (*f*)." The poet, then, recited a beautiful poem upon the heroes of Rome, which is not in his works; and the people expressed their approbation by repeated shouts, and exclamations of "Long live the poet! and long may the Capitol endure!" Stephen Colonna, as the poet tells us himself, afterwards spoke; and, having a great affection for Petrarca, bestowed on him such praise as flowed from the heart. His friends who were present on the occasion shed tears of delight; "and though," says Petrarca of himself, "I was almost overcome with joy, "I was not unconscious that these honours were superior to "my desert; I blushed at the applause of the people, and at "the excess of praise with which I was loaded."

At the termination of the ceremony, Petrarca was conducted, with the same attendants, and the same pomp, to the church of St. Peter, where, after returning thanks to the Supreme Being for the honour which had been bestowed on him, he laid down his crown, in order that it might be placed among the offerings that were suspended to the roof of the temple.

The same day, count Anguillara had letters patent drawn up (*g*), by which the senators, after a very flattering preamble, declare Petrarch to have merited the title of great poet and historian; "and that, as an especial mark of his poetical abi-"lities they had placed a crown of laurel on his head, granting "him, as well by the authority of king Robert, as by that of "the senate of Rome, full power and licence to exercise the "arts of poetry and history, to read, dispute, explain ancient "books, make new, compose poems; and to wear at all times "a crown of laurel, ivy, or myrtle, at his pleasure, as well as

(*f*) *Corona premia la virtu!*

(*g*) An extraordinary homage, says Voltaire, which the astonishment of his age bestowed upon his uncommon genius. *Hist. Univ.* tom. II.

" the poetical habit *(h)*. Finally, he is declared by these pre-
" sents, a Roman citizen, entitled to all the privileges annexed
" to that honourable appellation, as an acknowledgment for the
" affection which in his works, as well as in his public profes-
" sions, he has always manifested for the city and its republic."

Thus ended the pomps and vanities of this memorable day, during which Petrarca appears to be nothing less than a philosopher. All the wisdom, modesty, and even delicacy of sentiment with which his writings are filled, seem on this occasion to have been wholly laid aside and forgotten. To become a public spectacle, and exhibit his person for the gratification of his own vanity, and the idle curiosity of an ignorant multitude, in these days would rather qualify a man for Bedlam, than for the sovereignty of Parnassus. The blame can only be laid on his youth; or, rather, on the practice of the times, which abounded with romantic customs, derived from Gothic institutions of chivalry; in compliance with which, knights, nobles, kings and emperors, frequently exhibited their persons in tilts, tournaments, and pageants, with as little concern as veteran actors by profession.

I was curious to know Petrarca's own opinion, in his old age, of the transactions of this day; and have found, in a letter written a little before his death, the following passage,—which seems to disarm censure.

" Those laurels with which my brows were bound were too
" green; if I had been of a more mature age and understand-
" ing, I should not have sought them. Old men only love
" what is useful, while the young pursue every thing splendid,
" without any regard to intrinsic worth. This crown rendered
" me neither more learned nor more eloquent; it only drew
" upon me the envy of the malignant, and robbed me of my

(h) There was, at this time, a dress peculiar to Poets, as well as Musicians. Dante, according to Villani, his cotemporary, was buried in the poetical habit. lib. ix. cap. 33.

" wonted

"wonted repose. Ever since that time, I have been con-
"stantly under arms: every tongue, every pen has been
"pointed against me; my friends are become my enemies;
"and I now suffer for my audacity and presumption."

Yet, however childish and frivolous such a pageant might now be thought, the want of appetite for it in the present age is, perhaps, more the effect of satiety, than of superior wisdom and good taste; and the eagerness with which the Romans in Petrarca's time feasted on such gew-gaws may be ascribed to long fasting, and privation of every elegance and refinement in the polite arts. The same love of novelty which represses our curiosity after common spectacles, impelled the Roman citizens to regard Petrarca as a divinity, and the honours bestowed on him as effusions of justice and discernment. If we compare his productions with those of his cotemporaries (*i*), we shall find the superiority greater than in those of any other poet, Shakspeare excepted, who has been the favourite of our own country. The elegant and captivating author of his Memoirs (*k*) justly regards him as "the greatest "genius which Italy, so fertile in men of superior talents, has "produced; and as a writer to whom literature in general, "and the Tuscan language and poetry in particular, have the "greatest obligations. He dissipated the clouds of barbarism," continues this admirable biographer, "which covered all Eu-"rope, and may be said to have dug up and re-animated the "good authors who had long lain buried and forgotten. He "has purified and enriched the Italian tongue, and furnished "its poetry with such sweetness, harmony, and grace, as pre-"clude all envy at the perfection f Greek and Latin compo-"sitions." He may have been sometimes too much admired by his countrymen, and, like other great models, too fre-

(*i*) Among whom Dante can hardly be numbered, as Petrarca was but seventeen years old when that poet died.

(*k*) *Memoire pour la Vie de Francois Petrarque.* Tom. I. Dedic. ii.

quently imitated; yet, when literary zeal has such an object of admiration, its excess only becomes reprehensible.

It seems from several passages in Petrarca's Sonnets and Canzone that Laura had cultivated music, or at least that her singing had helped to rivet his chains. In the twentieth Canzone or Ode, indeed, he uses the word *notè*, notes, figuratively, for words, lines, or verses.

Continuando L'Amorose notè.

But in Sonnet 104 he distinguishes song from speech:

E LANGELICO CANTO, e le parole
Del dolce spirto.

Sonnet 124, written on the subject of Laura weeping at the news of some calamity which had happened in her family, is full of allusion to music.

Sonetto.

I vidi in terra angelici costumi,
E celesti belezze al mondo sole,

Talchè di remembrar mi giova, e dole:
Che quant'io miro, par sogni, ombre, e fumi:
E vidi lagrimar que due bei lumi

C'han fatto mille volte invidia al sole:

Ed udì sospirando dir parole

Che farian gir i monti, e star i fiumi.

Amor, senno, valor, pietate, e doglia

Facean piangendo un più dolce CONCENTO
D'ogni altro che nel mondo udir soglia:
Ed era'l cielo all'armonia si'ntento,

Che non si vedea in ramo mover foglia,
Tanta aoicezza avea pien l'aere, e'l vento

Sonnet.

I saw on earth angelic virtues beam
And blaze with such celestial charms and grace
That since, no other excellence I trace,
But all appears a shade, a smoke, a dream:
When Laura's eyes with tears began to teem,
Eyes which the sun oft envies in his race;
When with such sighs and words she wail'd her case
As mountains sure would move, or stop a stream:
Then love, worth, wisdom, grief, and pity join'd
In such a CONCERT, as, however skill'd,
No sons of Harmony e'er yet combin'd;
No Zephyr stir'd, each flutt'ring leaf was still'd,
Unwilling to disturb such sounds refin'd
As all around the tuneful æther fill'd.

In

In his 177th Sonnet, Petrarca speaks with enthusiasm of Laura's voice, which when she sung went to his soul.

E'l cantar che nel anima si sente.

And in Sonnet the 188th he mentions with rapture her singing to a large company of ladies, (*dodici donni*) during a party of pleasure; and in another place, (*l*) speaking of her vocal powers, he says:

Era possente	The voice of Laura could controul
Cantando d'acquetar gli sdegni e l'ire,	The tyrant's rage, or bend the proud;
Di serenar la tempestosa mente	Could calm the tempests of the soul,
E sgombrar d'ogni nebbia oscura e vile.	And dissipate each low'ring cloud.

But it would be endless to enumerate all the passages in which he celebrates the sweetness of her voice; I shall therefore only instance Sonnet the 135th, which turns wholly on its enchanting powers.

Sonetto.	Sonnet.
Quando amor i begli occhi a terra inchina,	When Laura's timid looks to earth incline,
E i vaghi spirti in un sospiro accoglie	And love in sighs the vagrant air has bound,
Con le sue mane; e poi in voce gli scioglie	Then lets it free expand and float around
Chiara, soave, angelica, divina:	In her clear, sweet, angelic voice divine;
Sento far del mio cor dolce rapina,	Now could I quit the world and not repine:
E sì dentro cangiar pensieri, e voglie;	I eager cry, if kill'd by such a wound,
Ch'i' dico: hor fien di me l'ultime spoglie	For now the soul, charm'd by the soothing sound,
Se'l ciel sì honesta morte mi destina:	Its present tenure willing would resign.
Ma'l suon, che di dolcezza i sensi lega,	But more and more attach'd to life, those strains
Col gran desir d'udendo esser beata	With which my soul is so completely blest
L'anima al dipartir presta raffrena.	Deprive it soon with agency and choice;
Così mi vivo, e così avvolge, e spiega	For still the slave of sense and bound in chains,
Lo stame della vita, che m'è data,	I find my heart by no fond wish imprest,
Questa sola fra noi del ciel Sirena.	But still to live, and hear her Siren voice.

(*l*) *Canzone* II. P. M.

I have

I have but one circumstance more to mention relative to Petrarca; which is, that it appears by his will, inserted in the Venetian edition of his Poems published by Giorgio Angelieri, 1586, that he was himself a practical musician; and, as Swift bequeathed his first "best beaver-hat to the reverend John Worral," Petrarca leaves his good lute to master Thomas Bombasio of Ferrara, that he may play on it, not for the vanity of a fleeting life, but to the praise and glory of the eternal God (*m*).

With respect to the peculiar kind of vocal music which was prevalent in the time of Petrarca, as, unfortunately, none of the original melodies to which his exquisite sonnets were originally set, are come down to the present period, it must rest upon conjecture: if we could imagine them to have been then as much superior in grace and smoothness to all other melodies, as his poetry was to that of his cotemporaries, they must have contributed considerably to the effect of these sonnets on the public ear. But it has never appeared in the course of my enquiries that poetry and music have advanced with equal pace towards perfection, in any country. Almost every nation of Europe has produced *good poetry* before it could boast of such an arrangement of musical sounds as constitute *good melody*; and in Italy itself, according to a late writer (*n*), music was the last cultivated of any of the polite arts; "nor is it "yet, perhaps, furnished with true principles, like painting, "sculpture, and architecture, as well as eloquence and poetry, "which are established on the laws and examples of the an-"cients." This author complains with Gravina and Muratori of the degeneracy and corruption of music in Italy, and of its having ceased to imitate nature and the passions. For the passions, it were to be wished that they could be more frequently excited and expressed in our music than they are;

(*m*) *A maestro Tommaso Bambasio da Ferrara, lascio il mio* buon liuto, *affine ch'egli lo suoni non per vanita del fugace seculo, ma a lode e gloria dell' eterno iddio.*

(*n*) *Risorgiamento d' Italia,* Tom. II. p. 176.

but

but for copying nature, it may be asked, What is there in nature for a musician to copy? Is there such a thing as *natural music*, except that of birds? And is that pleasing, when imitated by an Agujari, or a Le Brun? All melodies but the cries of nature are the productions of art: the most simple, if formed upon the musical scale or gamut, are artificial; for the scale is unknown to all people in a state of nature.

In an account of Petrarca's coronation, first published at Padua, 1549, under the name of Sennuccio Delbene, which was eagerly read, and afterwards reprinted in several editions of his works, it is said that there were two choirs of music, one vocal, and the other instrumental, employed in the procession, which were constantly singing and playing by turns in sweet harmony. This seems to imply some progress in figurative counterpoint, and singing and playing in concert (*o*). It is the earliest and most favourable account of any thing like music in parts that has come to my knowledge. The time-table had been constructed more than two centuries before, by Franco; *musica mensurabilis* had likewise received great improvements from the writings of Marchetto da Padua in the preceding century; and by those of John de Muris but a few years before this period, as has been already related: and, about twenty years after, it seems as if this artificial and complicated music had spread over great part of Europe: for in 1360, it is observed in the Chronicle of Frankfort, "that "music was amplified by new singers, and a figurative kind "of composition unknown before (*p*).

I know that the authenticity of Sennuccio's account has been doubted, though so long received as genuine by all Petrarca's

(*o*) *Dui cori v'erano di Musica; l'uno di voce, l'a tro di stremenți, che l'uno avviconda dell' altro, sempre con dolce concento suonava a' cantava.*

(*p*) *Observatum quoque reperimus ex chronico Francofurtensi, hoc anno* (1360) *Musicam ampliatam esse: novos enim cantores surrexisse, et componistas et figuristas cæpisse alios modos assuere.* Annal. Eccles. Card. Baronii. Continuatio. Per Hen. Spondanum. tom. I. 1678.

 biographers,

biographers, commentators, and editors, among whom were Tomasini, Catanusi, Crescembeni, Muratori, Angelieri, Menage, and Niceron. But, without disputing this point, or relying on the authority of Sennuccio, sufficient proofs are to be found in Petrarca's works, and elsewhere, of the practice of counterpoint, or music in parts, in the fourteenth century; when the improvement of the time-table had brought measured music, or airs, into favour (*q*). Petrarca himself frequently uses the word *concento* (*r*), which the Crusca Dictionary defines *armonia*, harmony resulting from the consonance of voices and instruments. *Concento* was long used in Italy for *concerto*, which was sometimes called *conserto*, as *concert* is written by the old English authors *consort* (*s*).

Of the state of Music during the same period, much may be collected from the Decamerone of BOCCACCIO, who survived Petrarca but two years. This work has always been regarded as a natural and faithful delineation of the manners and customs of Italy at the time when it was written; and though it is composed of novels, in which fable is blended with real history, yet the bounds of probability have been seldom exceeded in the exercise of imagination, nor truth

(*q*) *Voyez Le Beuf, Traite Hist. sur le Chant Eccle. p.* 105.

(*r*) *Vide supra,* p. 234.

(*s*) *Vid. Petr. Sonetto,* 124, *Canz.* 42. *Consort* for *concert,* was not erroneously written, but a word differently derived. *Concert,* from *concertare, consort,* from *consors, consortium.* Now as *concertare* is never used in classic authors to signify *agreement, friendly* union, but always *rival* contention; and *consors, consortium,* on the contrary, are appropriated to *friendly* union, sympathy, &c. it seems as if the old English writers, who denominated musical *symphony* a *consort,* had propriety on their side. But unluckily the word is irrecoverably disgraced by its being used now only in ignorance or derision. At present, *Consort* has an established and unequivocal meaning appropriated to it: companion; partner; concurrence; union; and *Concert,* from *concerto,* Italian, from implying rival contest, struggle, dispute, quarrel, is now generally understood to signify exactly what *consort* did mean: the *friendly* and *harmonious union* of voices and instruments; an assemly of musical performers. Who knows but this word had its origin from the musical games, when musicians *contended* with each other for victory? and it must be allowed that sometimes a still greater portion of this rivality, contention, struggle, dispute, and quarrel, still continues to actuate the champions in musical exhibitions, than of that *agreement* and *friendly union,* which the word *concert* should now imply.

violated,

violated, in the recital of real events. That the virtues and vices in which he has clothed the several characters whose adventures he pretends to relate, are such as prevailed at the time they are supposed to have lived, can the more readily be believed, as through all the modifications and vicissitudes of human affairs, many of them are still prevalent. And in all the excursions in which he is carried out of his own country, he has never explored ideal regions, nor been transported beyond the haunts of men.

With respect to *Music*, which is my excuse for mentioning this author, whether the personages he assembles together after the plague at Florence, 1348, and the stories they tell, are real or imaginary, the amusements he assigns them in his ritual must have been such as were usual to the Florentines, among whom he lived at that time; and indeed the poems that are pretended to have been sung, and the instruments with which they were accompanied, subsisted before this period, and still subsist.

In his admirable description of the plague at Florence, he tells us, that during the horrors of that dreadful calamity, two methods, extremely opposite, of preservation from the disease were adopted by those who at first escaped infection: some imagining that by temperance, abstaining from superfluities, and wholly separating themselves from the sick; shutting out all intelligence concerning the sufferings of others, and amusing themselves with *Music*, and every other innocent recreation which their confinement would allow, they should preserve themselves from contagion; others, on the contrary, being of opinion that despising all regimen or restraint, indulging appetite, seeking dissipation, laughing, *singing*, and sporting from morning till night, would be the most efficacious medicines against the present evils (*t*)!

(*t*) —— *Con* suoni *e con quelli piaceri, che haver potevano, si dimoravano. Altri in contraria opinione tratti affermavano il bere assai, e il godere, e l'andar* cantando *attorno, e sollazzando, e il sodisfare d'ogni cosa allo appetito, che si potesse, e di cio che avveniva ridersi e baffarsi, essere medicina certissima a tanto male;—&c.*

Decam. Giornata prima.

Music,

Music, therefore, we find, was not silenced even in the midst of horror and despair: the Florentines thinking with Euripides, who, in his Medea, complains that the exquisite pleasure arising from this charming art is usually lavished on the happy, at convivial festivities; whereas, it should be administered to the afflicted and miserable, as a balm and cordial to mitigate the ills of life.

The rites deriv'd from ancient days
With thoughtless reverence we praise,
The rites that taught us to combine
The joys of music and of wine,
And bad the feast, and song, and bowl
O'erfill the saturated soul;
But ne'er the Flute or Lyre apply'd
To cheer despair, or soften pride,
Nor call'd them to the gloomy cells
Where Want repines, and Vengeance swells---
Where Hate sits musing to betray,
And Murder meditates his prey.
To dens of guilt and shades of care,
Ye sons of Melody, repair;
Nor deign the festive dome to cloy
With superfluities of joy.
Ah, little needs the Minstrel's pow'r
To speed the light convivial hour;
The board, with varied plenty crown'd,
May spare the luxuries of sound *(u)*.

(*u*) I am obliged to a learned friend for this elegant translation, of which the following is the original, from the Medea of Euripides, v. 190.

Σχαιες δε λεγων κ'εδεν τι σαφες
Τις προσθε βροτος, ουκ αν αμαρτοις,
Οιτινες υμνες επι μεν θαλιαις,
Επι τ'ειλαπιναις, και παρα δειπνοις
Ευροντο, βιω τερπνας ακοας.
Στυγεις δε βροτων ουδεις λυπας
Ευρετο μουση και πολυχορδοις
Ωδαις παυειν, εξ ων θανατοι
Δεινοι τε τυχαι σφαλλουσι δομους.
Και τοι ταδε μεν κερδος ακεισθαι
Μολπαισι βροτες· ινα δ ευδειπνοι
Δαιτες, τι ματην τεινουσι βοαν;
Το παρον γαρ εχει τερψιν αφ' αυτω,
Δαιτος πληρωμα βροτοισιν.

The

The company however which Boccace assembles together, after the plague had swept away all their relations and friends, were better entitled to such amusements as innocence could furnish, than those who could inhumanly detach themselves from their fellow-creatures, when their dreadful sufferings called aloud for assistance. And this author tells us that all the ladies and gentlemen of his party could dance and sing, and that some of them were not only well skilled in song, but able to perform extremely well on several musical instruments (*x*).

At the end of every *Deca*, or ten Novels, which he tells us were related by the Company, each Day, he has given a Canzon, or Ode, which was sung by one of the party, and generally accompanied by some instrument; and as this species of Lyric Poetry was invented by the Troubadours of Provence, who had generally Musicians to accompany them that were called *Violars*, we may suppose the music of these songs, and the performance to have been equally simple with those of the Provençal Bards, and little superior to the tunes now used by the *Improvisatori* of Italy. For we have no proofs that Melody had as yet been much diversified by its inventors, or embellished by the performers, who were retained as servants of the poet.

Boccaccio tells us at the end of his *prima giornata*, or first day, that after supper the instruments were called in, when "the Queen, for the day, ordained that there should be a dance; "and after one had been led off by Lauretta, Emilia sung a "song, in which she was accompanied by Dion, a gentleman "of the party, on the lute (*y*)." There is nothing new or extraordinary in this quotation, for the human voice has never

(*x*) — *Et levate le tavole, concio fosse cosa che tutte le donne* carolar *sapessero, et similemente i giovani, et parte di loro ottimamente et* sonare *et* cantare---*&c.*
Decam. Gior. prima.

(*y*) — *Doppo la qual cena fatti venir gli stormenti comando la Reina che una danza fosse presa, et quella menandola Lauretta, Emilia* cantasse *una* canzone *dal* Leuto *di Dioneo aiutata.* Ib.

been silent in civilized states, when men have been assembled together, in order to amuse themselves; and indeed in the most savage countries, the voice of joy is generally accompanied by instruments. However in Italy, whence all the liberal arts have travelled to the rest of Europe, it is curious to know in what rank music was held at this early period, and what use was made of it in polite assemblies, by the inhabitants. And here a writer, justly celebrated for the exactness with which he has described the customs of his cotemporaries in all situations, tells us, that in an assembly of persons of birth and education, who passed ten days together during summer in a constant succession of innocent amusements, each evening was closed by Dance and Song; in which the whole company, consisting of seven ladies and three gentlemen, of different characters and acquirements, were able to perform their parts.

In the musical recreations of the first day, the two circumstances which are here most worthy of observation are the accompaniments of the voice by an instrument; and that this instrument was the Lute. Of what the accompaniment consisted, whether it only fortified the voice-part by playing the same melody, or more elaborately furnished a base and a different treble, arising out of its harmony, is not easy to determine.

On the second day we find that one of the company leading off a Carol, a song was sung by another, which was answered in a kind of chorus by the rest (*z*).

At

(*z*) — *Menando Emilia la Carola, la segunnte Canzone da Pampinea, rispondendo l'altre, fu Cantata, &c.*—

Boccaccio. Giornata Seconda, Nov. x.

It may, perhaps, be necessary to observe that the word *Carola* in Boccaccio is synonimous with *Ballata*, which the Crusca Dictionary defines, *Canzone, che si Canta Ballando:* a Song which is sung during a Dance.

This is the sense by which the word Karole is constantly used by Chaucer.

These folke, of which I tell you so.
Upon a Karole wentin tho,
A ladie karoled hem, that hight
Gladness the blissful and the light,
Well cou'd she sing and lustily
None half so well and semely

Lothe

At the close of the second day Boccaccio tells us that after the Song, of which he gives the words, had been performed, many others were sung, and many Dances danced to different tunes (*a*), by which we may gather that besides Carols and Ballads, the singing of which marked the steps of a Dance,

Lothe make in song such refraining *,
It sate † her wonder well to sing;
Her voice ful clere was and ful swete,
She was not rude, ne yet unmete,
But couthe enough for such doing
As longith unto Karolling.
Rom. of the Rose, 743.

The word likewise occurs three times in the Canterbury Tales; and in each of these this sense of the word is confirmed.

Festes and instruments, Caroles and dances.
v. 1933.

What ladies fayrest ben or best dancing
Or which of hem can carole best or sing.
v. 2203.

Here carole is plainly distinguished from dancing; and if it is also distinguished from singing, it must be only because it implied more than mere song: that is, song accompanying dance.

Was never none that list better to sing
Ne lady lustier in carolling.
Cant. Tales, v. 16811.

Here it has a meaning as distinct from singing as, in the other citations, it has from dancing.

Again, v. 759.

Tho ‡ mightest thou *karollis sene*
And folke daunce, and merie ben—

In the first line of this couplet, when Chaucer speaks of the karole being visible, it can no longer be imagined that it implied only a song. In his Dreme, speaking of the Duchess of Gaunt, he says:

I saw her daunce so comily
Carol and sing so swetily——

Both the Carol and the Ballad, which came to us from Italy, have long lost their original acceptation in England. The word Carol is now only to be met with in our elder poets, or among the provincial minstrels at Christmas. But no poet since the time of Spencer seems to have used it in the double acceptation of the Italian *Carola*, or the Latin *Chareola*, whence Dr. Johnson derives it.

And let the Graces dance unto the rest
For they can do it best:
While the maidens do their Carol sing,
To which the woods shall answer, and their eccho ring. Spencer's Epithal.

Dryden seems to distinguish the Carol from the dance:

Oppos'd to her, on t'other side advance
The costly feast, the Carol and the Dance,
Minstrels and music, poetry and play,
And balls by night, and tournaments by day. Fables.

Ballata, whence the French had their word *Balade*, and the English Ballad, has long been detached fron Dancing, and indeed confined to a low species of song, though Solomon's song was once called the Ballad of Ballads. In Shakspeare's time however, this species of vulgar and popular poetry was wholly degraded and turned into the streets:

"An' I have not Ballads made on you "all, and sung to filthy tunes, may a cup "of sack be my poison." Hen. IV.

(*a*) *Appresso questa*, (canzone) *piu altre se ne cantarono, e piu danze si fecero, e sonarono diversi suoni*,—Bocc. Giorn zda.

* From Refrain, the burden of a song, or return to the first part, as in a *Rondeau*. It is imagined that the *Ritornel*, or symphony to a song, had its origin from the repetitions of particular strains of a Carol, or Ballad, by instruments, for the dancers, after they had been sung.

† Suited.

‡ Also, therefore, then, at that time.

there

there were at this time Songs without Dances, and Tunes without Songs.

Though Boccaccio informs us that his novellists finished every day's amusement by singing and dancing, I shall only describe the manner in which they are introduced when such expressions or terms of art occur as I can explain to my purpose. At the end of the fifth day, after a dance, the queen orders Dion, one of the gayest and most facetious of the company, to sing, who proposes several, at that time, well known songs, to which the ladies seem to object, on account of the licentiousness of the words. He tells them he would sing others, which he names, if he had a *Cembalo*; by which some have imagined is meant a Harpsichord, that instrument being now called *Cembalo* in Italian. However the harpsichord is certainly of later invention than the time of Boccaccio, who in the passage where the word *Cembalo*, or *Ciembalo* is used, probably meant only a kind of *Tambour de Basque*, or drum in the shape of a sieve, with small bells and bits of tin jingling at the sides of it: a tinkling Cymbal, but not the modern harpsichord, nor the *Cymbalum* of the ancients, which has been described in the first volume, and which consisted of two parts resembling basons, which being forcibly clashed together marked the steps in Bacchanalian processions, and the measure in singing the orgies; and which at present is in general use as a military instrument.

The two instruments chiefly used by the gentlemen and ladies in the Decamerone are the Lute and Viol; and upon this last, some of the ladies are said to perform. This was the instrument which, two centuries after, became so general in England that there was hardly a considerable family which had not a complete chest of viols; by which is to be understood, a treble, tenor, and base viol, each with six strings, fretted neck, and played with a bow, in the same proportion to each other as the violin, tenor, and violoncello. When the company wanted music merely instrumental,

mental, for dancing, a servant was called, in, with his bagpipe (*b*).

It is, however, manifested from the writing of Boccaccio that there were two kinds of music and performers in his time, as well as at present. One species of music was a plain, simple, and popular melody, generally understood and practised by all persons well educated, on whom nature had bestowed good ears; and the other an elaborate and artificial species of music which professors only, or persons of equal genius and application, were able to execute. Of the first kind were doubtless the *carols*, *ballads*, and little songs that are mentioned at the close of the ninth day, which pleased more from the merit of the words, than the artifice of the melody (*c*). But as Dante had his Casella, Petrarca his Bambisio, Boccaccio likewise celebrates among eminent professed musicians, the talents of Minuccio d'Arezzo, who was, he tells us, an exquisite singer and player on the viol, in great favour with Peter of Roan, king of Sicily (*d*).

Though the fame of Boccaccio has been built upon his prose productions, he was perhaps the best poet of his time, if we except Dante and Petrarca. He is allowed by many to have been the inventor of the *ottava rima*, or heroic stanza, which was afterwards adopted by Pulci, Boiardo, Berni, Ariosto, Tasso, and all the epic poets of Italy. But if he be denied the merit of the invention, he was at least the first who used the stanza successfully in a work of any length. In this kind of verse two of his poems remain, *Theseus*, and *Phlostratus*, on which the Italian critics, and Antonio Maria Salvini among

(*b*) *Il Re fatto chiamar Tindaro, gli comando; che fuori trahesse la sua cornamusa; al suono della quale esso fece fare molte danze*, Decam. Gior. 6.

(*c*) *Canzonnette piu sollazzevoli di parole, che di canto maestrevoli*,——Gior. 9.

(*d*) *—Era in quei tempi Minucio* (D'Arezzo,) *tenuto un finissimo Cantatore, e Sonatore, e volontieri dal Re Pietro veduto.*— Gior. dec.

the rest, bestow great praise (*e*). And it is said of our countryman, Chaucer, by his late admirable editor, "That he was "to the full as much obliged to Boccace in his Troilus, as in "his Knightes Tale (*f*)."

That the instrumental as well as the vocal music of the middle ages, was so simple and inartificial as to require no great abilities or dexterity in the execution, seems deducible from the little notice that is taken of the talents of musical performers, by writers who are very lavish in their praises of music, singing, and playing, in general.

The organ being the most complicated instrument in use during these times, and capable of producing greater effects than any other, seems to have excited the first amazement at the performer's skill, which modern history has recorded.

Philip Villani, who flourished about the year 1343, and who lived till 1405, among the lives of illustrious Florentines, chiefly of his own times, has given that of FRANCESCO CIECO (*g*).

"Many, says this writer, are the Florentines who have "rendered themselves memorable by the art of music; but "all those of former times have been far surpassed by Frances-"co Cieco, who still lives (*h*); and who during childhood was

(*e*) Dr. Percy, in the second volume of his venerable and captivating Relics of Ancient English Poetry, and Mr. Warton, in his History of English Poetry, vol. i. p. 103, et seq. have inserted an elegy on the death of our Edward the First in 1307, which is in the *octave rhyme;* if this was written at the time of Edward's death, though it may prove nothing with respect to Italian Poetry, yet it would acquit English writers of having been obliged to the Italians for the invention of the stanza. Dr. Percy thinks it was written soon after Edward's death.

(*f*) See Essay on the Lang. and Vers. of Chaucer, vol. iv. p. 85.

(*g*) Philip Villani was the son of Mathew and nephew of John Villani, the celebrated Florentine historians. John died at Florence in 1348, of the plague, which Boccaccio has described; and Mathew, who continued his brother's history, till the year 1360, died likewise of the same disease, in 1363. The lives written by Philip, *Le Vite d'Uomini illustri Fiorentini,* remained in MS. till the year 1747, when they were published at Venice by the count Mazzuchelli.

(*h*) The author either wrote this life at different periods of time, or else meant only to say that Cieco still lived in the memory of his surviving friends; for he afterwards fixes the time of his death.

"deprived

" deprived of sight by the small-pox. He was the son of Ja-
" copo, a Florentine painter, of great probity and simplicity
" of manners; and being arrived at adolescence, and begin-
" ning to be sensible of the misery of blindness, in order to
" diminish the horror of perpetual night, he began in a child-
" ish manner to sing; but advancing towards maturity, and
" becoming more and more captivated with music, he began
" seriously to study it, as an art, first by learning to sing, and
" afterwards by applying himself to the practice of instru-
" ments, particularly the Organ, which he soon played, with-
" out ever having seen the keys, in so masterly and sweet a
" manner, as astonished every hearer. Indeed his superiority
" was soon acknowledged so unanimously, that, by the com-
" mon consent of all the musicians of his time, he was pub-
" licly honoured at Venice with the laurel crown for his per-
" formance on the organ, before the king of Cyprus and the
" duke of Venice, in the manner of a poet laureat. Cieco
" died in 1390, and is buried in the church of St. Laurence."

Christopher Landino, in his commentary upon Dante, after telling us (*i*) that music had long been cultivated in Florence, and that Francesco Cieco, his grandfather's brother, had been indemnified for the loss of sight by the superior perfection of his ear; gives the same account of his coronation as Philip Villani had done. " But, adds Landino, we have seen and
" heard in our own times (*k*) the celebrated Antonio, sirnamed
" *dagl' Organi*, of whom it may be said that, as many persons
" went from Cadiz, the remotest part of Spain, to Rome, in
" order to see the historian Livy; so many most excellent
" musicians have come from England, and the most distant
" regions of the North: crossing the sea, Alps, and Appe-
" nines, in order to hear the performance of Antonio."

(*i*) *Apologia, nella quale si difende Dante e Firenze da' falsi Caluniatori.*

(*k*) The first edit. of Landino's Comment. on Dante was published in 1481.

Among

Among the Harleian MSS. in the British Museum (*l*), there is a very ample Treatise on Music, in Latin, which by several internal marks appears to have been written in Italy, about the latter end of the fourteenth century. The Rubric titles of chapters and initials in this beautiful MS. are very neatly written, as are the Diagrams, in ink of different colours, but chiefly red and blue. There are some of them written on vellum, but the text is on a thick, silky paper, called *Bombyx*. If there were no other proofs of the time when this tract was transcribed, it would be nearly ascertained by the numerous abbreviations, and the oblique stroke instead of the point over the letter i, which prevailed for near a century before the invention of printing.

The title of this MS. of which there is likewise a copy in the Vatican library (*m*), is the following: *Libellus Musicales de ritu canendi vetustissimo et novo*, pr. *Omnium quidem artium etsi varia sit introductio ducit.*—It consists of two parts: the first is divided into three books, which treat, first, of plain Song; second, of the Division of the Monochord; third, of Concords and their species, as well as of the Ecclesiastical Tropes or Modes. The second part likewise contains three books: In the first, the author explains the manner in which the ancient fathers taught music by the mere Letters of the Alphabet; the second treats of Solmisation; and the third of the mixture of voices, vulgarly called Counterpoint.

Though this tract, in the Vatican library, as well as the British Museum, is said to be anonymous, yet, by an entire and attentive perusal, it is discovered from the work itself, to have been written by John the Carthusian of Mantua (*n*). The author himself telling us (*o*) that he was born at Namur, where

(*l*) 6525.

(*m*) No. 5904.

(*n*) *Gallia namque me genuit et fecit Cantorem, Italia vero qualemcumque sub Victorino Feltrensi viro tam literis Græcis quam Latinis affatim imbuto Grammaticum & Musicum,* Mantua *tamen Italiæ civitas indignum Carthusiæ Monachum.* Pars. 1 ma. lib. 3.

(*o*) *Paris ii. lib. 3. cap. 12.*

he

learned to sing, but that it was under his excellent master Victorinus of Feltri, that he studied Boethius, whose writings are the pure fountain, and acquired a real knowledge of music.

He mentions Marchetto di Padua as the first who had written upon any other genus than the Diatonic, since the time of Boethius; and speaks of him as having flourished about a century before: that is, about the latter end of the thirteenth century. But though he does not subscribe to his doctrines, this passage will nearly point out the time when John the Carthusian produced the treatise under consideration, as the writings of Marchetto, which are preserved in the Vatican, are dated 1274, and 1283 (*p*). Franchinus (*q*), in a musical controversy with Spataro, about the beginning of the sixteenth century, cites our author, as a censurer of Marchetto, by the title of Joannes Carthusinus.

Besides the usual information which still more ancient treatises furnish, there are many curious points of musical history and erudition cleared up in this MS. particularly the characters used by Hubald and Odo, which though at the first glance they seem but little to differ from each other, yet, upon a careful examination, some specific difference is observable in the form of each. And the Carthusian gives a triple scale or gamut, expressed in notes on the lines and spaces, in the letters of the alphabet, and in the characters of Hubald and Odo, which were used in the Greek and Latin church before the time of Guido. But as this tract, which includes almost all the knowledge of the art and science of music, which subsisted at the time it was written, is in our own country, and accessible, I shall extend my description of it no farther.

The next Italian theorist, whose writings have been preserved, is PROSDOCIMO DI BELDEMANDIS. This author's commentary on the *Practica Mensurabilis Cantus*

(*p*) *Vide supra*, p. 162.

(*q*) *apolog. Adversus* Jo. Spatarium.

of John de Muris has been already mentioned (*r*). However, a tract upon Counterpoint (*s*), of which I procured a transcript from the Vatican library, deserves particular notice here, as it was written in the year 1412, when those rules for the combination of sounds began to be established, upon which, in less than a century, many compositions were produced, which still subsist, and which, if performed, would still afford pleasure to the lovers of pure and simple harmony.

This tract, which is comprised in about sixteen folio pages, is drawn up with the method, clearness, and precision of an author who is master of his subject, and accustomed to write.

The initial sentence is: *Scribit Aristotiles Secundo elenchorum cap. ultimo, facile fore inventis addere.* After declaring that he pretends not to give rules of his own invention, but to explain those already established, he proceeds to define Counterpoint, simple, and florid. After which he gives a catalogue of musical intervals, concords, discords, and their octaves, with the number of semitones in each.

But as his rules differ but little from those of John de Muris (*t*), and as we shall soon have more ample and comprehensive treatises to examine, I shall only select from this author an account of what he and the harmonists of early times call *Musica Ficta.*

The ecclesiastical modes which were so rigidly confined to the Diatonic scale as to admit of no semitones but those from *e* to *f*, *a* to *b* flat, and *b* natural to *c*, were so religiously observed, even in Secular Music, that the use of any other was regarded as heterodox and licentious; and it was not till the beginning of the present century that transposed keys, as they are still frequently called, became general.

(*r*) P. 203.

(*s*) *Contrapunctus Magistri Prosdocimi de Beldemandis Patavini.* Ex. MS. Vat. 5321. fol. 8.

(*t*) See above, p. 208.

Philip

Philip de Vitry, or Vitriaco, is the first author who speaks of this deviation from the natural scale, which he says is placing semitones where they ought *not* to be, and calls it *Musica Falsa* (*u*). John Tincter says, it is using such intervals as are *not* to be found in the Harmonic Hand (x); and Franchinus, calls it *Musica ficta, seu colorata*, from the *chromatic* semitones that are used in it. By other old writers it is denominated *conjuntca* and *alterata*; but Prosdocimo, who bestows three or four pages on the subject, proves it to imply nothing more than music in which flats and sharps are necessary (*y*). In the examples given by this author, the character for a sharp, or artificial semitone, ascending, differed but little from the B *quadrum*, or square B, ♮, which we now call a natural, and which by raising B-flat half a tone, was long used to render other sounds a semitone more acute. Prosdocimo's sharp was a Gothic square B, or imperfect natural with four points in the centre, which resembles the character for expressing an ascending chromatic semitone in the Vatican MS. of Marchetto. But enough has been said of the elements and state of music and poetry in Italy during the period included in this chapter; it is now time to trace their progress in our own country.

* * * * * * * * *

Whoever reads the history of the most ancient inhabitants of this island, the CAMBRO-BRITONS, will find innumerable instances of the reverence which they paid to their poet-musicians, the bards, both of Pagan and Christian times; and songs of very high antiquity have been preserved in the Welsh language, though not all the tunes to which they were

(*u*) *Aliquando per* falsam Musicam *facimus semitonium uti non debet esse.* Cap. de Semiton.

(*x*) Ficta Musica *est cantus præter regularem manus traditionem editus.*

(*y*) Ficta Musica *est vocum fictio, sive positio in loco ubi esse non videntur, sicut ponere* mi *ubi non est* mi, *et* fa *ubi non est* fa *et sic de ultra.*

sung.

sung. The Harp, with which these songs used to be accompanied, was in such general favour in WALES, as to be regarded among the possessions necessary to constitute a gentleman (*z*). The most ancient Welsh poetry that is now intelligible was written about the year 1100, and some of the tunes that are preserved in the late Mr. Morris's MS. which were transcribed from the music-book of William Penllin, the harper in queen Elizabeth's time, are supposed by Dr. Davies (*a*) to be coeval with the verses to which they were sung, when he composed his Grammar and Catalogue of ancient Cambro-British songs. Unluckily the notation, or tablature, in which these tunes have been written, is so uncommon and difficult to reduce to modern characters (*b*), that though the gravity or acuteness of the several notes can be ascertained, yet their lengths, or duration, cannot be established with any degree of certainty, by any rule which I have been yet able to devise; however, in a future chapter, when National Music becomes the principal subject of discussion, a farther investigation of these characters will be attempted.

* * * * * * * * *

The harp was no less in favour with the Saxons and Danes than with the Britons; and historians never fail to point out the fragments of heroic songs which were sung to it for the victory obtained by Athelstan in 938, and on the death of Edgar 975, which are recorded in the Saxon Chronicle. Nor is the Saxon poet Cœdmon, of whom Venerable Bede makes such honourable mention, forgotten, any more than the musical abilities of our great Alfred, and the romantic use he made of them, in gaining admission as a harper, or minstrel, into the Danish camp.

(*z*) *Leges Wallicæ.*
(*a*) *In Præf. ad Gram. Brit.*
(*b*) See above p. 112, where a specimen of this notation is given.

The

The northern annals abound with pompous accounts of the honours conferred on music by princes who were themselves proficients in the art, and the Cambro-British institutes, with laws and privileges in favour of its professors. As the first musician, or Bard, was the eighth officer in dignity at the court of the Welsh kings, and had a place in the royal hall next to the steward of the household, so the respect and dignity with which Bards in general were treated about this time, in all the courts of Europe, were equal to those which Homer tells us their predecessors, Demodocus and Phemius, enjoyed in Greece. Music was now a regal accomplishment, as we find by all the ancient metrical romances and heroic narrations in the new formed languages of the times; and to sing to the Harp was necessary to a perfect prince, and complete hero.

Eustace, or Wace, the author of *Le Brut d'Angleterre*, or the Metrical History of Brutus, the pretended founder of the British nation, represents Gabbet, one of our kings, as the most able musician of his time: one who

De tous estrumens sot maistrie
Si sot de toute chanterie,
Molt sot de lais, molt sot de notes, &c.

Ev'ry instrument could play,
And in sweetest manner sing,
Chanting forth each kind of lay,
To the sound of pipe or string.

The poet afterwards specifies six of the instruments upon which the British monarch could perform, in the following rhymes:

De vieles sot et de rote,
De harpe sot et de chorum,
De lire, et de psalterium:
Por ce qu'il ot de chant tel sens,
Disoient la gent en son tems,
Que il est dieux des jongliours,
Et dieux de tous les chanteours, &c.

He to *psaltry, viot, rote,*
Chorus, harp, and *lyre* could sing;
And so sweet was ev'ry note
When he touch'd the trembling string,
That with love and zeal inflam'd,
All who join'd the list'ning throng,
Him with ecstacy proclaim'd
God of minstrels, god of song.

But it is ever with Music as with other arts,

" The less the public understand
" The more they admire the slight of hand (*c*).

The first Greek musicians were Gods; the second, Heroes; the third, Bards; the fourth, Beggars! During the early times of music, in every country, the wonder and affections of the people have been gained by surprize; but when musicians became numerous, and the art was regarded of easier acquirement, they lost their favour, and from being seated at the tables of kings, and helped to the first cut, they were reduced to the most abject state, and ranked among rogues and vagabonds.

The fluctuating favour of minstrelsy in ENGLAND very much resembles that of France, of which the reader has already had an account in the present chapter: I shall, however, give a summary of its progress and encouragement during the first dawning of our literature, avoiding every circumstance that does not necessarily appertain to my subject; for the formation of our language as been so amply traced by Dr. Johnson, in the History of it prefixed to his Dictionary, that I have neither courage nor inclination to meddle with it; and the late judicious and diligent enquiries into the early state of our poetry, by Dr. Percy, Mr. Warton, and the Editor of Chaucer's Canterbury Tales, have left me no excuse for entering upon *that* ground, unless in pursuit of my own game. But though I may sometimes have hunted on the same manor as these excellent literary sportsmen, and during the chace have accidentally *run into them*; yet the chief objects of our pursuits have been extremely different. Indeed Music and Poetry, during the infancy of their cultivation, in every country, are so closely connected, that it is impossible to speak of one without the other; yet in proportion as those arts advance towards perfection, they will not only become more and more independent, but have a

(*c*) See vol. i. p. 183.

legislation

legislation and a language of their own, which will severally furnish their historians with sufficient employment, without seeming to encroach upon each other.

We are certain that British Harpers were famous long before the Conquest, and the bounty of our first Norman sovereign to his *Joculator*, or Bard, is recorded in Doomsday-book (*d*); nor should that of Henry the Third be forgotten, who, in the thirty-sixth year of his reign, not only gave forty shillings and a pipe of wine to Richard, his Harper, but another pipe of wine to Beatrice, the Harper's wife (*e*). All our most ancient poems, whatever was their length, were sung to the harp on Sundays and on public festivals (*f*). Yet in the legendary life of St. Christopher (*g*), written about the year 1200, we find mention made of the fiddle:

——Cristofre hym served longe;
The kynge loved melodye of *fithele* and of songe (*h*).

The harp however seems for many ages to have been the favourite instrument of the inhabitants of this island, whether under British, Saxon, Danish, or Norman kings. Many disgraceful circumstances are blazoned of the poor Minstrels; it is therefore but just to relate those that redounded to their honour, and the Chronicle of Walter Heming (*i*) furnishes an incident that well deserves to be recorded.

Edward the First, according to this historian, about the year 1271, a short time before he ascended the throne, took his

(*l*) GLOUCESTERSCIRE. Berdie, *Joculator Regis, habet* iii *Villas et ibi* v. *car. nil redd.* See Anstis, Ord. Gart. ii. 304.

(*e*) *Rot. Pip. an.* 36 *Hen. III. Et in uno dolio vini empto et dato Magistro Richardo Citharistæ Regis, xl. sol. per. Br. Reg. Et. in uno dolio empto et dato Beatrici uxori ejusdem Ricardi.*

(*f*) See Warton's Hist. Engl. Poetry, vol. i. p. 12. 18. and elsewhere.

(*g*) MS. Vernon, Bodl. Lib. f. 119.

(*h*) Skinner derives the Anglo Saxon word *fithele*, from VEDEL and *vedele, vele*, Dutch, *Fioline* Germ. and all from *Fidicula*, Lat.

(*i*) Cap. xxxv. p. 591. apud. v. *Histor. Anglic. Scriptor.* vol. ii. Oxon. 1687. Fol.

harper

harper with him to the Holy Land; and this musician must have been a close and constant attendant on his master, for when Edward was wounded with a poisoned knife at Ptolemais; the harper, *Citharœda suus*, hearing the struggle, rushed into the royal apartment, and killed the assasin (*k*).

The learned and pious Grosteste, bishop of Lincoln, who died in 1253, is said, in some verses of Robert de Brunne, who flourished about the beginning of the next century, to have been very fond of the metre and music of the Minstrels. The good prelate had written a poem in the Romanse language, called *Manuel Peche*, which Robert de Brunne translated into English, with a design, as he tells us himself, that it should be sung to the harp at public entertainments.

For lewed (*l*) men I undertoke
In Englishe tonge to make this boke,
For many beyn of suche manere
That talys and rymys wyle blithly here,
In gamys and festy's at the ale
Love men to listene trotonale (*m*).

The following anecdote concerning the love which his author, bishop Grosteste had for music, seems to merit a place here, though it is related in rude rhymes.

Y shall you tell as I have herd
Of the byshop Seynt Roberd,
Hys toname (*n*) is Grosteste
Of Lyncolne, so leyth the geste,
He loved moche to here the *Harpe*,
For mans witte yt makyth sharpe.

(*k*) This signal service from his Bard did not however incline the monarch afterwards to spare his brethren in Wales. See Grey's Ode,

Ruin seize thee, ruthless king!"

(*l*) Laymen, ignorant.
(*m*) Truth and all.
(*n*) Surname.

Next

Next hys chamber, besyde his study,
Hys Harper's chamber was fast the by.
Many tymes, by nightes and dayes,
He had solace of notes and layes,
One askede hem the reson why
He hadde delyte in Mynstrelsy?
He answerde hym on this manere
Why he helde the *Harpe* so dere.
" The virtu of the *Harpe*, thurgh skyle and ryght,
" Wyll destrye the fendys *(o)* myght;
" And to the cros by gode skeyl
" Ys the *Harpe* ylykened weyl.
" Thirefore, gode men, ye shall lere,
" When ye any *Gleman (p)* here,
" To worshepe God at your power,
" And Davyd in the Sauter *(q)*.
" Yn harpe and tabour and *symphan (r)* gle
" Worship God in trumpes and sautre:
" In cordes, yn *organes*, and bells ringyng,
" Yn all these worship the hevene Kyng, &c."

In pursuing the history of English Minstrels I am frequently obliged to recount circumstances which have lately been rendered familiar to many of my readers; but these circumstances are such as seem so naturally to belong to my work, that those who peruse it would have cause to complain, should they be put to the trouble of seeking them elsewhere. There are certain events which every writer *must* relate, however they may have lost the charms of novelty by frequent repetition; for by omitting them he would be equally absurd with that historian, who in writing the annals of Charles the First, should suppress the

(*o*) Fiends, the *devils*.
(*p*) Harper, minstrel.
(*q*) Psalter.
(*r*) Symphony.

circumstance of that unfortunate prince's decapitation, because it has been already so often related *(s)*.

A singular privilege granted to itinerant musicians of the lowest class, during the time of Chester fair, is of this kind, and though well known is too important to be omitted.

The Midsummer fair at Chester, from the vicinity of that city to Ireland and Wales, has long supported its reputation by the amusement it affords to the neighbouring gentry, and the profits accruing to traders, who assemble there from all parts of his majesty's dominions. The institution of this fair is traced up to the time of Edward the Confessor, when Leofric, earl of Chester, among other grants in favour of the abbey of St. Werburg, in that city, established a fair on the festival to the saint to whom it was dedicated, and in his honour ordained that the persons of whatever vagabonds, or even culprits, should assemble there during that solemnity, should be safe, provided they were guilty of no new offence.

Which special privilege, say the authors from whom I extract the following account *(t)*, as in process of time it drew an extraodinary confluence of loose people thither at that season, so it happened to be of singular advantage to Randal, one of the succeeding earls; who, in 1212, during the reign of king John, being suddenly besieged by the Welsh in Rhydland, or Rothelan castle, in Flintshire, was relieved, rather by their number and appearance than prowess, under the conduct of Robert de Lacy, constable of Chester, who, with pipers and other kinds of ministrels assembled them together, and marching towards the castle, so terrified the Welsh that they instantly fled. "In memory of which notable exploit, that famous "meeting of such minstrels hath been duly continued to every

(*s*) A French writer, M. de la Beaumelle, says of his *bons mots*; that though they have been often said, they are still good things to say. *Mes Pensees.*

(*t*) See Dugdale's Baronage, vol. i. p. 42. 101. Sir Peter Leycester's Antiq. of Cheshire, part ii. chap. 6. but chiefly Daniel King's Vale Royal of Eng. illustrated, part ii. p. 29.

"Mid-

" Midsummer fair, at which time the heir of Hugh de Dut-
" ton, accompanied with diverse gentleman, having a penon
" of his arms born before him by one of the principal Min-
" strels, who also weareth his surtout, first rideth up to the east
" gate of the city, and there causing proclamation to be made
" that all the Musicians and Minstrels within the County Pa-
" latine of Chester do approach and play before him. Pre-
" sently so attended he rideth to St. John's Church, and hav-
" ing heard Solemn Service, proceedeth to the place for keep-
" ing of his court, where the steward having called every
" Minstrel, impanelleth a jury, and giveth his charge: first,
" to enquire of any treason against the King or Prince (as
" Earl of Chester); secondly, whether any man of that pro-
" fession hath 'exercised his Instrument' without licence from
" the lord of that court, or what misdemeanour he is guilty
" of; and thirdly, whether they have heard any language
" amongst their fellows, tending to the dishonour of their
" lord and patron, the heir of Dutton. Which privilege was
" anciently so granted by John de Lacy, Constable of Chester,
" son and heir to the before specified Roger, unto John de
" Dutton and his heirs, by a special charter in these words,
" *Magisterium omnia liccatorum et meretricum totius Cestrishire*,
" And hath been thus exercised time out of mind."

This privilege has been confirmed to the Dutton family in a statute so late as the 17th of George the II. cap. 5. where exceptions are made in favour of him and his heirs "con-
" cerning the liberty, privilege, pre-eminence, authority, ju-
" risdiction, or inheritance, which they, their heirs or as-
" signs now lawfully use, or have, or lawfully may or ought
" to use within the county palatine of Chester, and county
" of Chester, or either of them, by reason of any ancient
" charters of any kings of this land, or by reason of any
" prescription or lawful usage or title whatsoever."

Dr.

Dr. Plot, in his History of Staffordshire, has minutely related the origin and effects of another ancient and curious though barbarous privilege in favour of English Minstrels, granted by John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, at his castle of Tutbury in the year 1381, at the inauguration of the first English King of the Minstrels (*u*).

The account is long, and yet I should be unwilling to abridge it, though I can but ill spare the room it will occupy.

"During the time of which ancient earls and dukes of Lancaster, who were ever of the blood royal, great men in their time, and had their abode, and kept a liberal hospitality here, at their honour of Tutbury, there could not but be a general concourse of people from all parts hither; for whose diversion all sorts of Musicians were permitted likewise to come to pay their services; amongst whom, being numerous, some quarrels and disorders now and then arising, it was found necessary, after a while, they should be brought under rules, divers laws being made for the better regulating of them, and a governour appointed them by the name of a KING, who had several officers under him to see the execution of those laws, full power being granted them to apprehend and arrest any such Minstrels appertaining to the said honour, as should refuse to do their services in due manner, and to constrain them to do them; as appears by the charter granted to the said King of the Minstrels, by John of Gaunt, King of Castile and Leon, and Duke of Lancaster, bearing date the 22d of

(*u*) Du Cange gives several more early instances of Minstrels having arrived at the honour of sovereignty in France: particularly *Jean Charmillons Rex Juglatorum* at Troyes in Champagne, 1296. *Robert Cavaron, Roi des Menestriers du Royaume de France,* 1338; and others in 1357, and 1362. *Copin de Brequin Roi des Menestriers du Royaume de France. Computum de auxiliis pro redemptione Regis Johannis,* A. D. 1367. *Pour une COURONNE D'ARGENT quil donna le Jour de la Tiphaine au Roi des Menestriers.* And one about six years later than John of Gaunt's institution is mentioned in Rymer, tom. VII. p. 555, where John Caunz, King of the Minstrels, condescends to supplicate for leave to visit foreign countries.

August, in the 4th year of the reign of King Richard II. entituled *Carta le Roy de Minstralae*, which being written in old French, I have here translated, and annexed it to this discourse, for the more universal notoriety of the thing, and for satisfaction how the power of the King of the Minstrels, and his officers is founded; which take as follows:

"John, by the grace of God, King of Castile and Leon, "Duke of Lancaster, to all them who shall see or hear these "our letters, greeting—Know ye, we have ordained, consti- "tuted, and assigned to our well-beloved the King of the "Minstrels in our honour of Tutbury, who is, or for the time "shall be, to apprehend and arrest all the Minstrels in our "said honour and franchise, that refuse to do the services and "Minstrelsy as appertain to them to do from ancient times at "Tutbury aforesaid, yearly on the days of the Assumption of "our Lady; giving and granting to the said King of the "Minstrels for the time being, full power and commandment "to make them reasonably to justify, and to constrain them "to do their services, and Minstrelsies, in manner as belong- "eth to them, and as it hath been there, and of ancient "times accustomed. In witness of which thing we have "caused these our letters to be made patent. Given under "our privy seal, at our castle of Tutbury, the 22d day of "August, in the 4th year of the reign of the most sweet King "Richard the II."

"Upon this, in process of time, the defaulters being many, and the amercements by the officers perhaps not sometimes over-reasonable, concerning which, and other matters, controversies frequently arising; it was at last found necessary that a court should be erected to hear plaints, and determine controversies between party and party, before the steward of the honour, which is held there to this day on the morrow after the Assumption, being the 16th day of August; on which day they now also do all the services mentioned in the abovesaid

grant, and have the bull due to them anciently from the Prior of Tutbury, now from the Earl of Devon; whereas they had it formerly on the Assumption of our Lady, as appears by an *Inspeximus* of King Henry the VI. relating to the customs of Tutbury, where amongst others, this of the bull is mentioned in these words: "Item est ibidem quædam consuetudo quod histriones venientes ad matutinas in festa Assumptionis beatæ Mariæ, habebunt unum *Taurum* de Priore de Tuttebury, si ipsum capere possunt citra aquam Dove propinquiorem Tuttebury; vel prior dabit eis 40d. proqua quidam consuetudine dabuntur domino ad dictum festum annuatim 20d." i. e. that there is a certain custom belonging to the honour of Tutbury, that the Minstrels who came to Matins there on the feast of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin, shall have a bull given them by the prior of Tutbury, if they can take him on this side of the river Dove, which is next Tutbury; or else the prior shall give them 40d. for the enjoyment of which custom they shall give to the lord, at the said feast, yearly 20d.

"Thus, I say, the services of the Minstrels were performed, and privileges of the Bull enjoyed anciently on the feast of the Assumption; but now they are done and had in the manner following: on the court day, or morrow of the Assumption, being the 16th of August, what time all the Minstrels within the honour come first to the bailiff's house of the manor of Tutbury (who is now the earl of Devonshire), where the steward for the court to be holden for the King, as Duke of Lancaster (who is now the Duke of Ormond), or his deputy meeting them, they shall go from thence to the parish church of Tutbury, two and two together, music playing before them, the King of the Minstrels for the year past, walking between the steward and the bailiff, or their deputies; the four stewards or under officers of the said King of the Minstrels, each with a white wand in their hands, immediately following them, and then the rest of the company in order. Being come

come to the church, the vicar reads them divine service, choosing psalms and lessons suitable to the occasion. The Psalms when I was there, An. 1680, being the 98th, 149th, 150th; the first Lesson 2 Chron. V; and the second the Vth. chap. of the Epistle to the Ephesians, to the 22d verse. For which service every Minstrel offered one penny, as a due always paid to the vicar of the church of Tutbury, upon this solemnity.

" Service being ended, they proceed in like manner as before from the church to the castle hall or court; where the steward, or his deputy, taketh his place, assisted by the Bailiff or his deputy, the King of the Minstrels sitting between them; who is to oversee that every Minstrel dwelling within the honour and making default, shall be presented and amerced; which that he may the better do—An *O Yes*, is then made by one of the officers, being a minstrel, three times, giving notice by direction from the steward, to all manner of Minstrels dwelling within the honour of Tutbury, viz. within the counties of Stafford, Derby, Nottingham, Leicester, and Warwick, owing suit and service to his Majesty's Court of Musick here holden as this day, that every man draw near and give his attendance upon pain and peril that may otherwise ensue; and that if any man will be essoined of suit or plea, he, or they, should come in, and they should be heard. Then all the Musicians being called over by a court-roll, two juries are impanelled, out of twenty-four of the sufficientest of them, twelve for Staffordshire, and twelve for the other counties; whose names being delivered in court to the steward, and called over, and appearing to be full juries, the foreman of each is sworn, and then the residue, as is usual in other courts upon the Holy Evangelists.—Then, to move them the better to mind their duties to the King, and their own good, the steward proceeds to give them their charge: first commending to their consideration the original of all music, both wind and string

string music, the antiquity and excellency of both, setting forth the force of it upon the affections, by divers examples; how the use of it has always been allowed (as is plain from Holy Writ) in praising and glorifying God; and the skill in it always esteemed so considerable, that it is still accounted in the schools one of the liberal arts, and allowed in all Godly Christian commonwealths; where by the way he commonly takes notice of the statute, which reckons some Musicians amongst rogues and vagabonds, giving them to understand that such societies as theirs, thus legally founded and governed by laws, are by no means intended by that statute, for which reason the Minstrels belonging to the manor of Dutton, in the county palatine of Chester, are expressly excepted in that act. Exhorting them upon this account, to preserve their reputation, to be very careful to make choice of such men to be officers amongst them, as fear God, are of good life and conversation, and have knowledge and skill in the practice of their art. Which charge being ended, the jurors proceed to the election of the said officers, the King being to be chosen out of the four stewards of the preceeding year, and one year out of Staffordshire, and two out of Derbyshire, three being chosen by the jurors, and the four by him that keeps the court, and the deputy steward, or clerk.

"The jurors departing the court for this purpose, leave the steward with his associates still in their places, who in the mean time make themselves merry with a banquet, and a noise of musicians playing to them, the old King still sitting between the steward and bailiff as before; but returning again after a competent time, they present first their chiefest officer by the name of their King; then the old King arising from his place, delivereth him a little white wand in token of his sovereignty, and then takiug a cup filled with wine, drinketh to him, wishing him all joy, and prosperity in his office. In the like manner do the old stewards to the new, and then the

the old King riseth, and the new taketh his place, and so do the new stewards of the old, who have full power and authority by virtue of the king's steward's warrant, directed from the said court, to levy and destrain in any city, town corporate, or in any place within the king's dominions, all such fines and amercements as are inflicted by the said juries that day upon any Minstrel, for his or their offences, committed in the breach of any of their ancient orders, made for the good rule and government of the said society. For which said fines and amercements so destrained or otherwise peaceably collected, the said stewards are accountable at every audit; one moiety of them going to the king's majesty, and the other the said stewards have for their own use.

"The election, &c. being thus concluded, the court riseth, and all persons then repair to another fair room, within the castle, where a plentiful dinner is prepared for them, which being ended, the Minstrels went anciently to the abbey-gate, now to a little barn by the town-side, in acceptance of the Bull to be turned forth to them, which was formerly done (according to the custom above mentioned) by the prior of Tutbury, now by the earl of Devonshire; which Bull, as soon as his horns are cut off, his ears cropt, his tail cut by the stumple, all his body smeared over with sope, and his nose blown full of beaten pepper; in short, being made as mad as it is possible for him to be. After solemn proclamation made by the steward that all manner of persons give way to the Bull, none being to come near him by forty feet, any way to hinder the Minstrels, but to attend his or their own safeties, every one at his peril. He is then forthwith turned out to them (anciently by the prior) now by the lord Devonshire, or his deputy, to be taken by them, and none other, within the county of Stafford, between the time of his being turned out to them, and the setting of the sun the same day; which if they cannot do, but the bull escapes from them untaken, and

gets over the river into Derbyshire, he remains still my lord Devonshire's Bull; but if the said Minstrels can take him, and hold him so long, as to cut off but some small matter of his hair, and bring the same to the Mercat cross, in token they have taken him, the said bull is then brought to the Bayliff's house in Tutbury, and there collared and roped, and so brought to the bull-ring in the high street, and there baited with dogs. The first course being allotted for the King; the second for the honour of the town; and the third for the King of the Minstrels; which after it is done, the said Minstrels are to have him for their own, and may sell or kill and divide him amongst them, according as they shall think good.

"And thus this rustic sport, which they call the bull-running, should be annually performed by the Minstrels only, but now a-days they are assisted by the promiscuous multitude, that flock hither in great numbers, and are much pleased with it, though sometimes, through the emulation in point of manhood, that has been long cherished between the Staffordshire and Derbyshire men, perhaps as much mischief may have been done in the trial between them, as in the *Jeu de Taureau*, or bull-fighting, practised at Valentia, Madrid, and many other places in Spain, whence perhaps this our custom of bull-running might be derived, and set up here by John of Gaunt, who was King of Castile and Leon, and lord of the honour of Tutbury; for why might not we receive this sport from the Spaniards, as well as they from the Romans, and the Romans from the Greeks? Wherein I am the more confirmed, for that the Ταυροκαθηψιων ημερας amongst the Thessalians, who instituted this game, and of whom Julius Cæsar learned it, and brought it to Rome, were celebrated much about the same time of the year our bull-running is, viz. *pridie Idus Augusti*, on the 12th of August; which perhaps John of Gaunt, in honour of the Assumption of our Lady, being but three days after, might remove to the 15th, as af-

ter-

ter-ages did (that all the solemnity and court might be kept on the same day, to avoid farther trouble) to the 16th of August." (x)

Every lover of Minstrelsy must shudder at the name of Edward the First, who so cruelly extirpated the patriotic Bards of Wales; but patriots are at all times, perhaps, troublesome to kings, and this martial and political prince seems to have limited his persecution of Bards to the principality of Wales, for we are told that in England a MULTITUDE of MINSTRELS attended at his court at the solemn ceremony of knighting his son (y).

However, in 1315, during the reign of Edward the Second, such extensive privileges were claimed by the Minstrels, and so many dissolute persons assumed their character, that their conduct became a public grievance, which it was thought necessary to reform by the following express regulation, which a few years after was imitated in France (z).

"Edward by the grace of God, &c. to sheriffes, &c. "greeting. Forasmuch as . . . many idle persons, under co- "lour of MINSTRELSY, and going in messages and other "faigned business, have ben and yet be received in other mens "houses to meate and drynke, and be not therewith con- "tented yf they be not largely consydered with gyftes of the "lordes of the houses, &c . . . We wylling to restrayne suche "outrageous enterprises and idlenes, &c. have ordeyned . . . "that to the houses of prelates, earls, and barons none re- "sort to meate and drynke, unlesse he be a Mynstrel, and of "these Mynstrels that there come none except it be three or "four MYNSTRELS OF HONOUR at the most in one day, "unlesse he be desired of the lorde of the house. And to the "houses of meaner men that none come unlesse he be de-

(x) Plott's History of Staffordshire, chap. x. sect. 69.

(y) —— *Eodem die cum sedisset rex in mensa, novis militibus circumdatus, ingressa MINSTRELLORUM MULTITUDO, &c.* Vide Nic. Triveti Annales, Oxon. 1719, 8vo. p. 342.

(z) See above, p. 273.

"sired;

" sired; and that such as shall come so, holde themselves con-
" tented with meate and drynke, and with such curtesie as
" the maister of the house wyl shewe unto them of his owne
" good wyl, without their askyng of any thyng. And yf
" any one do against this ordinuance, at the firste tyme he to
" lose his MINSTRELSIE, and at the second tyme to for-
" sweare his craft, and never to be receaved for a MYNSTREL
" in any house . . . Yeven at Langley the 6th day of August,
" in the 9th yere of our raigne *(a)*."

Stowe, in giving an estimate of the annual expences of the earl of Lancaster about this time, assigns a very considerable sum for the liveries of the Minstrels *(b)*.

The same writer *(c)* in giving an account of a mummery exhibition for the entertainment of the young prince Richard, son to the Black Prince, on the Sunday before Candlemas, 1377, tells us that " in the night, one hundred and thirty citizens,
" disguised and well horsed, in a mummery, with sound of
" Trumpets, Sackbuts, Cornets, Shalmes, and other Minstrels,
" and innumerable torch lights of waxe, rode from Newgate
" through Cheape, over the Bridge through Southwarke, and
" so to Kennington besides Lambeth, where the young prince
" remained with his mother, and the duke of Lancaster, his uncle,
" the earles of Cambridge, Hertford, Warwicke, and Suffolke,
" with divers other lords."

The instruments just mentioned, if well played, were suitable to a public *procession*, though they would be rather too powerful in a room; but a good Concert or Chorus might be made out from the vocal and instrumental parts mentioned in the Romanse of the *Squire of low Degree*, written before the time of Chaucer, and consequently about the period of Richard the Second's minority. The king of Hungary, in

(*a*) Hearne's Append. ad Lelandi Collectan. vol. vi. p. 36.

(*b*) Survey of London, edit. of 1618, p. 134. (*c*) P. 148.

order

order to console his daughter for the loss of her paramour. says,

> Ye shall have *Harpe*, *Sautry*, and *Songe*
> And other mirthes you amonge.

And after promising her wine, sweetmeats, and field sports, returning to Music, he adds:

> Than shal ye go to your evensong
> With *Tenours* and *Trebles* among—
> Your quere nor *Organ* Songe shal want
> With *Countre* note and dyscaunt
> The other halfe on Orgayns playing
> With young children ful fayn singing—

From these materials a Band and even Orchestra might be formed equal to the execution of almost every species of Composition where Violins are not wanted, especially as he afterwards throws in a couple of wind instruments: "the Trumpets and Claryowne."

So that we have now

Treble voices, *Counter-tenour*, and *Tenour*,

With the Harp, Psaltry, Trumpet, Clarion, and Organ, for accompaniment.

We are now arrived at an important period of English Literature, when CHAUCER, the father of our genuine poetry, augmented our vocabulary, polished our numbers, and enriched our knowledge with acquisitions from France and Italy, that were, perhaps, more useful to our country than the gold to Spain, which was poured into it by the first discoveries of Mexico and Peru. Literary plunder seems the most innocent kind of depredation that can be made upon our neighbours: as they are deprived of nothing but what they can well spare, and which it is neither dishonourable to lose, nor disgraceful to take.

It is in vain to dissemble the wretched state of our literature arts, manufactures, and commerce, before the 16th century. So many ages had passed in subjection to the different powers which had invaded us from the continent: Romans, Saxons, Danes, and Normans, enslaving us by turns, had found us other employments than the care of refining our language, or cultivating the arts of peace: and when we had freed ourselves from these chains, and might be said to have a language and king of our own, the fatal factions into which we were divided during the struggles between the houses of York and Lancaster stopped improvements in all the arts, except those of vengeance, carnage, and desolation!

This accounts for the slow progress of science and of every art which is fostered by tranquility, and matured by encouragement; and whoever looks into the history of printing in this country, will be surprised, and, if an Englishman, perhaps mortified, to find how few original works in our vernacular tongue issued from the press for more than fifty years after its invention: the chief part of the books that were printed by *Caxton* and *Wynken de Werde*, our first Typographers, being Latin, French, or Translation (*d*).

If the Romances of chivalry in verse and prose, which concern the story of Arthur and his Knights of the Round Table, did not come originally to us from France, but were carried thither by the fugitive Britons who took refuge in Armorica or Britany, I fear our Saxon ancestors in after-times had them back again from their Gallic neighbours, through the medium of the French language; for from our long dependance on France, from the Norman partiality, and indeed from the fashion of the times, which inclined all Europe to make the Romanse, or rising French language, the general vehicle of literature, almost all our early productions, particularly metrical

(*d*) See Ames's Typograph. Antiq. Lond. 1749.

Romances, were Translations from the French. But there is the less disgrace in this acknowledgement, as it has been the case with all other countries. The French themselves began to try their force in their own language by translations from the Latin, when it was just wearing out as a living language in their own country, as we did from French, under the like circumstances. The Germans have but lately formed themselves upon French models, from Translation; the Spaniards are now in the act. If our first literature was derived from France, our second was from Italy; and our third and that of the present times has been drawn from still purer sources, the classics; from which doubtless the most enlightened and polished nations of Europe are likewise drawing as well as ourselves. A literary intercourse with our neighbours will therefore be reciprocally useful, as long as these fountains are kept open and accessible. As I should be always ready to claim any depredations that had been made upon us by the French, so I shall ever be equally ready to acknowledge our obligations to them in the infancy of our literature, particularly our Poetry and Romances: and why should not every Englishman do it with equal alacrity? We are not at present in that kind of literary indigence which makes it an act of necessity to commit such petty larcenies as these: we are now in circumstances that not only enable us to be honest, but even generous: as works have been produced in our language, in almost every species of writing that the most learned nations of the world have been able to boast.

The most ancient of our poets perhaps that can be read with pleasure, is CHAUCER, who, as the candid Caxton says, "for his ornate wrytyng in our tongue, maye well have the "name of a Laureat Poete; for to fore that he, by hys labour, "embellyshyd, ornated, and made faire our Englishe, in thys "royame was had rude speeche, and incongrue, as yet it ap-"piereth by olde bookes, whyche at thys day ought not to "have

" have place, ne be compared emong ne to his beauteous vo-
" lumes, and aournate wrytynges, of whom he made many
" bokes, and treatyces of many a noble historye, as wel in
" metre and ryme as in prose, and them so craftyly made, that
" he comprehended hys maters in short, quick, and hye sen-
" tences, eschewing prolygyte, castyng away the chaf of su-
" perfluyte, and shewyng the pyked grain of sentence, uttered
" by crafty and sugred eloquence (*a*)."

Indeed he was so superior to Gower, Lydgate, Occleve, and all his cotemporaries, and even successors, as low down as Spenser, for language, clearness, and versification, that his equal is not to be found; and for wit, humour, and other poetical excellencies, perhaps not till a much later period.

If we may judge of the estimation in which Music was held by our countrymen during the fourteenth century from the writings of Chaucer, it must have been at least equal to that of any other epoch of its history*: for throughout his works, he never loses an opportunity of describing or alluding to its general use; and of bestowing it as an accomplishment upon the pilgrims, heroes, and heroines of his several tales and poems, whenever he can do it with propriety.

But as this venerable bard was frequently an imitator and translator of French and Italian writers, whose works have already been shewn to abound with passages relative to Music, both Vocal and Instrumental, some deduction should perhaps be made for what he says of it in stories not of his own invention, and where the scene is laid in foreign countries: however, in the Prologue to his Canterbury tales, as all the characters he so nicely delineates and discriminates are English, we may safely regard as national, and take to ourselves, all the virtues, vices, defects, and accomplishments, whatever they may be, with which he has invested them.

(*a*) See Ames's Account of the first edition of Chaucer's Canterbury Tales, p. 55.

* Chaucer was born 1328, and died 1400.

In

In Chaucer's description of the 'Squire, a young gentleman to whom he assigns every courtly qualification which was thought necessary to a man of the world, he tells us not only that

Singing he was, or *floyting* (*b*) all the day,

but

He coudè songès make, and well endite,
Juste (*c*) and eke dance, and wel pourtraie and write."

And as he ridicules the affectation of the dainty and finical, or as Dryden calls her, the *mincing* Prioress, throughout, her chanting does not escape:

And she was clepèd Madame Eglantine,
Ful wel she *sangè* the service divine,
Entuned in hire *nose* ful swetèly."

The Monk too, a jolly fellow, and great sportsman, seems to have a passion for no Music, but that of hounds, and his horse's bridle:

And when he rode, men mighte his bridel here
Ginge'ling in a whist'ling wind as clere,
And eke as loud as doth the chapel belle. (*d*)

But then of his Mendicant Friar, whom he calls a *Limitour*, (*e*) and whose arts of pleasing were such as rendered him an universal favourite, he says:

And certainly he hadde a mery note,
Wel coude he *singe* and *plaien on the Rote*. (*f*)

(*b*) Fluting.
(*c*) Fence.
(*d*) An ample account of this fashionable folly, which is now consigned to waggoners and carriers, is given in Mr. Warton's History of English poetry, vol. I. p. 164, and addit. to p. 208.
(*e*) A friar licensed to beg within a certain district.
(*f*) It is the *Lyra Mendicorum* of Kircher, the *Vielle* of the French, and the English Hurdy-Gurdy. See above, p. 270.

This was not his only instrument, for

—In his harping, when that he had *songe*
His eyen twinkeled in his head aright
As don the Starrès in a frosty night.

The Oxford Clerk indeed was so fond of books and study, that he loved Aristotle better, and his Philosophie,

Than robès riche, or *Fidel(g)*, or *Sautrie*.

There is not a line in our language perhaps more comprehensive and beautiful, than the last of this description:

Souning in moral virtue was his speech,
And gladly would he learn, and gladly teach.

He however makes his *Miller* a Musician.

A *Baggèpipe* wel couthe he blowe and soun,
And therewithal he brought us out of town.

The *Sompnour* and *Pardoner* are both singers. To the one Chaucer gives a coarse base voice, while the other, just come from Rome, without a beard, sings in Falset.

A vois he had as smale as hath a Gote.—

And after telling us that he sung "Come hither love to me." which was probably the beginning of a favourite song at that time, he adds:

This sompnour bare to him a stiff *bourdoun(h)*
Was never *trump* of half so great a soun.

(g) See above p. 355. *Fidle* is a Saxon word of considerable antiquity, the present German name for a Fiddle or Violin is GEIGE.

(h) *Burdoun* is here used for the *Base-part*, and *Bourdon*, Fr. is still not only in use for the drone of a Bagpipe, whence the *burden* of a song, but for the *double Diapason*, or lowest stop in French and German Organs.

The

The poor scholar Nicholas, in the Miller's Tale, is a notable performer on the Psaltry. In speaking of his talents and possessions, Chaucer says,

> And all above there lay a gay *sautrie*, (*i*)
> On which he made on nightès melodie,
> So swetèly, that all the chambre rong:
> And *Angelus ad Virginem* (*k*) he song.
> And after that he song *the Kingès note*; (*l*)
> Full often blessed was his mery throte.

The Parish Clerk's instruments, in the same Tale are worthy of his profession: He

> Coud playen Songès on a smale *ribible*; (*m*)
> Therto he song sometime a loud *quinible*; (*n*)
> And as wel coud he play on a Giterne.

In the Pardonner's Tale, we have the first mention of the Lute, which I have met with in any English author:

> In Flanders whilom was a Campagnie
> Of yongè folk, that haunteden folie,
> As hazard, riot, stewès and tavèrnes;
> Whereas with Harpès, *Lutès*, and Gitèrnes,
> They dance and play, &c.

And as the mere outline of this Tale is to be found in the

(*i*) The ancient Psaltry has been described vol. I. p. 519, and delineated pl. V. No. 4. The modern is a kind of square *Dulcimer*, played sometimes with the naked fingers, and sometimes with quills.

(*k*) The angel's salutation to the virgin, Luke ii. 28. *Ave Maria*, &c.

(*l*) The *Chant Royal* was an appellation given to Poems on lofty subjects in the early times of Fr. Poesy.

(*m*) The diminutive of *Rebec*, a small viol with three strings.

(*n*) It seems as if this good Clerk had preserved the ancient manner of singing by 5ths, expressed by the verb *Quintoier*.

Cento

Cento Novelle Antiche (o), we may suppose that instrument to have been then in common use in England. *(p)*

What Chaucer says in the *Prioresses Tale* of the "Litel Scole of *Cristen Folk*" in Asia, where

> —Children learned yere by yere
> Swiche manere doctrine as men used there:
> This is to say, to *singen* and to ride.—

Seems merely to imply, that the chants of the church were taught then in common with reading.

In the *Rime* of *Sire Thopas*, as Chaucer is manifestly ridiculing the marvellous tales of the ancient *Jongleours*, *Gestours*, and *Minstrels*, he speaks of music and musical instruments in the manner of the French fabliaux and romances cited above; and here he tells us, in very plain terms, that the King's jester was originally neither a man of wit and humour (like Yorick) nor a Jack-pudding or buffoon (like the King's fool in Lear), but a *diseur*, an heroic story-teller, a relater of the *gestes*, deeds, and adventures of knights and illustrious champions.

> Do come, he sayd, my *ministrales*,
> And *gestours* for to *tellen tales*.—

In his *Nonnes Preestes Tale* of the Cock and the Fox, speaking of his hero, *Chaunticlere*, he tells us that

> His vois was merrier than the mery *orgon*, (*q*)
> On massè days that in the churches gon.

Which is a proof that organs were very general in our abbeys and cathedrals at the latter end of the fourteenth century.

(*o*) *Nov.* lxxxii.

(*p*) It is again mentioned in the Manciple's Tale, V. 17217. Edit. of 1775. The description of the cock's vocal abilities was probably intended as a sarcasm on the fine singers of the times.

(*q*) From *Organa*, Lat. and *Orgues*, Fr.

Chaucer,

Chaucer, could he have found a rhyme, would probably have written *Organs* in the plural, as the French still do, and as he himself has done in the second *Nonnes Tale*, which follows; where, in the History of St. CECILIA, we have the two following lines:

And while that *Organs* maden melodie,
To God alone thus in hire hert song she.

It was natural to expect, in the life of this titular and pious patroness of Music, that some farther mention would be made of her own performance, or at least protection of the art; but neither in Chaucer, nor in any of the Histories or legendary accounts of this saint which I have been able to consult, does any thing appear that can authorise the religious veneration which the votaries of Music have so long paid to her; nor is it easy to discover whence it has arisen. Chaucer's account is almost literally translated from the life of St. Cecilia, in the *Legenda Aurea* of *Jacobus Januensis*. Bede in his Ecclesiastical History *(r)*, mentions her church at Rome, as the place where Vilbrod was ordained Pope in 696; and in his Martyrology, he tells us, that her intended spouse, Valerian, and his brother Tiburtius, suffered martyrdom in the time of the Emperor Alexander Severus. Mabillon *(s)* has proved, that the festival of this saint was celebrated in France before the time of Charlemagne, by a *Gallican* Missal, which he has published, and which must have been in use before the Gregorian chant was received in that country *(t)*. Fortunatus of Poitiers, *(u)* the most ancient author who speaks of her, says,

(*r*) Lib. v. cap. 2.

(*s*) *De Liturgia Gallicana*, p. 175.

(*t*) Cardinal Bona, *De divina Psalmod.* says, that the MS. of this Mass, which was in the possession of the late Christina, Queen of Sweden, had belonged to the learned Patavius, and was written in the ninth century, as was discovered by the learned from the square form of the letters and the capitals.

(*u*) Lib. vii. cap. 4.

that she died, or rather suffered martyrdom in Sicily. Fortunatus wrote at the end of the sixth century; but even this was at too remote a period from that in which tradition tells us the saint lived, as Alexander Severus reigned from 194 to 211.

There was a great Festival at Rome in 1599, during the pontificate of Clement VIII. for the finding the body of St. Cecilia among other relics. Cardinal Baronius, who was himself a witness of this Transaction, has left an ample account of it (*w*).

But to return to Chaucer: in his *Persones Tale*, the good priest says, "Wel may that man that no good werk ne doth, sing this new Frenshe song, *J'ay tout perdu mon temps, et mon labour.*"

What where the other lines of the song, or by whom it was written or composed, the commentators do not inform us, though Chaucer has introduced the same initial verse in his Balade to Fortune: however it was doubtless well known at the time, or he would not have made so grave and respectable a character point it out to such a mixed company as the pilgrims he has assembled together.

Chaucer's *Romaunt of the Rose*, is only a Translation of a part of the celebrated allegorical and satyrical Poem, called, *le Roman de la Rose*, which was begun by William de Lorris, who, according to Fauchet, died about the year 1260, and finished by Jean de Meun about 1310 (*x*). His account therefore of the Music which he heard in the gardens of *Mirth*, v. 763. however ample, is not applicable to England. But a passage occurs which is not very favourable to the Music of France, and for which it is difficult to account, as it is not to be found in the original; for after describing a very gay dance to the Carol of *Gladness*, he says:

(*w*) *Voyez la Vie des Saints*, Tom. 3t. 3 Edit. fol. p. 369. Par. 1715.

(*x*) The original consists of 22734 lines, of which John de Meun was author of only the first 4149. Chaucer's whole translation is comprised in 7698 verses.

"There

There mightest thou se these Flutours,
Minstrallis and eke Jugèlours
That wel to singing did their pain
Some songen *songès of Loraine;*
For in Loraine their Notès be
Ful sweter than in this Contrè.

What reason the Bard had for his partiality to the songs of Lorraine, I know not; as neither the national Music of that Country, nor the superior learning and abilities of its Musicians at any period of time, has ever arrived at my knowledge.

In his Troilus and Cresseide, Chaucer (*y*) advising the timid lover to send his Mistress a letter, gives an excellent lesson, both to him and the *Musician*, against prolixity and repetition.

—And if thou write a godely word all soft,
Tho' it be gode, reherce it not too oft.

For though that the best Harper upon live,
Would on the bestè soumid jolly Harpe,
That evir was, with all his fingirs five,
Touche aie o string, or aie o warble Harpe, (*z*)
Were his nailis poincted never so sharpe,
It shuldè makin every wight to dull,
To hear his gle, and of his strokis full.

It has been observed (*a*) that this Poem, though almost as long as the Eneid, was intended to be *sung to the Harp*, as well as read:

And redde whereso thou be, or ellis *songe* (*b*).

(*y*) L. 2. v. 1028.

(*z*) To keep always thrumming the same string, or harping upon the same passage. In this stanza the verb rhimes to the substantive.

(*a*) Hist. Eng. Poetry, vol. i. p. 388.

(*b*) L. ult. v. 1796.

Though

Though no English Music in parts is preserved, so ancient as the time of Chaucer, yet by the manner in which he describes a Concert of Birds, *(c) full services* seem then to have been common.

And everiche song in his wise
The most swete, and solempne *servise*
By note, that evir man I trowe
Had herde, for some of 'hem *songe lowe*,
Some *high*, and *all of one accorde*.—

In the third Book of his *House of Fame*, Chaucer bestows near sixty lines in describing Music, Musicians, and Musical Instruments (*d*): The whole passage is curious to a Musical enquirer, and deserves a comment: but it would occupy more space than can be spared in this chapter, of which poetical concerns have perhaps already had too considerable a share. I shall, therefore, only add a few words on his Songs, or *Balades*, which must have been originally intended for Music. And though many short poems of this kind were ascribed to him, which it would be difficult to prove of his writing, yet he tells us himself *(e)* that he had made

Many an Hymnè, for your holy daies
That 'highten *balades*, *rondils*, *virelaies*,—

—And hath made many a *ley*, and many a thing.

Both Gower, his Master, and Lydgate, his scholar, speak of his songs of various kinds; and Gower puts the following eulogium of his Love Songs into the mouth of Venus:

(*c*) Dream of Chaucer, v. 301. 107 to 164.
(*d*) See Urry's Edit. p. 466, from v.
(*e*) Legende of Gode Women, v. 422.

Of

Of *Dittes* and of *Songès* glade,
The which he for my sakè made,
The Londe fulfilled is over all *(f)*.—

And Lygate, in the prologue to his Translation of the *Fall of Princes*, has the following stanza on his songs:

This saied Poete my Master in his dayes
Made and compiled ful many a fresh Ditè,
Complaintès, *Ballades*, *Roundels*, Virelaies;
Ful delectable to herin and to se,
For which men shulde of right and equitè.
Sith he of English in *making* was the best,
Pray em to God to yeve his soul good rest.

Stowe collected many of the Ballads that went under Chaucer's name, which were printed in the edition of 1561; and John Shirley, in 1440, made a large collection of Songs, by Chaucer, Gower, Lydgate, and others, which are still extant in the Ashmolean Collection at Oxford; *(g)* but none of the tunes to these are preserved; nor have I ever been so fortunate as to meet with a single tune to an English Song, or Dance, in all the Libraries and MSS. which I have consulted, so ancient as the 14th century *(h)*. *Musical Tracts*, indeed, and Ecclesiastical *Chants* abound of that and a still higher period; but till the beginning of the 15th century, all our secular music has perished. However, if we may judge by what has escaped the ravages of time, of a later date, the loss of our musical compo-

(f) *Confessio amant.*

(g) A Boke cleped the Abstracte Brevyarie, compyled of divers balades, roundels, virelays, tragedyes, envoys, complaintes, moralities, &c. collected by John Shirley. Ashmol. 59. ii. vide Tann. Biblioth. p. 668.

(h) Mr. Warton, Hist. Eng. Poet vol. i. p. 26, has given a very ample account of a MS. collection of the most ancient songs in our language, which is preserved in the British Museum. MSS. Harl. 2253, but without Music.

sitions of this period may be supported without much affliction. We may perhaps heighten that affliction considerably by censuring modern refinements, and extolling the charms of ancient simplicity; but simplicity in melody, beyond a certain limit, is unworthy of the name that is bestowed upon it, and encroaches so much upon the rude and savage boundaries of uncouthness and rusticity, as to be wholly separated from proportion and grace, which should alone characterise what is truly simple in all the arts: for though they may be ennobled by the concealment of labour and pedantry, they are always degraded by an alliance with coarse and barbarous nature.

All our early poets, and Chaucer particularly, seem to have received great pleasure from the music of their time, whatever it was, and never lose an opportunity of describing its beauties and effects *(i)*; but *Examples* of the melodies of our old Songs, our popular tunes, and our counterpoint, if we had them to exhibit, would give the musical reader a more perfect idea of their merit, than all that the most minute descriptions can do, either in prose or verse. Such examples are, however, very difficult to find; and when found, still more difficult to decypher.

At the coronation of Henry V. in 1413, we hear of no other instruments than harps: but one of that prince's historians *(k)* tells us, that their number in the hall was prodigious. Henry, however, though a successful hero, and a conqueror, did not seem to take the advantage of his claim to praise; and either was so modest, or so tasteless, as to discourage and even prohibit the poets and musicians from celebrating his victories, and singing his valiant deeds. When he entered the city of London, after the Battle of Agincourt, the gates and streets were hung with tapestry, representing the history of ancient heroes; and chil-

(i) See Chaucer's Contention between *the Cuckow and the Nightingale*, and *the Flower and the Leaf*, besides the Poems already mentioned, for passages concerning Music.

(k) *Thomæ de Elmham Vit. et Gest.* Hen. V. edit. Hearne, Oxon, 1727. cap. xii. p. 23.

dren,

dren were placed in temporary turrets, to sing verses. But Henry, disgusted at these vanities, commanded, by a formal edict, that for the future, no songs should be recited by Harpers, or others, in honour of the recent victory *(l)*. It seems, however, the business of a hero, after becoming a subject of praise, to receive it with a good grace; and Poetry and Music are perhaps never better employed than in expressions of national joy and gratitude for the safety of the state, and defeat of its foes, by which tranquillity is restored, and attention secured to the arts of peace.

It is somewhat extraordinary, that in spite of Henry's edicts, and prohibitions, the only English song of so early a date, that has come to my knowledge, of which the original music has been preserved, is one that was written on his victory at Agincourt in 1415. It is preserved in the Pepysian Collection at Magdalen College, Cambridge, and has been printed in the second volume of the Reliques of Ancient English Poetry. The transcribers of ancient MSS. seem in general to have been utterly ignorant of Music, and so indifferent as to the place and form of Notes as to have made them unintelligible; and indeed, though I made a journey to Cambridge, in order to see the original Music of the song which had been transcribed for the *Reliques of Ancient Poetry*, it was not till after I had tried to write it many different ways that I was able to disentangle the parts, and form it into a score *(m)*.

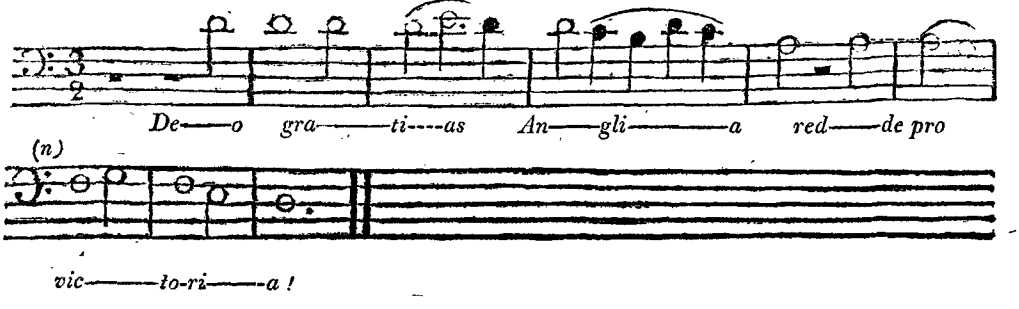
The

(*l*) "*Cantus de suo triumpho fieri, seu "per Citharistas, vel alios quoscunque, "Cantari, penitus prohibebat.*" ib. p. 71. And *Hærnii Præfat* p. xxix. seq. § viii. See also Hollingsh. Chron. iii. p. 556. col. i. 40.

(*m*) Since my journey to Cambridge, Mr. Stafford Smith has given an accurate copy of this composition in his "Col- "lection of ancient English Songs, for "three and four voices in score," which, if I had been so fortunate as to have seen before I visited the University, would have saved me much trouble. Indeed, specimens of Musical compositions at such an early period, are so scarce, and this in particular seems so much to belong to my subject, that a History of English Music would be deficient without it; and scrupulously to omit all that has previously been

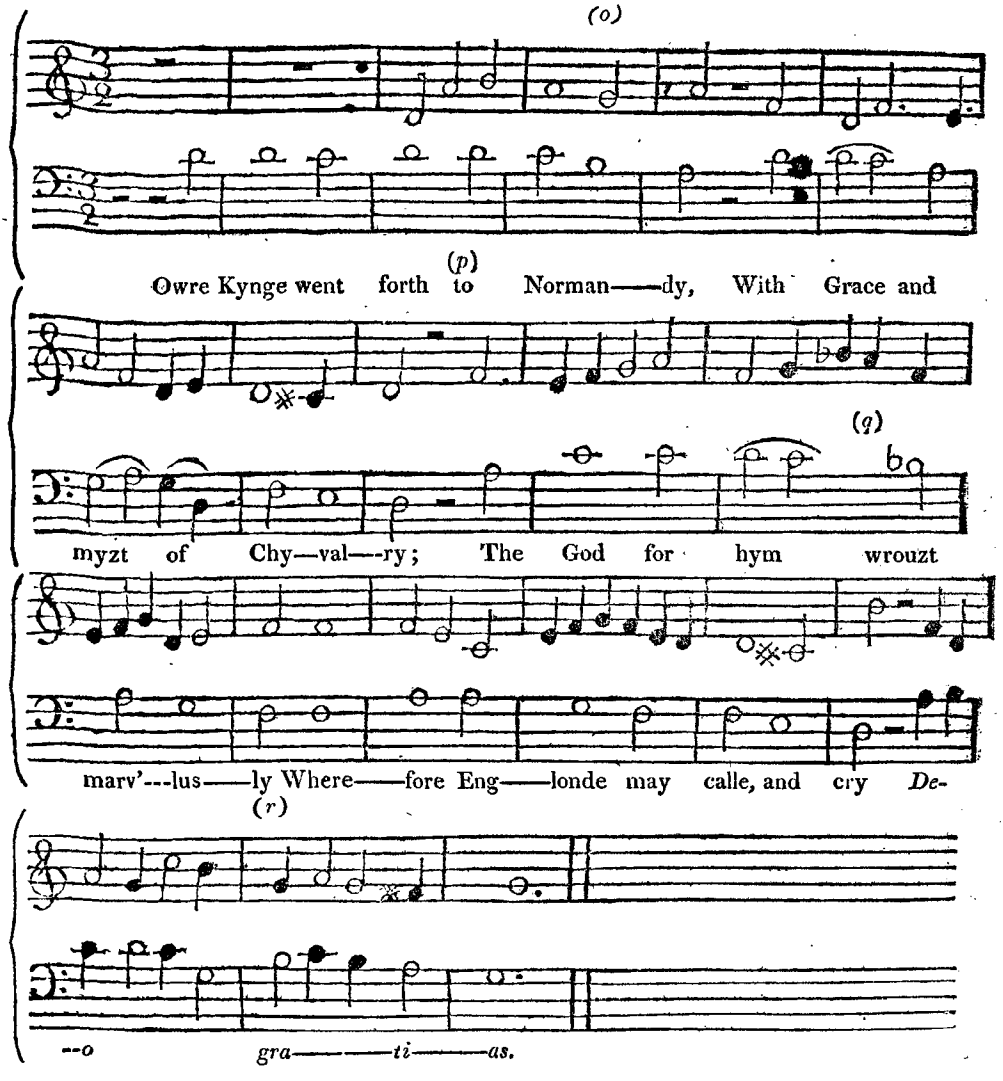
The Copy in the Pepysian Collection is written upon Vellum in Gregorian Notes, and can be little less ancient than the event which it recorded. There is with it a paper which shews that an attempt was made in the last century to give it a modern dress; but too many liberties have been taken with the melody, and the drone base which has been set to it for the Lute is mere jargon. I shall therefore present my reader with a faithful copy of this venerable relic of our nation's prowess and glory, in the beginning of the fifteenth century, from which we are perhaps entitled to more honour than from the poetry and Music with which they were then celebrated.

SONG on the Victory obtained at Agincourt, 1415.



been published by others, would be reducing my book to a mere *Supplement*. All I can promise is not to copy with servility, or without examining the original sources of their acquisitions with my own eyes, which will sometimes perhaps see them in a different light, and occasion a difference of opinion. The greatest difficulty, till the end of the fifteenth century, is to *find* Examples of Composition, which, in the next century, will be so encreased as to perplex by their multiplicity.

(*n*) It would have answered the expectation of a modern ear better, if this and the next F had been sharp.

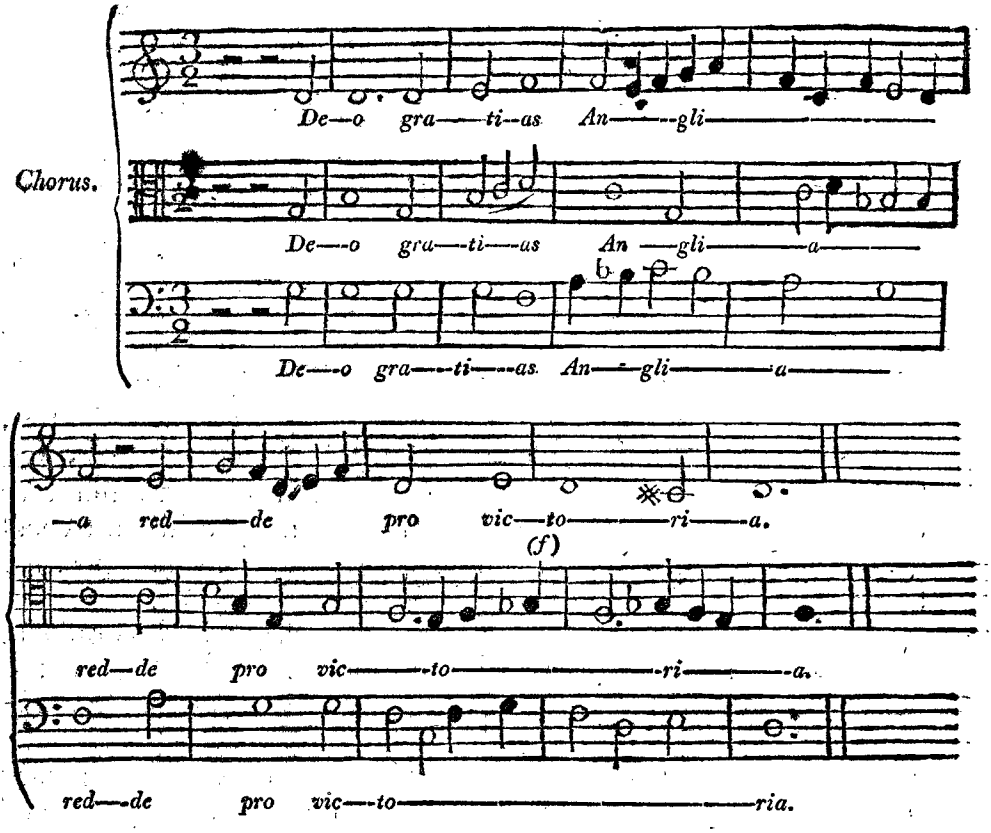


(*o*) A sharp seems wanting to this G.

(*p*) I ventured to make this note d, upon a supposition, that it had been written C in the Pepys Copy, by a mistake of the scribe.

(*q*) The composition in this place is very incorrect, there being a succession of three fifths between the voice part and the accompaniment; but I can discover nothing in the manuscript to authorise a change.

(*r*) I ventured to correct this passage, as the present reading in the old copy must have been offensive at every period of counterpoint.



He sette a sege, the sothe to say,
To Harflue town, with royal array,
That toune he wan, and made a fray,
That Fraunce shall rywe tyl domes day.

Deo gratias, &c.

Than for sothe that knyzt comely,
In Agincourt feld fauzt manly,
Thorow grace of God most myzty,
He had bothe felde, and victory.

Deo gratias, &c.

(s) Though the flats are omitted in the counter-tenor part of this line, yet I have ventured to insert them, as they seem as necessary here as in the Base.

Then

Then went owre kynge, with all his oste,
Thorowe Fraunce for all the Frensshe boste;
He spared for drede of Leste, ne most
Till he come to Agincourt coste.

Deo gratias, &c.

Ther dukys, and earlys, lorde, and barone,
Were take, and slayne, and that wel sone,
And some were ledde into Lundone,
With joye, and merth, and grete renone.

Deo gratias, &c.

Now gracious God he save owre kynge,
His peple, and all his well wyllinge;
Gef him gode lyfe, and gode endynge,
That we with merth may safely synge.

Deo gratias Anglia redde pro victoria.

The number of tracts that were written on the subject of music, from the time of John de Muris to the middle of the fifteenth century, is so considerable, as not only to make us believe that it was in great favour, but incline us to expect more perfection than we find in the specimens of composition that have been preserved.

The *Speculum Musicæ* of John de Muris, which is only to be found in the king of France's library at Paris, is a treatise so ample. that I shall step back a little, in order to give my readers a more satisfactory account of it than I was able to do when I mentioned it before, as I have procured large extracts from it, and a complete table of its contents, since I closed the article in the preceding chapter concerning this celebrated and voluminous musical writer; and shall be the more minute in my account of this scarce MS. as it seems to have been the ground work of all the musical treatises that were produced by other writers, till the time of Franchinus Gaforius, in the latter end of the fifteenth century.

This work, which is written on vellum, in folio, contains six hundred pages. The first sentence of the original is, "*Libro "tertio de Philosophica Consolatione Boetius volens reddere "Causam,*" &c. It is divided into seven books: the first of which

which treats of the invention of music, and of its divisions, and contains seventy-six chapters; the second, of musical intervals, an hundred and twenty-three; the third, of harmonics, or musical proportion, fifty-six; fourth, of concords and discords, fifty-one; fifth, of the ancient tetrachords, division of the monochord, and doctrines of Boethius, fifty-two chapters; sixth, of the modes and notation of the ancients, of the changes made in their system by Guido, and of the ecclesiastical tones, one hundred and thirteen. Book the seventh, of measured music; of discant, in treating of which he has the chapter *de ineptis Discantoribus*, part of which has been given in the preceding chapter; of the time-table, moods or divisions of Time, of the folly of placing a tail to the semibreve, by which he seems to mean the minim, without naming it; of perfect and imperfect measures; and lastly, a parallel between ancient and modern music, which occupies the last five of the forty-five chapters into which this book is divided, the concluding sentence of which is, "*Exempli causa describere tibi* "*volo quorum figuræ sunt in hoc ordine consequentes.*

Explicit Tractatus Musica, Magistri
Johannis de Muris."

Notwithstanding all the nice and subtle divisions and subdivisions of his seven books into nine hundred and seventeen chapters, the practical musician would at present profit but little from the study of them, as almost all the doctrines contained in the first five books are speculative, and such as may be found in Ptolemy, Boethius, and other ancient authors, whom almost all the musical writers of later times have copied in pure pedantry, without understanding themselves what they read, and, consequently, without conveying any useful science to their readers by what they have written. It is only in the two last books that de Muris condescends to speak of the *Practical Music*

sic of his own times: in the sixth book he treats of the Ecclesiastical Tones, Notation, and Chants, which John Cotton and Walter Odington had done before; and in the seventh he defines *Cantus Mensurabilis*, Discant, Moods, Characters of the different duration of Sounds, as the *Long*, *Breve*, *Semi-breve*, and their perfection and imperfection. Here he employs several chapters in refuting such as have disputed his doctrines; and lastly, he draws a parallel between the Music of the Ancients and that of the Moderns, in order to ascertain their several degrees of perfection.

It is in mere charity to the curious in Musical Antiquities that I have bestowed so much pains in examining and describing this Book; which, though of difficult access, and more difficult perusal, might tempt them from the celebrity of the Author, to explore its dark regions, and impair their eyes and patience in search of scientific treasures, which it does not contain.

A very curious collection of Musical Tracts was preserved among the MSS. of the Cotton library: but unfortunately they were nearly destroyed by a fire which happened in 1731, while Ashburnham House was its repository. Of this collection, consisting of seven treatises in Latin, the late Dr. Pepusch had luckily procured copies, which are now lodged in the British Museum, as are the fragments of the originals (*t*).

I shall not be very diffuse in my account of these MSS. as the chief part of the doctrines they contain, has already been considered in speaking of the writings of Guido, Franco, Walter Odington, and others, which are still more ancient. The insertion and explanation of rules which are no longer worth adopting, and upon which scarce any of the Music was composed which is now subsisting, would be swelling my volume

(*t*) See in the Cat. Dr. Smith's Description of *Tiberius*, Book IX. The compiler of these Tracts is unknown, but the time when they were transcribed is ascertained by the Scribe himself in a note at the end of the first tract: *Explicium Regulæ cum additionibus; finitæ die Veneris proxima ante Pentecost. anno Domini millesimo tricentisimo vicesimo sexto, et cætera, Amen.*

with that, which if any one had patience to peruse, could afford neither profit nor pleasure; and for which the highest reward I could hope, would be the pity of my readers, for not having found in all my researches any thing better to give them. Unfortunately it was not here the custom for writers on Music, to illustrate their rules with examples of Composition, either by themselves or others; and this omission has rendered almost every Treatise produced before the sixteenth century, equally dry and unprofitable with those which are come down to us of the ancient Greeks and Romans. A commentary therefore upon such works, whatever idea it may impress of an author's erudition and patience, would be very likely to fright a reader from attempting the perusal of more interesting and intelligible parts of the book in which it is inserted, upon a supposition that the sequel will be equally dark and unintelligible.

Of such musical MSS. therefore as are in our own public libraries, and of easy access, I shall give a less minute account than of others preserved on the Continent, which but few may have opportunities of consulting. However, though it is my business to spare no trouble myself, it is incumbent upon me to give my readers as little as possible; I shall therefore point out the road to such tracts as are most scarce and valuable, in order that those who wish to know more of their contents than the limits of my work will allow me to give, may themselves be enabled to consult the originals.

Among the transcripts from the Cotton MS. No. I. which is a Commentary upon Franco, by Handlo, has been already described (*u*); a considerable part of this tract is still legible in the ancient Copy (*w*).

II. *Tractatus diversarum Figurarum per quas dulcibus modis discantantur.* This is a compendium apparently of the doc-

(*u*) P. 194.

(*w*) Tiberius, B. IX.

trines

trines of John de Muris; but in the old copy it was called *Tractatus de Musica, incerto authore.* Here the black Minim in the Lozenge form appears.

III. *Pr.* "*Pro aliquali Notitia de Musica habenda.*" This Tract, which is of a considerable length, is likewise anonymous. The author imitates Boethius, as most musical writers have done down to the good Padre Martini, in the division of Music into Mundane, Humane, and Instrumental, as well as in several other particulars. This Author uses the same kind of literal notation as Guido, in his Micrologus, before lines were applied to the Ecclesiastical Characters. We find in it the ♮ and ♭ Hexachords; and Harmonic hand, with diagrams of the Mutations, seemingly taken from a treatise in the Bodleian Library, intitled *Quatuor principalia Artis Musicæ*, of which a farther account will be given below. He compares the Minim to a Unit, as the beginning of measured time; tells us that Vitriaco was the most famous musician in the whole world; and speaks of the *Semiminim or Crutchetam* as a useless innovation, which he had rejected. We have here an explanation of the *Plicæ*, *Ligatures*, and six Moods, in imitation, as he says, of the Roman School, but little differing from those of Franco (*x*). However this author confesses, that the five Moods of Franco, and the six which he exhibits in his work, are all reducible to two, the perfect and imperfect; or to those as they are now called of triple and common time. The point is mentioned by this author as of common use; and the thirds and sixths are both denominated imperfect Concords. The fourth he ranks among perfect concords; though he agrees with the present age in thinking that it has not a good effect when used by itself, and requires more than two parts to be admitted in composition. He forbids the use of Discords, which proves that their laws were not yet established. He gives rules for Discant, or ex-

(*x*) See p. 183.

temporaneous

temporaneous Harmony; for written Harmony; and speaks of the Organ as an Instrument necessary in the Cantus Ecclesiasticus. The Hocket is described, either as a rest or cutting a note short, without accelerating the general measure. *Staccato*, *Sciolto*, seem to correspond with this term more than a rest; for why should a rest in an inward part offend? And it was severely censured by grave churchmen about this time *(y)*.

IV. The next Tract in the Cotton MS. is likewise one of three Musical Treatises contained in another volume of the British Museum, which formerly belonged to the Monks of St. Edmonsbury *(z)* It begins *Cognita Modulatione secundum viam octo Troporum et secundum usum et consuetudinem fidei Catholicæ.* Of this Tract, which treats very amply of the Cantus Mensurabilis, and of the chief parts of practical Music then known, the Author is not named. By the eight tropes he does not mean the eight modes, or tones of the Church, but eight moods with respect to time. The author clearly explains the term Organum to imply the harmonical accompaniment to a chant, as it has been already often defined in this volume; Discant, Triples, Quadruples, and Copulæ, are treated of in the same manner as by former writers; but of Discord he is rather more explicit than his predecessors, for he says, that many good Composers of Hymns, Antiphons, and Organic Parts, use discords instead of concords, particularly the Musicians of Lombardy.

V. Consists only of fragments or detached extracts from an entire treatise. It begins *Sequitur de Sinemenis*, and explains the manner in which the Synemmenon Tetrachord is formed. Here the author speaks of a cross being put to F to obviate the false fifth between that sound and B. This has been thought the first time that a sharp has been used; but *Marchetto da Padua* 200 years before had used the same expedient. The first sharp was only a

(y) See above, p. 150.

(z) Bibl. Reg. xii. cap. vi. 5, 3.

square

square ♮, whence B *quadrum*; then a line was drawn on each side ♮ (*a*). This character, and the round b, were used for *Musica Ficta*, which was another name for Transposition from the natural scale into such keys as required sounds different from those which the three hexachords furnished (*b*).

VI. Is a short tract in which no new doctrines appear; It begins *Est autem unisonus quando duæ voces manente uno et eodem loco sive uno et eodem sono*; and treats in a summary way of Consonances, Discant, and Solmization: illustrating the doctrines advanced by examples in Notes.

VII. The last Tract beginning *Cum in isto tractatu de Signis sive de Notis quæ sunt et de earum proprietátibus*, &c. is chiefly confined to time, Measure, or the relative proportions of such notes as were then in use. There are duplicates of this and the preceding tract in the volume already mentioned (*c*). Minims appear in this fragment; and at the end there is an old French Song in two parts: *Faus semblant tiel estes vous*, already inserted in the present chapter (*d*). The words *Hæc Odyngtonus*, written at the back of this Tract in the Cotton Collection, has inclined many to believe that Walter Odington, of whom an account has already been given, was the author of it; but they mean nothing more than that the doctrine of Walter of Evesham had been followed by the author: as *Secundum Guidonem—Johannem de Muris—Franconem*, &c. has been found to have the same meaning.

The most considerable Musical Tract which I have been able to find of nearly the same date as the Cotton MS. is a Treatise

(*a*) *Prosdocimo* and *Marchetto* use this mark with four points in the middle, for a sharp ♮, and the latter sometimes this ♯.

(*b*) This was likewise long called *Musica falta finta, Colorata, Congiunta, alterata*. See above, p. 160. And as the Ecclesiastical chants are all confined to such sounds as the different species of Octave in the key of C or A natural can supply, it is still thought licentious in the Romish Church to compose in such keys as require flats and sharps: a restraint that long extended to secular Music.

(*c*) *Tractatus Musici*, 3 Bibl. Reg. xii. cap. vi. 6. 182.

(*d*) P. 306.

in the Bodleian Library at Oxford (*e*), entitled *Quatuor principalia Artis Musicæ*, which has been ascribed to several authors. As this work is written with more clearness and precision, and is of a greater length than any other that was produced in the fourteenth century, except the *Speculum Musices* of John de Muris, I was very desirous to discover by whom it was written. Anthony Wood (*f*) ascribes it to Thomas Tewksbury, a Franciscan of Bristol, to whom it is likewise given in the Oxford Catalogue of MSS, for no other reason that is easy discover, but that the name of Tewksbury occurs on an outside leaf. However, there is a testimonial at the end of the Table of Contents, which has helped to fix the work upon an author of the name of Tewksbury; but this is *John* of Tewkesbury, a Friar; who seems only to have presented the book called the four principles of Music to the Minor Friars of Oxford, by the Authority and consent of Master Thomas of Kingusbury, then *Magister* of all England, in the year 1388 (*g*). As no person of the name of Tewkesbury appears in the list of English Musicians or Musical Writers, if we were reduced to conjecture it might be imagined from the similarity of names, that John Torksey, a Musical Author of the same period, had been corrupted into John Tewkesbury: but there is no occasion for such an expedient, nor for adopting the opinion of Bishop Tanner, who assigns it to Dr. John Hambois, a writer on Music, who flourished more than a century after the time when it appears from the testimony of the Scribe himself, that the Oxford MS. was finished.

(*e*) Digby 90.

(*f*) Hist. and Antiq. Oxon. Lib. ii. p. 5.

(*g*) *Ad informationem scire volentibus principia Artis Musicæ, istum Libellum qui vocatur Quatuor principalia Musicæ, Frater* Johannes de Teukesbury *contulit comitatui Fratrum Minorum Oxoniæ, auctoritate et assensu Fratris Thomæ de Kyngusbury Magistri tunc Magistri Angliæ. Anno Domini* 1388. This advertisement ends, as usual, by anathematising any one who shall sacrilegiously steal the MS. from the said Minor Friars.

There

There is however among the MSS. at Oxford, another Volume of Musical Tracts (*h*), which has not been sufficiently examined by any of the Catalographers who have mentioned it: for upon a careful perusal and collation, I find in it, besides two other Tracts, by Simon Tunstede, or Tustede, a duplicate of the *Quatuor Principalia*, attributed by some to Thomas or John of Tewksbury, and by others to Hambois; and as no doubt is thrown upon Tunstede having been the author of the two first tracts in this volume, it seems as if we might venture, without hesitation or doubt, to assign him this ample, and, for the time when it was written, excellent treatise. That Simon Tunstede was a man of Science, and an able Musician, as well as a Doctor of Divinity, appears at the end of MS. Digby, 90 (*i*). Pits, Bale, Tanner, and all our Biographical writers speak of him as a learned Musician, and Pits enumerates the *Quatuor Principalia* among his writings (*k*).

The title of the Tracts in the Oxford Catalogue of MSS. has occasioned the great diversity of opinions about the writer of the *Quatuor Principalia*; for No. 515, is entitled *De Musica continua et discreta, cum Diagrammatibus, per* Simonem Tunstede, A. D. 1351. However, in the beginning of the volume, the author proposes to treat *De Quatuor principalibus in quibus tocius Musica radices consistunt*, &c. which exactly agrees with the other MS. and there is no difference from the beginning to the end, except in the omission of a kind of prologue, or argument to the work, which appears in the Tract ascribed to Tewkesbury (*l*), beginning *Quemadmodum inter triticum*, and is omitted in that to which the name of Tunsted is prefixed (*m*).

(*h*) Bodl. 515.

(*i*) After saying that the book was finished in 1351, we have the following passage: *Ille autem anno regens erat inter Minores* Oxoniæ *Fratres*, Simon de Tunstede, *Doctor Sacræ Theologiæ, qui in Musica pollebat, et eciam in septem liberalibus artibus.*

(*k*) *De illust. Angl. Script.* Simon Tunsted, a Franciscan Friar, born at Norwich, was in such favour for his learning and piety, as to be unanimously chosen Provincial Master of all England. He died at Bruzard in Suffolk, in 1369.

(*l*) Digby 90.

(*m*) Bodl. 515.

What

What the author calls the Four Principals of Music will best appear from his own manner of dividing the work. In the first part or principal, consisting of nineteen chapters, he treats of Music in general, its constituent Parts and Divisions. II. of its Invention, Intervals, and Proportions, twenty-four chapters. III. of Plain Chant, and the Ecclesiastical Modes, fifty-eight chapters. IV. of Measured Music, or Time; of Discant, and their several divisions. This last Principal is divided into two sections, of which the first contains forty-one chapters, and the second forty-nine. The whole treatise fills a hundred and twenty-four folio pages: the Diagrams, which are very numerous, are beautifully written, and illuminated with different coloured inks; and it seems to be in all respects the most ample and complete work of the kind which the fourteenth century can boast.

A MS. on Music, of nearly the same period, as that of Simon Tunsted, is preserved at Oxford (*m*), consisting of three books. It was written by our countryman Theinred, Precentor of the Monastery of Dover, about the year 1371.

The first book treats of Musical Proportion, *De Proportionibus Musicorum Sonorum.* This is a very early treatise on Harmonics, in which, when he speaks of the major and minor semitone, and of the different portions into which they are divisible, his doctrine is illustrated by many numerical tables, and nice splittings of tones into commas: *de Comatis; alia Proportio ejusdem Comatis,* &c. which prove a Temperament of the Scale to have been then in use.

The Second Book treats of Musical Concords, *De Consonantiis Musicorum Sonorum.* Here, after specifying the different kinds of Concords, he informs his reader that in organising, major and minor thirds, as well as sixths, are admissible in succession,

(*m*) Bodl. 842. 1. *De legitimis ordinibus Pentachordorum et Tetrachordorum,* Pr: *Quoniam Musicorum de his Cantibus frequens est distinctio, &c.* 46 Folios, small size. Walther in his Musical Dictionary calls this work a Phœnix.

Book

Book, III. contains Diagrams and Scales innumerable of different species of Octave, in a literal notation. No Musical characters, or examples of practical Music in common notes, appear throughout the treatise.

The praises bestowed by Pits, Bale, Tanner, and others on Theinred, whose name is sometimes written Thaured, and Thinred, make it necessary to acquaint such of my readers as may be inclined to take the trouble of examining this Tract themselves, that, like many other Musical writings of the middle and lower ages, it but ill rewards the drudgery of an entire and careful perusal; for after perseverance has vanquished the abbreviations, and the barbarism and obscurity of the Latin, the vain speculations and useless divisions of the scale with which this work so much abounds, and which could have been but of small utility to practical Music, at the time when it was written, are such, that now, since the theory of Sound is so much better understood and explained by the writings of Galileo, Mersennus, Holder, Smith, and many others, our old countryman, Theinred, may henceforth remain peaceably on his shelf, without much loss to the art or science of Music.

The reign of Henry VI. though turbulent and unhappy, seems never to have been wholly unpropitious to Minstrelsy; for it has been observed by a late diligent enquirer, that Minstrels in the fifteenth century were often better paid than the clergy (*n*). Many of them are so now: but though the high salaries of favourite Musicians, like the revenues of our Bishops, are sufficiently known and blazoned to the world, yet the number of subalterns in want of bread, though greater than of the clergy, is not known to the public. The clergy have almost always some stated annual stipend on which to depend, and which, though often small and insufficient for the support of

(*n*) Hist. Eng. Poetry, vol. ii. p. 105.

their families, in a resource unknown to innumerable obscure Musicians. In the time of Henry the VIth, the Clergy were all *single* men, and generally members of some fraternity, or Monastery, which afforded them a house, and a subsistence.

It has been observed with some degree of obloquy, by Hearne (*o*), that during many years of this reign, particularly in 1430, the annual feast of the Fraternity of the HOLIE CROSS, at Abingdon, a town in Berkshire, twelve priests received only four pence each for singing a dirge: and the same number of Minstrels were severally rewarded with two shillings and four pence, besides diet and horse-meat. Some of these Minstrels we are told, came only from Mayden-hithe, or Maidenhead, a town at no great distance in the same county (*). "In the year 1441, "eight priests were hired from Coventry, to assist in celebrating "a yearly Obit in the Church of the neighbouring Priory of "Maxtoke; as were six Minstrels, called *Mimi* (*p*), belonging "to the family of Lord Clinton, who lived in the adjoining "castle of Maxtoke, to sing, harp, and play, in the hall of the "Monastery, during the extraordinary refection allowed to the "Monks on that Anniversary. Two shillings were given to "the Priests, and four to the Minstrels, and the latter are said "to have supped in *Camera picta*, or the painted chamber of "the Convent, with the Sub-prior (*q*), on which occasion the "Chamberlain furnished eight massy tapers of wax (*r*). That "the gratuities allowed to priests, even if learned, for their

(*o*) *Lib. Nig. Scacc.* Appendix p. 598.

(*) Abingdon is however at least thirty miles from Maidenhead, and besides the time necessarily spent on the road, some part of this magnificent gratuity must have been dissipated in horse-hire.

(*p*) *Ex computis Prioris Priorat. de Maxtock.* "*Dat Sex Mimis domini Clynton cantantibus, Citharisantibus, et ludentibus; in aula in dicta Pictantia.* iiii. s."

(*q*) "*Mimis Cenantibus in Camera picta cum subpriore eodem tempore,*" the sum obliterated.

(*r*) *Ex comp. Camerarii, ut supr.*

"labours,

" labours, in the same age of devotion, were extremely slender, " may be collected from other expences of this Priory. In " the same year, the Prior gives only sixpence (*t*) for a ser- " mon, to a *Doctor Prædicans*, or an itinerant Doctor in " Theology of one of the Mendicant orders, who went about " preaching to the religious houses (*u*)."

About this time two eminent Musicians flourished in England, whose names are come down to us with a considerable degree of celebrity; these were John Dunstable, and Dr. John Hambois.

DUNSTABLE was the Musician, whom the Germans from a similarity of Name, have mistaken for St. Dunstan, and to whom, as erroneously, they have ascribed the invention of counterpoint in four parts. He was author of the Musical Treatise *De Mensurabilis Musicâ*, which is cited by Franchinus (*w*), Morley (*x*), and Ravenscrofte (*y*). But though this work is lost, there is still extant in the Bodleian library (*z*), a Geographical Tract by this Author; and, if we may believe his epitaph, which is preserved by Weaver (*a*), he was not only a Musician, but a Mathematician, and an eminent astrologer (*b*). Of his Musical compositions nothing remains but two or three fragments in Franchinus, and Morley. He is very unjustly accused by this last writer of separating the syllables of the same word by *rests*. But I believe Master Morley was so eager to make a wretched pun on the name of Duns-table, that he did not sufficiently consider the passages which he censured; the errors in which seem to be only those of the Transcriber or Printer: for the last syllable of *Angelorum* belongs to the last

(*s*) *Ex comp: prædict.*

(*t*) Worth about five shillings of our present money.

(*u*) Hist. Engl. Poetry, vol. ii. p. 106.

(*w*) *Tract. Mus.* lib. ii. cap. 7. and lib. iii. cap. 3. under the name of *Donstaple*.

(*x*) *Introd.* p. 178.

(*y*) *Briefe disc.* p. 1, *et al.*

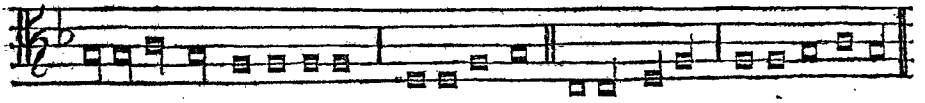
(*z*) *Vide* Tanner, p. 239. in Dunstab.

(*a*) Funeral Monum. p. 577.

(*b*) Ib. See likewise Fuller's Worthies, p. 116.

note

note of the first Musical phrase, *before* the rests, and not to the first note of the second groupe.



Ipsum regem Angelorum An-ge-lo-rum Sola Virgo Virgo lactabat.

The words and syllables in this manner fall on the right notes.

Dunstable seems to have acquired a great reputation on the continent: for he is not only cited by Franchinus, but John Tinctor, a writer somewhat more ancient, who gives to the English the invention of the *New art of Counterpoint*, and places John *Dunstaple* at their head (c). It was in a MS. Latin Tract, in the possession of Padre Martini, that I saw this curious passage, which probably has done us some credit with those who have believed and transcribed it; but he could not have been the inventor of that art concerning which several treatises were written before he was born. However this is but one proof more of what has been already remarked that when a mistake or a falsehood has once had admission into a book, it is not easily eradicated; and this assertion concerning John of Dunstable's invention of counterpoint, as if it were not sufficiently false in itself, has been aggravated by the additional blunder of mistaking his name for that of St. Dunstan (d).

Dunstable, whom Stow calls a *Master of Astronomie and*

(c) Speaking of counterpoint he says, *Cujus ut ita dicam novæ artis fons et origo, apud Anglos, quorum Caput* Dunstaple *exisrit fuisse perhibetur.* John Tinctor, born at Nivelle in Barbant, flourished about the year 1474. He was long in the service of Ferdinand of Arragon, King of Naples and Sicily, who reigned from 1458 to 1504, and styles himself his Chaplain and Cantor. The title of his Book is *Tract. Musices Explanat. Manus. De Tonor Natura et propriet. De notis ac Pausis. De regul. valore, imperfect. et alterat. Notar. De arte Contrap.* There will be farther occasion to speak of this able writer and Musician in the next chapter.

(d) Not only M. Marpurg, but the editors of the Supplement to the *Encyclopedie*, art. *Contrepoint*, have lately copied this error unexamined.

Musike,

Musike (*e*), was buried in the church of St. Stephen, Walbrook, 1458.

Dr. JOHN HAMBOIS is said to have possessed a considerable share of learning in all the arts, and to have been no contemptible Mathematician, but his biographers add, that Music held the first place among all his studies. It is related of him likewise, that he was remarkable for a fertile fancy, and a humour of a peculiar kind; and Pits, taking his ideas of Musical composition from a later period, tells us, that his knowledge in Harmony, in the combination of Concords, and preparation and resolution of Discords, was such as no other person of his own age and nation possessed. To these talents, Hambois is allowed to have joined a great knowledge in the Latin tongue, in which he wrote a Tract, entitled, *Summum Artis Musices*; and *Cantionum Artificialium diversi generis*, &c. Tanner was of opinion, that his Musical Treatise was the same as that in the Bodleian Library, Digby 90, *De Quatuor Principalibus Musicæ*; but that has already been proved to be the property of another writer.

As Hambois has been imagined by some to be the first Musician who was honoured with the degree of Doctor, this seems the proper place to confirm or refute that opinion, and, if possible, to trace the origin of an institution, which is peculiar to the Universities of our own Country.

Anthony Wood (*f*) says, that the degree of Doctor in the faculty of Music was first given in the reign of Henry the second; but this is fixing it at an earlier period than that in which such a title can be proved to have subsisted at Oxford or Cambridge, or to have been conferred on the Professors of other sciences. Spelman, a more nice and accurate sifter of facts,

(*e*) Survey of London, edit. of 1618. Walbrook Ward.

(*f*) Hist. Acad. Oxon lib. i. p. 245.

believes that the appellation of Doctor was not among the degrees granted to Graduates in England, till the reign of King John, about 1207.

It is known that this title was created on the Continent, about the middle of the twelfth century, as more honourable than that of Master, which was become too common. Its original signification implied not only learning and skill, but abilities to teach, according to the opinion of Aristotle, who says, that the most certain proof of knowledge in any science, is the being able to instruct others (*g*).

The first degree of this kind which was conferred in a public school or academy, was at Bologna, about the year 1130, where, according to Bayle (*h*), it was an honour instituted in favour of Irnerius, Chancellor to the Emperor Lotharius, who was created Doctor of Civil Law. This ceremony soon after was adopted in other Universities, and passed from the Law to Theology.

Peter Lombard is the first Doctor in Sacred Theology upon record, in the University of Paris (*i*).

The precise time when this creation extended to the faculties of medicine and Music does not appear; nor can the names be found of those professors in either, to whom the title was first granted.

It has, however, been frequently remarked in this volume, that during the middle ages music was always ranked among the seven liberal arts, that it was included in the *Trivium* and *Quadrivium*, and studied by all those who aspired at reputation for learning throughout Europe. The *Trivium* comprised the three sciences of grammar, rhetoric, and logic, which teach

(*g*) John de Muris begins the second part of his Treatise upon Music, of which an account has been already given in this volume. p. 201. with the following passage:

Princeps Philosophorum Aristoteles ait in principio Mathematicæ suæ, omnino scientis, signum est posse docere.

Musices Tract. MS. Bodl. 300 *Suæ.*

(*h*) Dict. Art. IRNERIUS.

(*i*) Mathias, *Theatr. Hist. in Vita Lotharii* II.

us how to reason with accuracy and precision; and the *Quadrivium* comprehended arithmetic, music, geometry, and astronomy, as the four branches of the mathematics, which silently contemplate what is capable of being numbered or measured. Now it is remarkable, that in our universities, music is the only one of these seven sciences that confers degrees on its students; and, in other countries, though theology, law, and medicine, bestow this honour, which are not of the seven, yet music, which is, can aspire at no such distinction.

However, it evidently appears that the music which was regarded as a science by our forefathers, was merely speculative, and such as concerned harmonics, the ratio of musical intervals, and philosophy of sound; and in this sense musical degrees are perhaps but seldom conferred in our universities according to the original spirit of the institution. But the present statutes, not wholly neglecting the gratification of the ear, are more favourable to practical music, and allow candidates for degrees to perform exercises, in which specimens may be furnished of their skill in melody, harmony, and composition, where those sounds are arranged and combined, which science measures and fixes by calculation (*k*).

(*k*) By the Statutes of the University of Oxford, it is required of every proceeder to the degree of bachelor in music, that he employ seven years in the study or practice of that faculty, and at the end of that term, produce a testimonial of his having so done, under the hands of credible witnesses; and that previous to the supplication of his grace towards this degree, he compose a Song of five Parts, and perform the same publicly in the Music-School, with vocal and instrumental music, first causing to be affixed on each of the doors of the great gates of the schools a Programma, giving three days notice of the day and hour of each performance. Of a bachelor proceeding to the degree of doctor, it is required that he shall study five years after the taking his bachelor's degree, and produce the like proof of his having so done, as is requisite in the case of a bachelor: and farther, shall compose a Song in six or eight Parts, and publicly perform the same "*tam Vocibus quam Instrumentis etiam Musicis*," on some day to be appointed for that purpose, previously notifying the day and hour of performance in the manner before prescribed. Such exercise to be performed in the presence of Dr. Heyther's professor of music. This being done, the candidate shall supplicate for his grace in the Convocation-house, which being granted by both the Savilian professors, or by some master of arts deputed by them for that purpose, he shall be presented to his degree.

It

It is observed by the authors of the *Histoire litteraire de la France (l)*, that in the semi-barbarous ages, music was in such high estimation, that no one could omit the study of it who cultivated letters. The learned Gerbert, who arrived at the Pontificate, by the title of Sylvester the second, and many other illustrious personages, regarded it as the second branch of mathematics. But if music does no honour to the sciences at present, it is little indebted to them for the distinction of being admitted into their company during so many ages, as ignorant artists of talents and sensibility have perhaps contributed more to her perfection, than all the sublime reveries and profound calculations of men of science.

The first qualification for the degree either of bachelor or doctor in music, was formerly, the reading and expounding certain books in Boethius, as the only writings whence knowledge in the principles of the science could be acquired (*m*). But the candidate for academical degrees is no longer put to this test; he is now to compose an exercise for voices and instruments in six or eight parts, which he is to submit to the inspection of the music professor, and to have publicly performed in the Music School of the University.

Wood, in his Fasti, has been able to produce no names of musicians that have been enrolled among the graduates of the University of Oxford before the sixteenth century, though we are told of several at Cambridge of an earlier period. Whether Hambois was a member of this university, or of Oxford, does not appear, nor indeed is it precisely known at what time he received his diploma (*n*). But academical honours in the fa-

(*l*) Tom. vii. p. 142, and tom. ix. p. 200.

(*m*) See the statutes of the university.

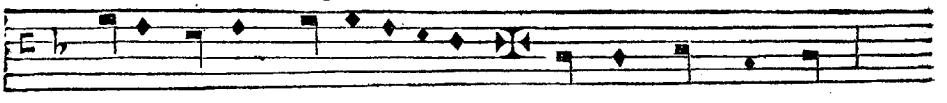
(*n*) In Hollinshed's Chronicle, vol. ii. p. 1355, there is an enumeration of the most eminent men of learning in the reign of Edward IV. among whom the author includes John Hamboys, "an excellent musician," adding, that "for his notable cunning therein, he was made a doctor of music.

culty

culty of Music may be traced up to the year 1463, when Henry Habengton was admitted to the degree of Bachelor of Music at Cambridge, and Thomas Saintwix, Doctor in Music, was made Master of King's College in the same University.

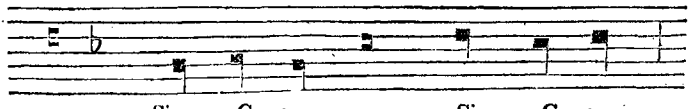
A curious composition in parts, of about this period, to words of a still higher date is preserved in the British Museum (*o*), concerning which it seems necessary here to give an account.

It is a descriptive song upon the approach of Summer, set in a canon of four parts in the unison: or as it is called, a *Rota* or round. It is written upon six red lines in square and lozenge black notes of three kinds: Longs, Breves and Semibreves in the following manner.



Sumer is i cu—men in, Lhude sing Cuccu, &c.

Besides the canon of four parts in one, there are two other free parts, which come in periodically with the same notes in a kind of drone or burden, to each of which the author gives the name of *Pes*. These are written separately, each upon a distinct staff.

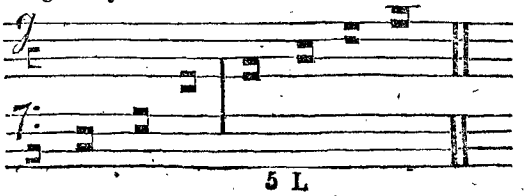


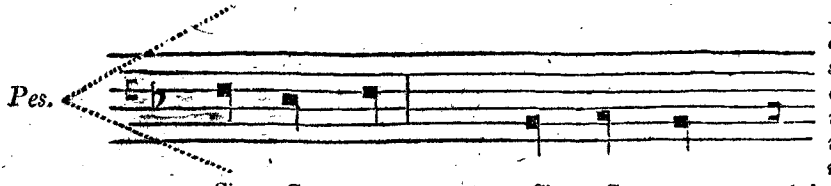
Hoc repetit unus quociens opus est faciens pausacionem in fine.

Sing Cuccu nu Sing Cuccu

(*o*) Bibl. Harl. 978.

(*p*) This ligature has been taken for a single note, and sometimes imagined to be G, and sometimes B; but neither will suit the harmony. I have restored the true reading by making the ligature consist of G and A, as, by a long study of ancient musical MSS. and a close inspection into this, I can venture to affirm was the author's intention. In the MS. of Waltham Holy Cross, John Wyldis notation of the Scale, or double Diapason, is the following.



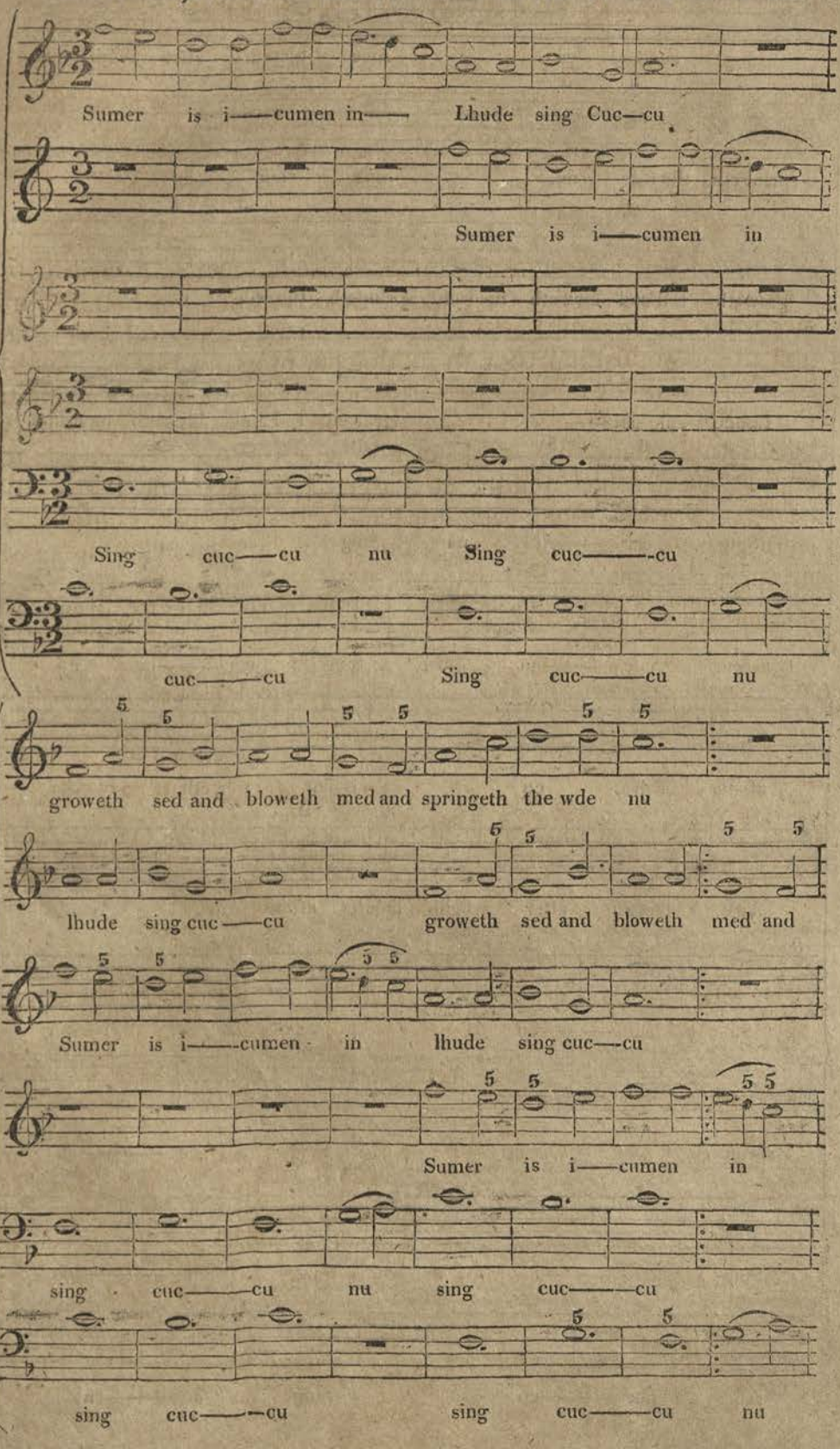


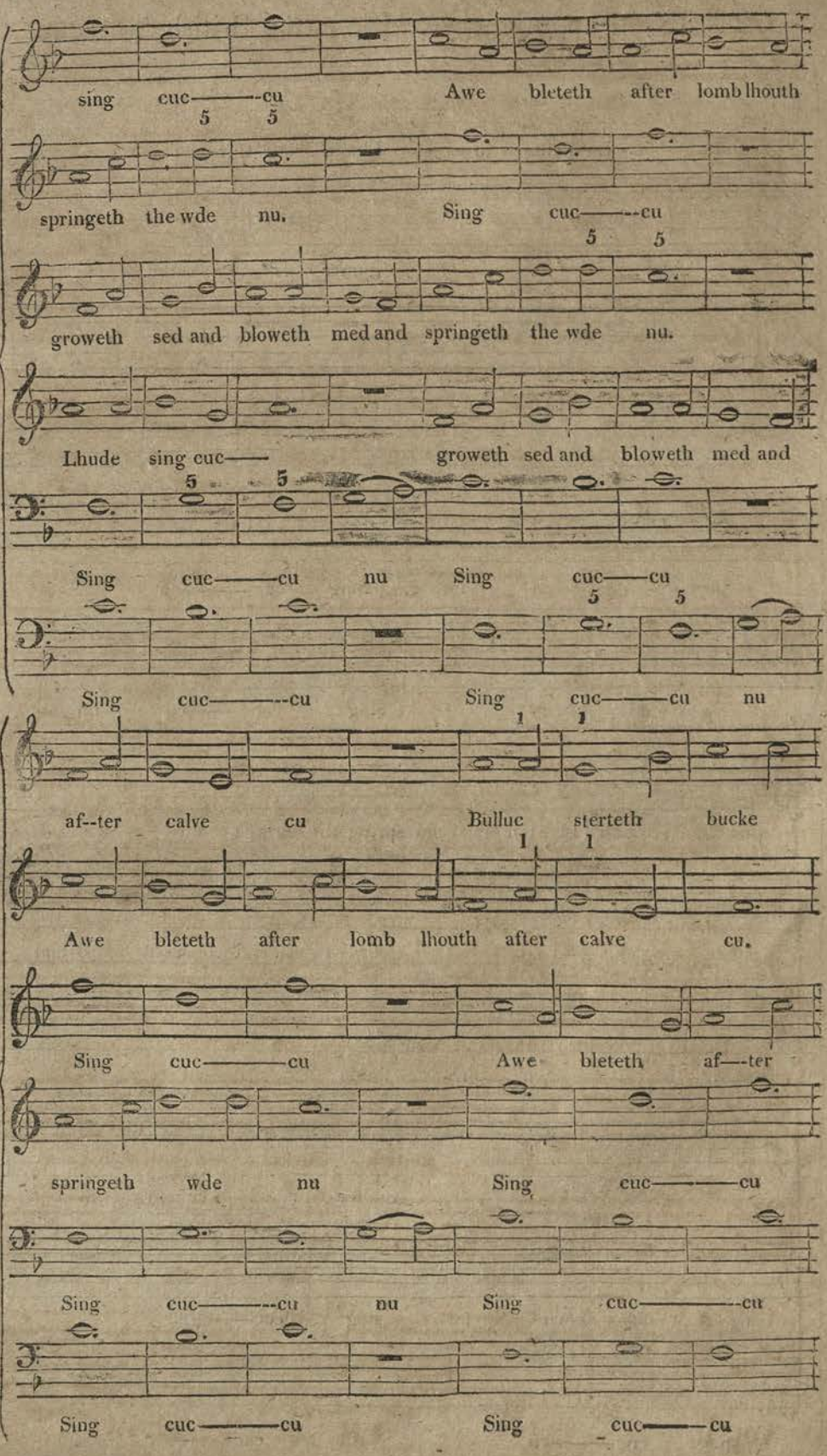
Though this *Canon* and *Catch*, united, is very ingeniously contrived, and has not only more melody, but is in better harmony than I have hitherto found of so early a period; yet, in point of composition though its defects may not be discovered by every *Ear* during the performance, it is hardly clean and pure enough to satisfy the *Eye*, in score: as many liquors may be tolerably palatable, and yet not bear a glass. However, to enable the Musical reader to judge of the state of Harmony in our country about the fourteenth or fifteenth century, I shall present them with a solution of this ancient Canon.

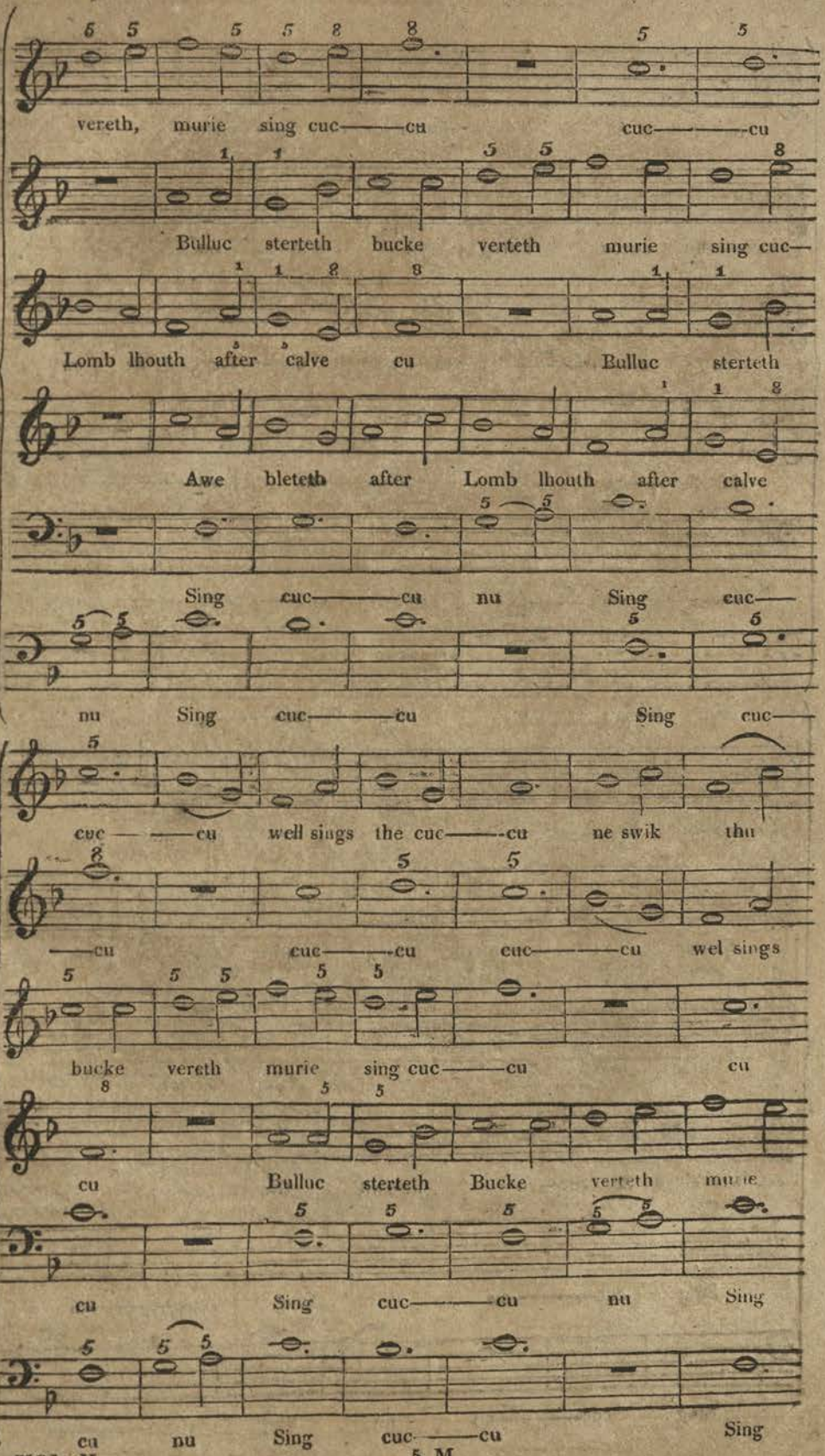
(*q*) At the end of the Song in the Museum MS. we find these instructions for singing it. *Hanc rotam Cantare possunt quatuor socii, a paucioribus autem quam a tribus, vel saltem duobus, non debet dici. Præter eos qui dicunt pedem. Canitur autem sic; tacentibus cæteris unus inchoat cum hijs qui tennet pedem, & cum venerit ad primam notam post crucem, inchoat alius; & sic de cæteris: Singuli vero repausent ad pausaciones scriptas, & non alibi; spacio unius longæ notæ.*—This explanation and the rules for the *Pes* being in Latin, is no proof that this Music was originally set to the Words in that language, which we find under the English in the MS. as the whole volume consists of Latin tracts, and Music to Latin words, except this Canon, and a Hymn to the Virgin in Latin and very old French.

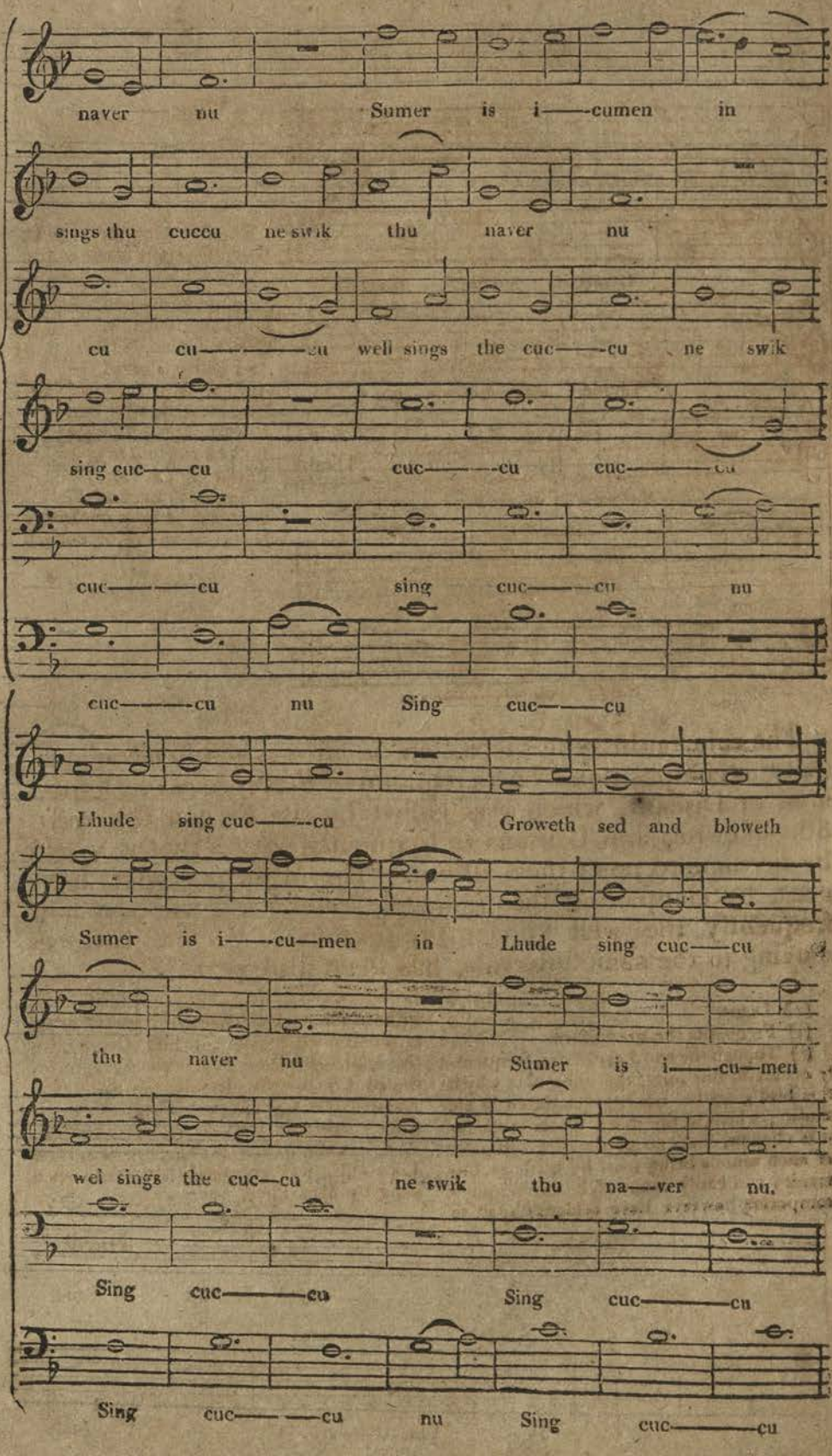
In this Volume there are Hymns and Psalms in Parts over each other, but being without Bars, not easy to compare. There are fifteen red lines equidistant, and three Clefs; C on the highest line but one, C on the eigth line from the top, and F on the fourth from the bottom. The notes are only of two sorts: full square, with tails, and lozenge without, ┐◆. There are likewise *ligatures* and *plicæ*, which add to the difficulty of the reading. The notes very much resemble those of Walter Odington's Treatise, Benet Coll. Cambridge, (*vide supra* p. 159 *et seq.*) and seem of the thirteenth or fourteenth century, except the Canon, which however I can hardly imagine to be much more modern.

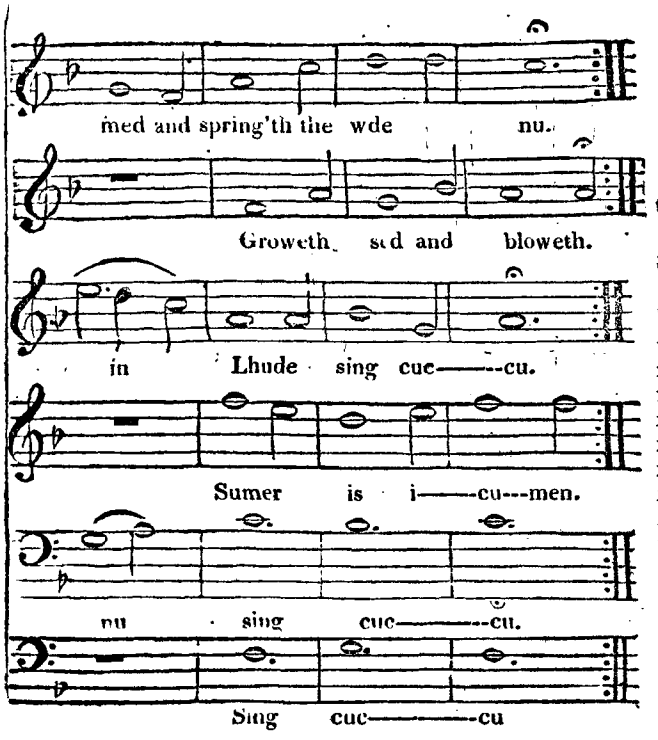
CANON, from an ancient MS. in the British Museum.




sing cuc——cu Awe bleteth after lomb lhouth
springeth the wde nu. Sing cuc——cu
groweth sed and bloweth med and springeth the wde nu.
Lhude sing cuc—— groweth sed and bloweth med and
Sing cuc——cu nu Sing cuc——cu
Sing cuc——cu Sing cuc——cu nu
af--ter calve cu Bulluc sterteth bucke
Awe bleteth after lomb lhouth after calve cu.
Sing cuc——cu Awe bleteth af--ter
springeth wde nu Sing cuc——cu
Sing cuc——cu nu Sing cuc——cu
Sing cuc——cu Sing cuc——cu


vereth, murie sing cuc——cu cuc——cu
Bulluc sterteth bucke verteth murie sing cuc—
Lomb lhouth after calve cu Bulluc sterteth
Awe bleteth after Lomb lhouth after calve
Sing cuc——cu nu Sing cuc—
nu Sing cuc——cu Sing cuc—
cuc——cu well sings the cuc——cu ne swik thu
——cu cuc——cu cuc——cu wel sings
bucke vereth murie sing cuc——cu cu
cu Bulluc sterteth Bucke verteth murie
cu Sing cuc——cu nu Sing
cu nu Sing cuc——cu Sing


naver nu Sumer is i——cumen in
sings thu cuccu ne swik thu naver nu
cu cu——cu well sings the cuc——cu ne swik
sing cuc——cu cuc——cu cuc——cu
cuc——cu sing cuc——cu nu
cuc——cu nu Sing cuc——cu
Lhude sing cuc——cu Groweth sed and bloweth
Sumer is i——cu—men in Lhude sing cuc——cu
thu naver nu Sumer is i——cu—men
wel sings the cuc—cu ne swik thu na—ver nu.
Sing cuc——cu Sing cuc——cu
Sing cuc——cu nu Sing cuc——cu



The following seems to be the true import of the words.

Summer is a-coming in,
Loud sing cuckow.
Groweth seed,
And bloweth mead,
And springeth the wood new.
Ewe bleateth after lamb;
Loweth after calf, cow;
Bullock sterteth (*r*),
Bucke verteth (*s*),
Merry sing cuckow.
Well sing'st thou cuckow,
Nor cease thou ever, now(*t*).

The rule against the succession of fifths is so often violated, that this composition seems a remnant of that species of *Diaphonics*, or Discant, which was called by the French *Quintoior*. 8ths likewise, and Unisons so frequently occur. that it would be tiresome to point them all out. The Musical reader, however, by compairing the *figurative references*, will see how frequently the well known prohibition of *perfect concords* moving in the same intervals, has been disregarded.

(*r*) Leaps.

(*s*) Frequents the green fern.

(*t*) Though the word *cuckow* so frequently occurs in this song, the interval in which this bird sings has not been imitated in the music; which is the more remarkable, as it is obvious, and one of the few instances of such sounds being used by birds as humanity can easily counterfeit. Subsequent composers however have seldom failed to imitate the cuckow's melody, wherever he is mentioned. Weelkes and Bennet, in the time of queen Elizabeth, have introduced it in their madrigals; Vivaldi's and Lampe's *Cuckow* Concertos were in great favour thirty or forty years ago; and Dr. Arne's song of the *cuckow*, in "As You Like it," was constantly encored when sung by Mrs. Clive.

Indeed,

Indeed, from the Northern pronunciation of the words which the Rhymes require, and the inartificial counterpoint, I am sometimes inclined to imagine this Canon, with the difference of additional parts and a second drone base of later times, to have been the production of the Northumbrians, who, according to Giraldus Cambrensis, used a kind of *Natural* symphonious harmony (*r*).

The chief merit of this ancient composition is the airy and pastoral correspondence of the *Melody* with the words. As to the *Modulation*, it is so monotonous, that little more than two chords are used throughout the Canon. But being the first example of Counterpoint in six parts, as well as of *Canon*, *Fugue*, or *Catch*, that can be produced, it seems to form an æra in vocal harmony, and to merit the reader's attention (*s*).

After this specimen of our Practical Music, I shall return to Theory, in order to give an account of a very scarce and curious Volume of MS. tracts, neatly written on Vellum, which before the reformation appertained to the Monastery of Waltham Holy-Cross, in Essex, as appears by a rubric inscription on the first leaf (*t*). It afterwards became the property of the venerable THOMAS TALLYS, whose name appears in his own hand-writing on the back of the last leaf. Morley seems to have consulted this MS. but to whom it belonged after the death of Tallis does not appear till the reign of King William, when it was among the books of Mr. Powle, Speaker of the House of Commons. From him it went to Lord Somers;

(*r*) Vide supra, p. 108.

(*s*) Such are the antiquity, language, and versification of the burlesque metrical Romance called *The* TOURNAMENT *of* TOTTENHAM, inserted in the second volumes of *Reliques of ancient English Poetry*, p. 15, second edition, that it seems no very wild conjecture to imagine it possible that this very Canon, which requires *six performers*, may have been alluded to at the close of the last Stanza.

—Mickle mirth was them among,
In every Corner of the House
Was Melody delicious,
For to hear precious
Of SIX MENS SONG.

(*t*) *Hunc Librum vocitatum Musicam Guidonis, scripsit Dominus Johannes Wylde, quondam exempti Monasterii Sancta Crucis de Waltham Præcentor.* After this, in black ink, and a different hand writing, is the following usual anathema. *Quem quidem Librum, aut hunc titulum, qui malitiose abstulerit aut deleverit, Anathema sit.*

and

and then to Sir Joseph Jekyll, at the sale of whose Library by Auction, it was purchased by a country organist, who in gratitude for some benefits received, presented it to the late James West, Esq. President of the Royal Society, and it is now the property of the Earl of Shelburne (*u*).

The Tracts contained in this Volume, which is wholly perfect and well preserved, are the following:

I. *Musica Guidonis Monachi.*

II. *De Origine et Effectu Musicæ.*

III. *Speculum Cantantium sive Psalterium.*

IV. *Metrologus Liber.*

V. *Regulæ Magistri Johan. Torksey.*

VI. *Tractatus Magistri Johannes de Muris, de distantia et Mensura vocum.*

VII. *Regulæ Magistri Thomæ Walsingham.*

VIII. Lionel Power of the Cordis of Musike.

IX. Treatise of Musical Proportions, and of their Naturis and Denominations, first in English and then in Latyne.

The first is not a Treatise by Guido, as the title seems to imply, but an explanation of his principles; it is divided into two books, and appears to have been compiled by the Præcentor of Waltham Abbey, John Wylde. Pr. *Quia juxta Sapientissimum Salomonem dura est.*—The author does not confine himself to the doctrines of Guido, but cites later writers. The Basis of the Tract, however, is the Micrologus, of which, and of Guido's other writings, so much has already been said

(*u*) By the kind intervention of the honourable Daines Barrington, I was favoured with this MS. while it was in the possession of Mr. West, just before my departure for Italy; but returned it ere I left England, for fear of accident, though I had then made but a small progress in it. After the decease of Mr. West, I was a considerable time ignorant to whom this curious and valuable MS. belonged; but at length had the good fortune to discover that it had fallen into the hands of the Earl of Shelburne, by whose liberal communication, so well known to the literary world, I have long been indulged with the use of it, and the opportunity I now enjoy, of consulting it as much at my leisure, as if it were my own property.

in the present volume that it is unnecessary to enlarge much upon a work which is professedly built upon his principles. The Monochord, the Scale, the Hand, the explanation of which he calls *Manual* Music, Ecclesiastical Tones, Solmisation, Clefs, with a Battle between B Flat and B Natural, are the subjects of the first Book, consisting of XXII Chapters.

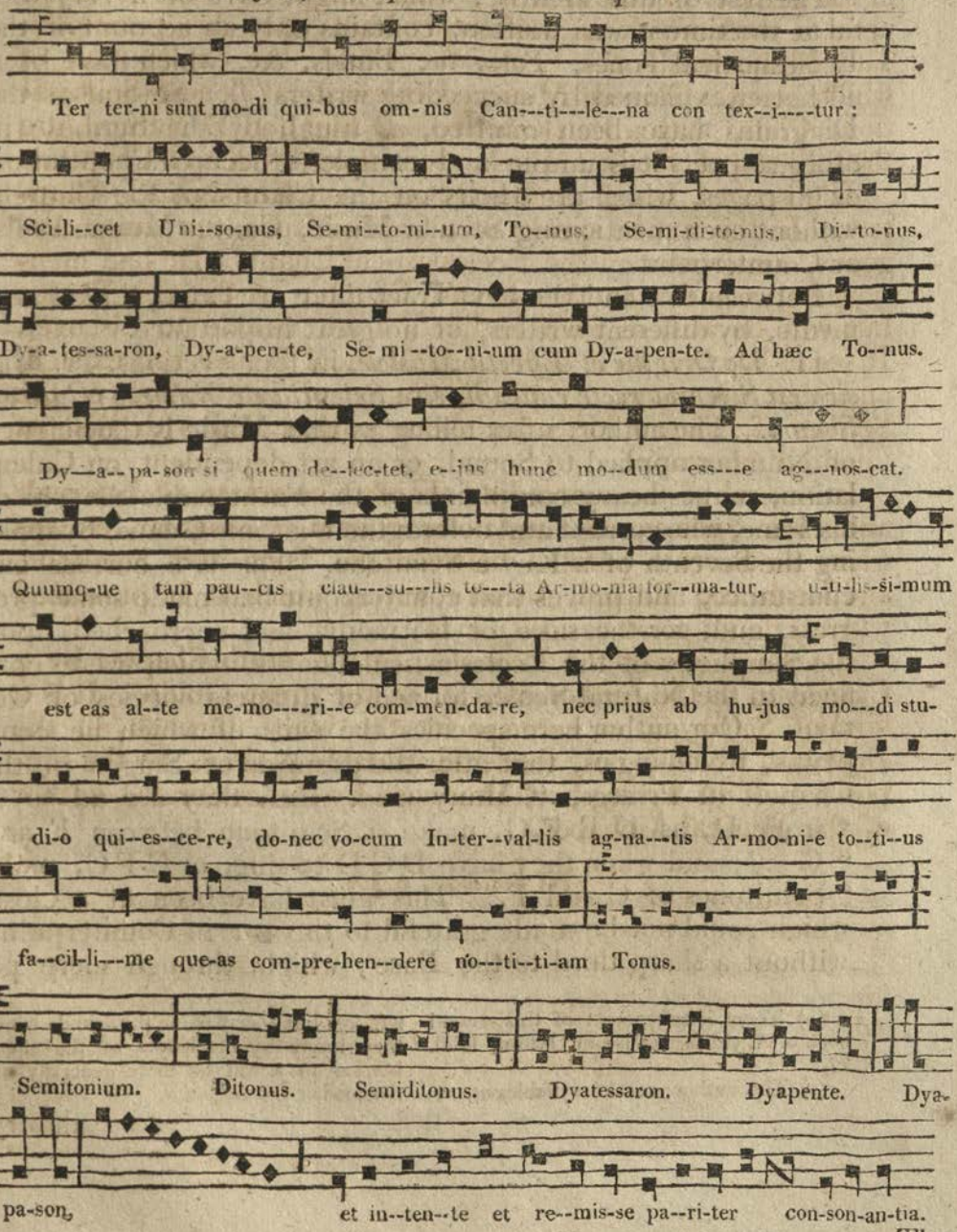
The second Book, or Distinction, contains XXXI Chapters. In the first he speaks of a Guido Minor, surnamed Augensis, as a writer on the Ecclesiastical Chant. He had mentioned this author in the seventh Chapter of the first Book; but who he was, or when he lived, I am unable to discover. It seems however as if some such Musical Writer had existed, and that his name, by the ignorance or inattention of the Scribes of Ancient MSS. had been confounded with that of Guido d'Arezzo *(x)*.

In several of the succeeding chapters he treats of Intervals and their Species, offering nothing new or singular, except where he draws a parallel between the Tone and Semitone, and Leah and Rachel, Jacob's wives, which it is presumed will excite no great curiosity in my reader.

Attention is engaged, however, in the tenth Chapter by a *Cantilena*, as the Author calls it, of the great Guido. It is a kind of *Solfeggio*, or exercise for the voice, through all the Intervals, which is only rendered valuable perhaps, by the supposition of its having been produced by the celebrated author of the Musical Alphabet.

(x) See above, p. 104.

Cantilena Guidonis Majoris, *omnes penitus Dissonantias quasi Consonantias includens.*



The

The rest of this Treatise, which might have been very useful at the time it was written, contains only an account of the Ecclesiastical Tones, *Formulæ*, Finals, &c. which have been all better explained by succeeding writers (*y*). Several of the Diagrams have been omitted, as usual, by the Scribes; in other respects it is ample and complete, occupying 48 folios, or 96 pages, which are wholly on the Chants of the Church, without even mentioning Secular Music, Cantus Mensurabilis, or Counterpoint.

Between this and the next Tract there are two or three Fragments, by different writers, of no great importance.

II. *De Origine et Effectu Musicæ*, in four Sections. Pr. *Musica est Scientia recte canendi, sive Scientia de Numero relato ad Sonum.* The author, after telling us that Music is the Science of Number applied to Sound, or an art dependent on Calculation, makes heavy complaints of the Fashionable Singers of his Time, who corrupt and deform the Diatonic Genus, by making the Seventh of a Key a Semitone. This is a curious circumstance, and proves that counterpoint had made some progress, and, for the sake of Harmony, had encroached upon the Simplicity of the Ecclesiastical Chants, which were confined to the Natural Scale, formed of different species of Octaves. Our author here specifies the evils of which he complains, by telling us, that after the example of Singers in the Chapels of Princes, "Many now, when they ascend to G "from D, as D E F G, make a Semitone between F and "G (*z*); and when they have D C D to sing, or G F G, make "Semitones of C and F." This must have been at a close, which could not be made grateful to the ear in Counterpoint, without a sharp third to the Base; which, through mere pe-

(*y*) There is a fragment of this second book of Wylde's treatise at Oxford, Bodl. 77.

(*z*) The author uses the syllables *ut, re, mi,* &c, but I shall name the sounds which they imply by the letters of the alphabet, as they will be more generally understood.

dantry,

dantry, was thought so licentious, that though necessary and allowable in performance, it was not suffered to be expressed in writing. The author cites, in support of his reasoning, the *Quatuor Principalia*, which proves the Tract to have been written after the year 1351 (*a*).

It is this author whose monkish rhymes have been quoted to prove that John de Muris was an Englishman (*b*). But he is too wild in his Chronology, and too absurd in his Opinions, except those relative to the mere mechanical rules of Music, to be of much authority. Besides the instances already given, it will help to stamp his character, if it be added that in enumerating the Inventors and Improvers of Music, after telling us that Philip de Vitriaco invented the least figure, or Minim, he speaks of St. Austin and St. Gregory, as later writers. Now Vitriaco flourished in the fourteenth century, St. Austin in the fourth, and St. Gregory in the sixth; but in his verses he places Guido before these saints, whom he seems determined to modernize.

III. *Speculum Psallentium.* The author of this short Tract adhering strictly to its title, gives no other precepts than those of St. Augustine, St. Gregory, and St. Bernard, for singing the Mass. St. Augustine and St. Bernard convey their admonitions in verse.

IV. *Metrologus Liber* Pr. *In Nomine Sanctæ & individuæ Trinitatis incipit Metrologus de Plana Musica et brevis. Primo, Quid est Musica? Musica est pericia Modulationis.*—This Tract does not treat of *Time* or *Measure*, as the title seems to promise, but of the invention of Music, the Gammut, Solmisation, Clefs, Intervals, Ecclesiastical Modes, and of whatever Guido treats in his *Micrologus*, a name which seems to suit this Treatise better than *Metrologus*. However the author, fol. 66, gives a Notation of the Metrical Feet in Poetry, which is

(*a*) He afterwards quotes the *Geneal. Deor.* of Boccace, which it is probable appeared still later.

(*b*) See above, p. 205.

some excuse for the title he has chosen. In the second part, he gives the History of Pythagoras's Discovery of the Consonances and the Intonation of the Psalms, in a more complete manner than I have seen in so ancient an author.

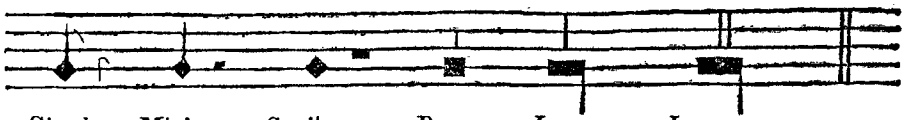
This Tract is the same as Bodl. 515, and was written by Simon Tunsted, about the middle of the fourteenth century.

It is followed by a whimsical attempt to prove the Analogy between Music and Heraldic Colours. It may be very ingenious and very true for ought that I can urge to the contrary, for being utterly unable to understand the author, it would ill become me to determine the degree of praise or blame that is due to his work (c). *Le Clavecin oculaire*, invented a few years ago, had at least a more obvious design, and a more plausable and promising method of conveying pleasure to the eye by the Harmony of Colours, than this author appears to have.

V. *Regulæ Magistri* Johan, Torkesey. If we could find any Music of the beginning of the fifteenth century, this Tract, which is the best comment upon the Ancient Time-table that I have seen, would greatly assist us in reading it. The author informs us, that though there are only three specific square characters used in Musical Notation; the *Large*, the *Long*, and the *Breve*, these are modified in six species of Simple Notes. Then he proceeds to their explanation, and attributes of perfection and imperfection; and here we find that about a century after the invention of the *Minim*, a still shorter note was introduced into Measured Music, called by some *Crochetum*, and by this author and a few others, the *Simple*. His Diagram, or representation of these six characters, with their correspondent rests, is so short and clear, that I shall present it to the reader.

(c) The Greeks indeed have the expression of a *white voice*, for a voice that is clear; and of a *black voice*, for the contrary: as the Romans talk of a brown voice, *fusca vox*, as that of Nero is called by Suetonius.

Simple.



Simple. *Minim.* *Semibreve.* *Breve.* *Long.* *Large.*

I have given such rests as belong to those notes in their *imperfect* State, as they were then called, when used in *Dupla* proportion, or as we now call it, common time. In their *perfect State*, or *triple proportion*, a square note was regarded as equal to three of the next shorter note in degree, without a point of perfection, which was at first only used to the semibreve and notes of less duration. All these notes being originally black, when a hook was applied to the Minim, it would have, to a modern eye, the appearance of a *Quaver*, to which the name of *Crotchet* is now improperly applied. After these notes were opened, it was no uncommon thing to see *white* Crotchets, or as we should now call them Quavers, which were then only one degree quicker than the Minim. It is hoped, that these remarks will facilitate the understanding of the Moods and Prolations when they come to be explained, and enable the musical reader to peruse with greater pleasure the examples of Ancient Composition which may be inserted hereafter.

Torkesey next exhibits such a table of Concords and Discords as may be seen in innumerable other books; but he afterwards gives a notation of intervals, from the Comma to the Disdiapason, that is curious. Here the square B, ♮, or natural, serves for all accidental semitones, ascending, and the round b for the same intervals, descending. The character of ♯ was not yet in general use, though its invention has been traced as high as Marchetto da Padua's time (*a*). The Comma he calls the difference between G sharp and A flat; the Diesis between C sharp and D;

(*a*) Supra, p. 392.

the

the Minor Semitone, between F and F sharp; the Major Semitone between E and F.

This Tract, and all the preceding parts of the MS. are of the same hand-writing, and seem to have been transcribed by the Precentor Wylde, himself, as at the End, after these words, *Expliciunt Regulæ Magistri Johannis Torkesey* De 6 Speciebus notarum, &c. there is this signature—J. W.

VI. *Regulæ Magistri* Johannis de Muris. This is the Title of the next Tract in the MS. which, however, is not a Work of John de Muris, as the inscription seems to imply, but one built upon his principles. De Muris had written so much on the *Cantus Mensurabilis*, that the opinion of its having been of his *Invention* was very early received; as appears by the author of this little work, which must have been written within less than a century of the time when de Muris flourished, having ascribed to him the doctrine which he proposed to illustrate. He enters deeply into the Mysteries of Ligatures, and gives rules for the *Simple*, which is a note that was invented long after the time of John de Muris. But this Tract was probably not only transcribed but compiled by the Precentor of Waltham-Abbey, as *quod J. Wylde*, is written at the end.

VII. *Regulæ Magistri Thomæ Walsingham, De Figuris compositis & non compositis, et de Cantu perfecto & imperfecto, et de Modis.* This comprehensive Title does not promise more than the Author has performed; as the simple and compound *Figures* or Notes, their *perfect* and *imperfect* powers, the *Moods* and every thing that concerned the Time or Measure of such Music as then subsisted, is very well explained; particularly the *Moods* and *Signs* of *Prolation*, which I do not recollect to have seen represented in any other Authors equally ancient. His Chapters on *rests* or pauses, on the Signs of *perfection*

fection and *imperfection* of the notes, and of the alteration of their value, by *position* or *colour*, are very instructive.

The signs of prolation at first were confined to four: two for perfect or triple time, and two for imperfect or common time. The Circle with a point of perfection in the centre, thus ⊙; was the Sign for the *great Mode perfect*, in which all long notes were equal in duration to *three* of the next shorter in degree. The simple circle, unaccompanied by the point, was used for notes of a shorter duration, but with the same *triple* power. These two moods may be compared with our present measures of $\frac{3}{4}$ and $\frac{3}{2}$, where each note is occasionally rendered perfect, or equal to three others, by a point, instead of the general augmentation implied by the circle, which the old masters placed at the beginning of a movement.

The signs of *imperfect*, or, as we now call it, *Common Time*, were these 𝄵. C. which differ but little from those in present use for *Dupla proportion*, or an equal number of notes in a measure; where each longer note is only equal to *two* of the next shorter kind.

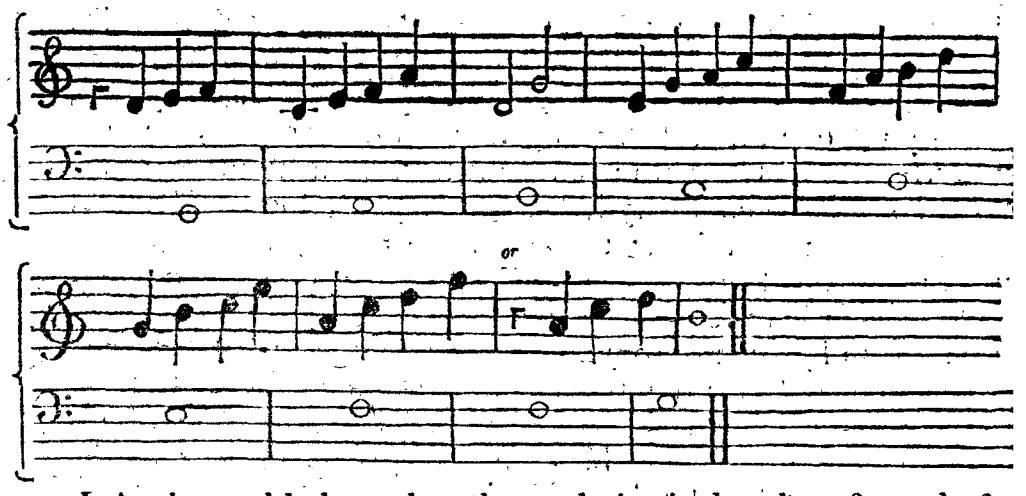
Thus far these modes are easily comprehended, and all reducible to such as are in present use. But the great difficulty in the measure of such ancient music as was composed before the use of *Bars*, and disuse of *Ligatures*, *Plicæ*, and *Prolation*, is the frequent augmentation and diminution occasioned in the length of notes by *position*, and by the frequent changes of the signs of prolation. Walsingham has, indeed, taken great pains to remove this difficulty by explanations, and numerous examples in notes; and I do not remember to have seen such light thrown on the subject by any other author before Morley, when, indeed, instruction, except for the perusal and performance of old masters, was too late, as the time-table had undergone many changes, and composers had learned to express their thoughts in a new and more intelligible manner.

VIII. This is a short treatise, written in English, which, besides the obsolete words, orthography, and shape of the letters, has several other internal marks of considerable antiquity: such as a mixture of Saxon letters; an oblique stroke, instead of a dot over the letter *i*; and the frequency and kind of abbreviations. Though this Essay will afford no information of importance to a musician of the present times, except that which will gratify self-complacence, by discovering to him that the author knew less than subsequent improvements in the art of music have enabled him to know himself; yet, as it seems to be the most ancient musical tract that has been written, or at least preserved, in our vernacular tongue, I shall give a considerable extract from it, not only to shew the state of our music, but our language, at the period when it was written.

"This Tretis is contynued upon the Gamme for hem that "wil be syngers, or makers, or techers. For the ferst thing "of alle ye must kno how many cordis of discant there be. "As olde men sayen, and as men syng now-a-dayes, ther be "nine; but whoso wil syng mannerli and musikeli, he may "not lepe to the fyfteenth in no manner of discant; for it "longeth for no manny's uoys, and so ther be but eyght ac-"cordis after the discant now usid. And whosoever wil be a "maker, he may use no mo than eyght, and so ther be but "eyght fro unison unto the thyrteenth. But for the qua-"tribil syghte ther be nine accordis of discant, the unison, "thyrd, fyfth, syxth, eyghth, tenth, twelfth, thyrteenth, "and fyfteenth, of the whech nyne accordis fyve be perfyte, "and fower be imperfyte. The fyve perfyte be the unison, "fyfth, eyghth, twelfth, and fyfteenth; the fower imper-"fyte be the thyrd, syxth, tenth, and syxteenth: also thou "maist ascende and descende wyth alle maner of cordis ex-"cepte two accordis perfyte of one kynde, as two unisons, "two fyths, two eyghths, two twelfths, two fyfteenths, "wyth none of these thou maist neyther ascende, neyther "descende;

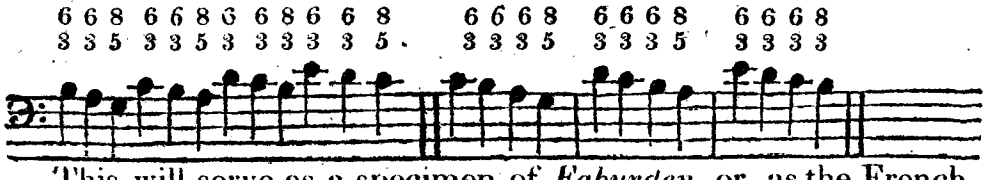
" descende; but thou must consette these accordis togedir,
" and medele hem wel, as I shall enforin the. Ferst thou
" shall medele with a thyrd a fyth, wyth a sixth an eyghth,
" wyth an eyghth a tenth, wyth a tenth a twelfth, wyth a
" thyrteenth a fyfteenth; under the whech nyne accordis
" three sygtis be conteynyd, the mene syght, the trebil syght,
" and the quatribil sight: and others also of the nyne accordis
" how thou shalt hem ymagyne betwene the playn song and
" the discant here folloeth the ensample. First to enforme a
" chylde in hys counterpoynt, he must ymagyne hys unison
" the eygth note fro the playn-song, benethe hys thyrd; the
" syxth note benethe hys fyfth; the fowerth benethe his
" syxth; the thyrd note benethe his eyghth, even with the
" playne song; hys tenth and third note aboue, his twelfth
" the fyfth note above, his thyrteenth the syxth aboue, hys
" fyfteenth the eyghth note aboue the playne-song."

The author then proceeds to give a kind of *Regle de l'Octave*, or rule for accompanying the eight notes of a key, which he calls the *Quadreble Syghte*, and by which he means such concords as the highest part in discant may sing to each note of the key of G. By a view of these *accordis*, as he calls them, we shall be enabled to judge of the harmony of his time; and though the author expresses the intervals by the syllables of Solmisation, by figures, and by square notes, I shall exhibit them in characters that are most familiar at present



It is observable here that the ecclesiastical scales, formed of different species of Octave, still tyrannized over harmony and modulation too much to allow a sharp to the seventh of the key of G; however, there is this advantage in the F being natural, that the same harmony can be applied to the base in descending as well as in ascending, which is not practicable in the modern *Regle de l'Octave:*

After giving the *Treble Sight*, as Master Power calls it, which is a *remplissage* of the harmony which a contrapuntist can easily imagine from the other part, he proceeds to tell us that "of "these two sightis nedith no ferther more to ymagine. But "here folloeth ensaumplis of diverse playn songis, how thou "shalt discant hem be diverse wise." I shall give one specimen more of his harmony, in order to furnish my readers with a very early instance of the accompaniment to a base being expressed by figures.



This will serve as a specimen of *Faburden*, or, as the French call it, *Fauxbourdon*, and the Italians, *Falsabordone*, which originally implied Extemporary Discant, in a succession of thirds and sixths.

The

The author terminates his treatise by the following words: "But who will kenne his Gamme wel, and the ymaginations "therof, and of hys accordis, as I have rehersid in this treatise "afore, he may not faile of his counterpoint in short tyme." LYONEL POWER.

After this we have a short tract, written likewise in English, which seems a supplement to the preceding rules for discant.

"Her folwith a litil tretis according to the first tretis of the "Sight of Descant (*u*). And also for the Sight of Counter, "and for the Sight of the Counter-tenor, and of *Faburden*." He then repeats the rules which Power had prescribed, after which he proceeds to inform us that "it is fayre and meri "singing many imperfyte cordis togeder—also as many syxts "next after a eyghth—this maner of singyng is mery to the "synger and to the herer." The author concludes his precepts by the following injunction:—"two perfyte accordis "of one nature may not be sung togeder in no degree of des-"cant." Which is a prohibition of fifths and eighths in succession.

This precept, with which the author terminates his tract, seems to have been so much unknown or disregarded by the composer of the canon, "*Sumer is i cumen in*," that the violation of a rule so earnestly recommended by theorists and religiously observed by practicians ever since the laws of harmony were established, excites a suspicion that this canon is much more ancient than has been imagined.

The rest of this little tract furnishes nothing new or useful to the history or science of music, and therefore I shall proceed to the next and last treatise in the MS (*x*).

(*u*) This is the first time that I have observed the word to have been thus written.

(*x*) Though the name of the author is not prefixed to this tract, yet the subject, language, and style, so much resemble those of the other, as to have the appearance of a sequel to it: indeed he expressly says that it is written "according to the "first tretis of the Sight of Discant."

IX. Her beginneth tretises, diverse of musical proportions, of theire naturis and denominations, fferst in English, and than in Latyne.

As these are both written upon a subject that has been much better treated since, I shall not be diffuse in my account or citations.

The author, whose name is CHILSTON, seems to pursue the subject of the preceding tracts: "Now passid al maner "sightis of descant, and with hem wel replesshid, that natural "appetide not saturate sufficientli desireth mo musical conclu-"sions, as now in special of proporcions, and of them to have "plein informacion, of the whech afir myn understonding ye "shall have opin declaration."

Cicero, in writing upon philosophy in his own language, was obliged to retain Greek terms; so our author, who appears to have been the first that had attempted to explain the philosophy of sound in English, uses a similar expedient. "But "for as moche as the namys of hem (proportions) be more "convenientli and compendiusli sette in Latin than in Englishe, "therfor the namys of hem shal stonde stille in Latin, and as "breueli as I can declare the naturis of hem in English."

If allowance be made for the antiquity of the language, the author's definitions are very clear, and such as would be intelligible to persons wholly ignorant of mathematics; and in explaining the difference between geometrical, arithmetical, and harmonical proportion, he would perhaps convey more science to an ignorant reader, from the language in which he expresses himself being less learned and technical than that of more modern writers.

The last article in this valuable MS. is but the fragment of a Latin tract upon musical proportions; but as the author applies his calculation in the preceding tract to the ratios of musical tones, with respect to gravity and acuteness, in this he considers their relative length and duration, and illustrates his

his doctrines with red musical notes in the treble, and black in the base, composed of such measures as in the execution would perhaps baffle the knowledge and experience of the greatest practical musicians now alive. Here we have not only double and triple proportions, but *Quintuple*, *Sesquialterate*, *Sesquitertian*, and *Sesquioctavan*: that is, when one minim in the base is as long as a semibreve, or two minims, in the treble; as three minims; as five; as one and a half; as 16 to 12, or 12 to 9!

Whether all these measures were ever received, or attempted in practice, does not appear; we can only be certain, if they were, that no other effect could be produced by them than that of dislocation and confusion. The age, however, of which we are now speaking, as well as the next, with a true Gothic spirit, delighted in difficult trifles; and composers, after the laws of counterpoint were settled, seemed more ambitious of pleasing the eye than the ear, as there will be but too frequent occasion to remark in the course of this work. Theories, systems, and hypotheses of distant times remain, and are more intelligible than useful; but how all the didactic and theoretic musical treatises which were now produced operated upon the practice of the art, we are but little acquainted; for whether this period gave birth to many vocal compositions in parts, or with what success instrumental music was cultivated, is as difficult to determine, as whether the present scarcity of ancient music has been occasioned by the want of genius and diligence in musicians to produce it, or the neglect of subsequent times in preserving it from destruction.

The minstrel trade, however, seems to have flourished in these times, and to have been very profitable to its followers, if we may judge by the frequent use that was made of their talents by the great, and the manner in which they were rewarded.

In these times not only the king and principal nobility had minstrels in their service, as part of their household, but some of the greater monasteries retained them for their own use, and appointed

appointed them salaries; for it is recorded that Jeffrey, the harper, so early as the reign of Henry the Second, received a corrody, or annuity, from the Benedictine abbey of Hide, near Winchester (*y*), doubtless as a reward for the exercise of his musical talents on public occasions. The abbies of Conway and Shatflur, in Wales, likewise severally maintained a bard (*z*).

In the annual account-roll of the Augustine priory of Bicester, in Oxfordshire, for the year 1431, entries are likewise made of the sums expended in fees to Minstrels; "Given to "the harper on St. Jerom's day, viii, d.—to another called "Hendy, at the feast of St. Simon and St. Jude, xii, d. "To one of Lord Talbot's minstrels after Christmas, xii, d.— "To the minstrels of Lord Strange, on twelfth-day, xx, d. "To two of Lord Lovell's minstrels after St. Mark's day, xvi, d. "To the minstrels of the Duke of Gloucester, on the feast of "the Blessed Virgin, iii, s. iv, d." Two minstrels from Coventry are said to have been employed at the consecration of John, prior of this convent, 1432 (*a*). In

(*y*) Madox, Hist. Exchequer, p. 251, where he is called *Galfridus Citharœdus*.

(*z*) Powel's CAMBRIA. and Hist. of English Poetry, vol. i. p. 92. This is a custom which may be still said to subsist in Italy, where great singers, after retiring from the stage and settling in any great city, or in the neighbourhood of great monasteries, have an annual salary for performing there, at the celebration of particular festivals, or at the consecration of nuns, when the daughters of persons of distinction take the veil. This is now the case with Caffarelli at Naples, Manzoli at Florence, and Guarducci at Montefiasconi, and its neighbourhood.

(*a*) I am indebted to the diligence of the Rev. Mr. Thos. Wharton for these last particulars, *Hist. Eng. Poetry*, vol. i. p. 91, where there is a note so much to my purpose that I am tempted to insert it here, entire. "In the Ancient Annual Rolls of "Accompts of Winchester College, there "are many articles of this sort. The two "following, extracted from a great num- "ber, may serve as a specimen. They "are chiefly in the reign of Edward IV. "viz. *In the year* 1481. "Et in Sol. Mini- "strallis dom. Regis venientibus ad Colle- "gium xv. die Aprilis, cum 12d. solut. "Ministrallis dom. Episcopi Wynton ve- "nientibus ad Collegium primo die Junii, "iiii s. iiii d.—Et in dat. Ministrallis dom. "de Lawarr. ii s. iiii d."—*In the year* "1483. "Sol. Ministrallis dom. Regis "ven. ad Coll. iii s. iv d."—*In the year* "1472. "Et in dat. Ministrallis dom. "Regis cum vii d. dat. duobus Berewar- "dis ducis Clarentie xxd. Et in dat. Jo- "hanni *Stulto* quondam dom. de Ware- "wyco, cum iiii d. dat. Thome Revyle "Toborario.—Et in datis duobus Mini- "strallis ducis Glocestrie, cum iiii d. "dat. uni Ministrallo ducis di Northum- "berland, viii d.—Et in datis duobus "citharatoribus ad vices venient. ad Col- "legium

In the reign of Edward the IV. a period at which we are now arrived, Music, after long living a vagrant life, and being passed from parish to parish, seems at length, by the favour of this monarch, to have acquired a settlement; for it appears that by his letters patent under the great seal of his realm of England, bearing date the 24th of April, 1469, in the ninth year of his reign, that this prince did, "for him and his heirs, "give and grant licence unto Walter Haliday, Marshall, John "Cuff, and Robert Marshall, Thomas Grane, Thomas Cal- "thorne, William Cliff, William Christian, and William Eyney- "sham, then MINSTRELS of the said king, that they by "themselves should be in deed and name *one body and comina-* "*lity*, perpetual and capable in the law, and should have per- "petual succession; and that as well the minstrels of the said "king, which then were, as other minstrels of the said king and "his heirs which should be afterwards, might at their pleasure "name, chuse, ordeine, and successively constitute from among "themselves, one marshall, able and fit to remain in that office "during his life, and also two wardens every year, to govern "the said Fraternity and Guild, &c (*b*)."

The

"legium viii d."—*In the year* 1479. "Et "in datis Satrapis Wynton venientibus ad "Coll. festo Epiphanie, cum xii d. dat. "Ministrallis dom. Episcopi venient. ad. "Coll. infra Octavas Epiphanie iii s."—*In* "*the year* 1477. "Et in dat. Ministrallis "dom. Principis venient. ad coll. festo "Ascentionis Domini, cum xx d. dat. Mi- "nistrallis dom. Regis, v s."—*In the year* "1464. "Et in dat. Ministrallis comitis "Kancie venient. ad Coll. in mense Julii, "iiii s. iiii d."—*In the year* 1467. "Et "in datis quatuor Mimis dom. de Arun- "dell venient. ad Coll. xiii die ffebr. ex "curialitate dom. custodis, ii s."—*In the* "*year* 1456. "Et in dat. Satrapis, (ut "supr.) cum ii s. dat. iiii. interludentibus "et J. Meke citheristæ eodem ffesto, iiii s." "—*In the year* 1484. "Et in dat. uni "Ministrallo dom. principis et in aliis "Ministrallis ducis Glocestrie v die Julii, "xx d."—The minstrels of the bishop, of "lord Arundell, and the duke of Glouces- "ter, occur very frequently. In domo "monimen, Coll. prædict. in cista ex ori- "entali latere.

"In rolls of the reign of Henry the "Sixth, the Countess of Westmoreland, "sister of Cardinal Beaufort, is mentioned "as being entertained in the college; and "in her retinue were the Minstrels of her "houshold, who received gratuities." *Ex Rot. Comp. Orig.*

(*b*) This *incorporation* of Minstrels resembles that of the flute-players among the Romans. See note (*g*) vol. i. p. 481. When the French Minstrels, about a century before the charter was granted by Edward IV. were incorporated by charter, they had a *King* set over them. Marshal, (*Marescal-*

The original charter is preserved in Rymer's Fœdera (*c*): and in the eleventh year of Charles the First, when that monarch was petitioned to grant a new patent to the professors of the art and science of music, the form of that which had been from Edward the Fourth was made the ground-work of the new charter.

Another important musical regulation of this reign is recorded in a book entitled *Liber Niger Domus Regis*, in which is an account of the houshold establishment of King Edward the Fourth, of the several musicians retained in his service, as well for his private amusement as for the service of his chapel.

As this seems the origin of those musical establishments of the chapel royal, and king's band, which still subsist, I shall give the account of them and their several employments, at full length, from this ancient book, as published, with additions, by Batman.

" Minstrelles thirteene, thereof one is Virger, which direct-
" eth them all festyvall dayes in their statyones of blowings
" and pypyngs to such offices as the offycerers might be warn-
" ed to prepare for the king's meats and soupers; to be more
" redyere in all services and due tyme; and all thes sytying
" in the hall together, whereof some be trompets, some with
" shalmes and smalle pypes, and some are strange mene
" coming to this court at fyve feastes of the year, and then
" take their wages of houshold, after iiij d. ob. by daye, after
" as they have been presente at courte, and then to avoyd
" aftere the next morrowe aftere the feaste, besydes their

lus, from the German, Marschals, i. e. *Equitum Magister*) was however a title of great dignity, and, in some cases, of extensive power: as Earl Marshal of England, Marshal of the King's House, Marshal of the Justices in Eyre, &c. Field Marshal is still a title of great honour.

(*c*) Tom. xi. *pro Fraternitate Minstrallorum Regis.*

Rex omnibus ad quos, &c. Salutem. Sciatis quod ex Querelosa Insinuatione, Dilectorum nobis, Walteri Haliday, *Marescalli, Johannis Cliff*, &c. Several of the Musicians specified in this charter had been in the service of Henry the Sixth, as appears by a precept, which is likewise preserved in Rymer, and has for title *De Ministrallis propter Solatium Regis providendis.*

" other

" other rewards yearly in the King's Exchequer, and clothinge " with the houshold, wintere and somere for eiche of them " xxs. And they take nightelye amongste them all iiij ga- " lanes ale; and for wintere seasone thre candles waxe, vj " candles pich, iiij tale sheids *; lodging suffytente by the " herbengere for them and their horses nighteley to the " courte. Aulso hauing into-courte ij servants to bear their " trompets, pypes, and other instruments, and torche for win- " tere nightes, whilst they blow to support of the chaundry; " and alway two of thes persones to contynewe stylle in courte " at wages by the cheque rolle whiles they be presente iiij ob. " dayly, to warne the king's ridynge houshold when he goeth " to horsbacke as oft as it shall require, and that his hous- " hold meny may followe the more redyere aftere by the blow- " inge of their trompets. Yf any of thes two minstrelles be " lete bloode in courte, he taketh two loves, ij messe of greate " meate, one galone ale. They part not at no tyme with the " rewards given to the houshold. Also when it pleasethe the " king to have ij minstrelles continuinge at courte, they will " not in no wise that thes minstrelles be so famylliere to aske " rewards.

" A WAYTE, that nightelye from Mychelmas to Shreve " Thorsdaye pipethe watche withen this courte fower tymes; " in the somere nightes iij tymes, and makethe bon gayte at " every chambere doare and offyce, as well for feare of " pyckeres and pilleres †. He eateth in the halle with myn- " strielles, and takethe lyverey at nighte a loffe, a galone of " alle, and for somere nightes ij candles pich, a bushel of " coles; and for wintere nights half a loaf of bread, a ga- " lon of ale, iiij candles piche, a bushel coles; daylye whilste " he is presente in courte for his wages in cheque roale allow- " ed iiij d. ob. or else iij. d. by the discresshon of the steuarde

* Fire-wood, cleft and cut into billets.

† *Bon Gayte*, good watch, from the French. *Bon guet chasse malaventure.* Prov.

" and

" and tressorere, and that, aftere his cominge and diseruinge:
" also cloathinge with the houshold yeomen or mynstrelles
" like to the wages that he takethe; and he be syke he tak-
" eth twoe loves, ij messe of greate meate, one gallon ale.
" Also he partethe with the housholde of general gyfts, and
" hathe his beddinge carried by the comptrollers assygment;
" and under this yeoman to be a groome watere. Yf he can
" excuse the yeoman in his absence, that he takethe rewarde,
" clotheinge, meat, and all other things lyke to other grooms
" of houshold. Also this yeoman-waighte, at the making
" of Knightes of the Bathe, for his attendance upon them by
" nighte-tyme, in watching in the chappelle, hath to his fee
" all the watchinge-clothing that the knight shall wear uppon
" him *.

" CILDREN OF THE CHAPELLE viij, founden by the
" king's priuie cofferers for all that longeth to their apperelle by
" the hands and oversyghte of the deane, or by the master of
" songe assigned to teache them, which mastere is appointed
" by the deane, chosen one of the nomber of the felowshipe
" of chappelle after rehearsed, and to draw them to other
" schooles after the form of sacotte, as well as in songe in
" orgaines and other. Thes children eate in the hall dayly
" at the chappell board, nexte the yeomane of uestery; tak-
" ing amongeste them for lyverye daylye for brekefaste and
" all nighte, two loves, one messe of greate meate, ij galones
" ale; and for wintere seasone iiij candles piche, iij talsheids,
" and lyttere for their pallets of the serjante usher, and carry-
" adge of the king's coste for the competente beddynge by
" the oversyghte of the comptrollere. And amongeste them
" all to have one servante into the court to trusse and bear
" their harnesse and lyverye in court. And that day the king's
" chappelle remoueth every of thes children then present re-

* Here we have another instance of costly robes being bestowed on musicians. See above, p. 316 *et seq.*

" ceaueth

" ceaueth iiij d. at the Grene Clothe of the Comptyng-house " for horshire dayly, as long as they be jurneinge. And when " any of these Children comene to xviij years of age, and their " uoyces change, ne cannot be preferred in this Chapelle, the " nombere being full, then yf they will assente the King as- " synethe them to a College of Oxeford or Cambridge of his " foundatione, there to be at fyndyng and studye bothe suffy- " tyently, till the King may otherwise aduance them."

And now, finding that the present Chapter is extended to a greater number of pages than I had imagined my materials would supply, in order to terminate that, and all which I shall say concerning treatises that were written on the subject of music previous to printing, or at least to the invention of types to represent musical characters, I shall close this period with an account of two inedited MS. Tracts, written in English, that have been carefully examined in libraries of our universities, with the design of communicating their contents to my readers, and which indeed should have been mentioned sooner.

I. At the end of the volume of musical MSS. in Benet College Library, Cambridge *(d)*, which contains the Treatise by Walter Odington *(e)*, there is a fragment of an old English Tract, which by the writing, Saxon letters, and abbreviations, seems to have been transcribed about the beginning of the fifteenth century.

" Here begineth a shorte Treatyse of the Rule of DISCANT. " It is to witt that ther are accordaunce withouten noumber, " but ther are ix in use, whych ix be these: the Unison, the " thyrde, the ffyfte, the sixte, the eyght, the tenth, twelfth, " thyrteenth, and the fyfteenth. Of the whyche No. fyve " are perfyte Cordys. The fyve perfyte Cordys be these: the " Unison, the ffyfte, the eyghth, the twelfth, and the fyfteenth. " Of the whyche first perfyte ther are ful perfite and ther are

(d) No. 410. 25 N. *(e)* Vide supra p. 161.

" less perfite. The full perfite are these: the Unison, the " eyghth, and fyfteenth. The two less perfite are the ffyfte, " and twelfth. The imperfite Cordys are the thyrde, the sixte, " the tenth, and the thyrteenth, and so with these Accordys " of DISCANT any Discanter may both rise and faul with the " Playne Song," &c.

II. At Oxford, likewise, in the same volume as Thienred of Dover's Treatises (*f*), there is another fragment of an English Tract on the subject of Discant, by Richard Cutell. It appears to be of nearly the same age as the preceding anonymous Tract in Benet College, and to contain the same doctrine.

Compositio Ricardi Cuteti de London.

" It is to witt that there are ix accordys in Discant, that is " to say, 1, 3, 5, 6, 8, 10, 12, 13, 15, of the whilke ix, 5 " are perfite Accordys, and 4 imperfite. The five perfite are " 1, 5, 8, 12, 15, and of these 5, 3 ar ful Acordys, that is " to say, 1, 8, and 15; and 2 are less perfite, that is to say, " 5 and 12 || And 4 imperfite Acordys are theis 3, 6, 10, 13. " It is taught by the old tretyses that a man shall take bot on " perfite of a kynd togedyr, as on 5, on 8, on 12; bot it is " denyd to take 2 perfite accordys togedyr of a perfite kynd, " as 2 5^{ts}. and 2 8^{ts}. || or a 12 and a 15, but never 2 of on " kynd || Bote of all unperfite acordys it is leueful to take 3, " 4, or 5 of a kynd, if the Playn Song ascend or descend. Bot " never must it be in on lyne | as fa, fa, fa, | or sol, sol, sol; " then that a man take diverse acordys of diverse lynes whedyre " all they be perfite or unperfite || also the old techyng was that " a man shal never take non unperfite acordys, bot that he " had a perfite after it. As | after a 3 a 5, and after an 8 a 12, " and after a 13 a 15 | but now it is denyd by the Techers of

(*f*) Bodl. 842.

" Discant,

" Discant, that after a 3 a man may take a 6, or after a 6 a man " may take a tent, &c.———— * * * * * Also it is to " witt, that if ye have a Playne song that descendeth as fa " ut, or fa re, or fa mi, or la re, and these be an unperfite ac- " cord, about the hear (higher) note, ye shall never descend out " of the heir (higher note) out of the unperfite acord into a " perfite with the lower note. Never ascending of the same " ayre. And also it is to witt, that there are 3 degrees of Dis- " cant, that is to say Mene, Treble, and Quadrible. The " Mene beginneth in the 5, abowvyn the Playn Songe in voys, " and about the Playn Song in Syght to the Mene longeth " properly 5 acordys, that is to say, the Unison, 3, 5, 6, and " the 8th. To the Treble langs properly 5 acordys also the " 5, the 6, the 8, 10, the 13th. to the Quadrible, langeth 5 " Acordys also, that is to say, the 8, the x, xii, xiii. the xv. " Also it is to witt that all the acordys of Discant ben bellowyn " the Playn Song in voys, save one, that is to say the I. Ne- " verthelesse the Sight of Discant is sometime beneth the Playn " Song, and sometime abouve, and sometime about the " Playn Songe, and so the Discant of the Mene Salbegynne " hys Discant about the Playne Songe in Syght, as I sayd " before"——

" Also it is skylful that alle Discant bygyne and end in a " perfite acorde, &c."——

The dividing the Perfect Concords into more and less perfect, seems peculiar to this period, as does the exclusion of the fourth from the Catalogue; and as no Discords are mentioned, it is natural to suppose that they were not yet admitted into Composition.

The English Tracts in the Shelburn MS. by Lyonel Power and Chilston, which have been already mentioned, and these Fragments, however inconsiderable they may appear, will not, it is hoped, be without their use, to those who have a curiosity concerning the Progress of Music in our own country, as they will enable them at once to judge of the state of our

Musical

Musical Language as well as composition, at this early period.

* * * * * * * * *

The GERMANS, who, during the past and present century, have so much contributed to the perfection of Counterpoint, and the refinement of every species of Instrumental Music, had doubtless songs at this time in their own language, set to Melodies formed upon the Guido Scale, and accompanied with such Harmony as was then used in the rest of Europe; but I have been able to procure none.

With respect to their Language and Lyric Poetry, though it appears from Tacitus (*g*), that in Germany, the Common Mother of the Saxons, Franks, and Lombards, letters were wholly unknown; and though Reinesius (*h*) tells us, that in the time of Ammianus Marcellinus, the inhabitants of that country were not in possession of an alphabet; yet we are assured from Bede, that the Saxons had Poetry and Songs in the eighth Century; and it is generally agreed that one of the first attempts at writing in a vulgar tongue was made by Otfrid, in the ninth Century, who translated the Evangelists into German, making use of the Roman Alphabet (*i*).

Otfrid was a Monk of Weissemberg; his translation was in verse, and dedicated to Lewis the Second, brother to Charles the Bald.

The most ancient Music, applied to German words, that I can discover, was that set to the Hymns of the first Reformers. Some of those written by John Huss, the Disciple of Wickliff, and companion of Jerom of Prague, with whom he suffered at the stake, by order of the Council of Constance, in 1415, are said to be still preserved in the Protestant Libraries of Germany. But though I have not yet been able to procure transcripts of them, nor of any other German Music of equal antiquity, the Theorists and Composers of that country will be well intitled to a very considerable share of the honour due to the Cultivators of Harmony, in the subsequent part of this work.

(*g*) *Mor. G.* c. 12. (*h*) *In præf. ad Ins. Ant.*
(*i*) *Verona Illustr.* To. 19.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

Of the State of Music, from the Invention of Printing till the Middle of the XVI*th Century; including its Cultivation in the* Masses, Motets, *and* secular Songs *of that Period.*

WE are now arrived at an Æra when the principal materials for musical composition are prepared; when a regular and extensive scale for Melody, a code of general laws for Harmony, with a commodious Notation and Time-table, seem to furnish the Musician with the whole mechanism of his art; and if the productions of this period do not fulfil our present ideas of excellence, we must attribute their deficiencies neither to want of knowledge nor genius in their authors, but to the Gothic trammels in which music was still bound.

The faculties of man are not only limited by nature, but by the horizon with which he is surrounded: if he lives in a polished state and enlightened times, his views will doubtless be extended; but it is allowed to no individual to penetrate *much* farther into the regions of science than his cotemporaries. Our Shakspeare, Dryden, Bacon, Locke, and Newton, sublime as were their conceptions, and original their genius, found much already done, in their several departments, by their predecessors.

Music being the object of a sense common to all mankind, if genius alone could invent and bring it to perfection, why is China, which has been so long civilized, still without great composers and performers? And why are the inhabitants of three-fourths of the globe still content, and even delighted with attempts at such music as Europeans would qualify with no better title than noise and jargon? It cannot be supposed

that nature is entirely to blame, and that there is a physical defect in the intellects or organization of all the sons of men, except in Europe; and that a perfect ear, and the power of delighting it, are local. As the eye accommodates itself to all the gradations of light and obscurity, so does the ear to such gratifications as are within its reach; and the people accustomed to bad music enjoy it contentedly, without languishing for better. It is the curse of an ear long accustomed to excellence, to be fastidious and unwilling to be pleased; and unluckily for the honour of music and musicians, all the miraculous powers of the art cease the instant perfection becomes common. The most hyperbolical praises have been bestowed on music and musicians, when they seem not to have had the least claim to panegyric; but the best music of every age and nation is delightful to hearers, whose ideas of excellence are bounded by what they daily hear: and about the middle of the fifteenth century, though melody was governed by the ecclesiastical modes, though harmony was confined to a small number of common chords, and though measure was unmarked, yet at this period, by their union, practical musicians among the laity began to acquire great reputation.

It is perhaps unnecessary to remind the reader, that about this time an important revolution was effected in the civil, religious, military, and literary interests of the inhabitants of Europe, by the dissolution of the feudal system, the reformation in religion, the invention of gunpowder, the mariner's compass, and printing, the taking of Constantinople, cultivation of the Greek language, and revival of literature in general. Of these events, all which happened within the space of about a hundred years, some had a manifest effect upon music; particularly Printing, and the Reformation. Indeed neither the art nor science of music had as yet been much cultivated, except by the clergy, who had contributed greatly to keep its rules inaccessible to the vulgar, by locking them up

in

in the Latin language. But the press now, not only multiplying the copies of Latin treatises at a small expence, but of others in modern languages, had the same effect in increasing musical productions and theories, as printing the translation of the Bible and liturgy had in augmenting the number of lay-preachers, and writers on the subject of religion, at the time of the Reformation.

Thus far but little information has been acquired for this volume, except from manuscript tracts and records: and for these I have been chiefly indebted to the remains of monkish literature and diligence: but though the Monks, immured in their convents, and secluded from all intercourse with those who act the most important parts in the business of the world, may be well supposed ignorant of secular events and transactions, concerning which they must have taken their information upon trust, or had recourse to conjecture; yet, with respect to the concerns of their own convents, and the daily employments of their lives, of which music was one, they may be safely imagined to have been more competent judges than those who never visited them; and, unless it was for the interest of their order, or to confer honour on their patrons and tenets, neither mendacity nor prejudice was likely to corrupt their knowledge, or defile their narrations.

But though we are arrived at that period when the productions of the press will considerably diminish the labour of research; yet the difficulty of finding materials will be now only changed to that of selection; and the perusal of old music, after it is found, is attended with much more trouble than literary works of equal antiquity: for being published and preserved in single parts, these parts must previously be put into such a state, that the eye may compare their several relations at one glance; or, to use the language of Musicians, they must be *scored*, before their beauties or defects can be discovered, and this, from the difficulty of obsolete notation, and the want of *bars*, is rendered

dered a very slow process (*k*). But being determined to speak of no music with which I am acquainted, or of which I am unable to furnish specimens, I have transcribed in *Partitura*, or *Score*, many volumes, not only of the same age, but sometimes of the same author, in order to select the best productions I am able, for my work, or at least to qualify myself to judge of each composer's abilities and resources. Of the productions of each period I have endeavoured to procure examples from the works of those who were the chief favourites of their cotemporaries, in order to put it in the power of critics in composition to compare musical excellence, and build their opinions of superiority upon the works themselves, and not upon system, conjecture, or prejudice.

From the decline of the Roman empire to the period under consideration, but few names of great musicians have come down to us, though there cannot be the least doubt but that every age and country in which arts and sciences have been cultivated had their favorite and popular musician, who contributed more to the delight of his cotemporaries than the rest of his brethren. But practical musicians and performers, however wonderful their powers, are unable, from the transient state of their art, to give permanence to their fame: age, infirmities, and new phenomena, soon complete its destruction. To the reputation of a Theorist, indeed, longevity is insured by means of books, which become obsolete slower than musical compositions. Tradition only whispers, for a short time, the name and abilities of a

(*k*) The word *Score* probably originated from the *Bar*, which in its first use, was drawn through all the parts, as it should be still, of a piece of music in *partition*, or partitura. Bars were first used in *canto fermo*, to separate the verses of a psalm or hymn, or as signs for pauses, or resting places, where the singer might take his breath. Morley, who uses no bars in the single parts of any of his works, has however drawn a score or bar through all the parts of several examples of composition, when placed under each other, in his Introduction; where, p. 34, he uses the word partition for this arrangement of the parts, and p. 176, the word bar occurs.

mere

mere Performer, however exquisite the delight which his talents afforded to those who heard him; whereas, a theory once committed to paper and established, lives, at least in libraries, as long as the language in which it was written.

We are now not certain that Boethius could play a tune, or sing a song; and yet his name is recorded in every treatise which subsequent ages have produced on the subject of music. Neither are we sure that Guido and John de Muris were great composers or performers, and yet their names are embalmed in a way that will render them more durable than the mummies of Egypt. Tallis and Bird, who were equally admirable in their musical productions and execution, are now only known and revered by the curious; and Rameau and Tartini, whose compositions and performance afford such exquisite delight to their age and country, will soon be remembered only as theorists.

In Dr. Priestley's ingenious Biographical chart, it is remarkable that not one musician appears from the beginning of the Christian æra till the eleventh century, where Guido is placed in a desert, which extends to the sixteenth century, and where Palestrina stands without a rival or neighbour; nor has all Europe furnished another musician, whom the author has thought worthy a niche in his chart, till the time of Lulli.

As many of the great countries of Europe, which are now under the dominion of one sovereign, were divided into several small kingdoms, at first under regal authority, like our heptarchy, but afterwards the successors of these princes acknowledging one supreme lord, were degraded into barons, counts, and dukes; yet still retaining great power in their several districts over their vassals and dependants; so, in the empire of music, there were Kings of the Minstrels in several countries of Europe, and even cities, and particular provinces;

these charmed and governed only in a narrow circle; but as an intercourse and communication was opened between these several petty states, there was soon an opening made for talents and ambition to aim at universal monarchy, and in tracing the history of music it seems necessary to record the names and actions of such as have arrived at this acknowledged pre-eminence.

The musical heroes of antiquity have been celebrated in the first volume of this work; and, as far as we have advanced into more modern times, the principal actors, governors, and benefactors in the art and science of music, have been honourably mentioned, and the peculiar talents and abilities displayed of those whose sovereignty in Europe seems to have been universally allowed.

However, in this parallel between the Lords of the Earth and Princes of the Pipe and String, distinctions are to be made. Theorists may be well compared to legislators, whose dominion ends not with their existence, but continues sometimes with increasing reverence, long after their decease. With Practical Musicians and Composers it is very different; the memory of these is of short duration; for however extensive their power, and splendid their reign, their empire, like that of Alexander and other rapid conquerors, acquires no permanence; but as the territories of these were divided among their captains, so the disciples or followers of great musical leaders soon appropriate to themselves the revenue and reputation of their masters, so entirely, that, when divided into small portions, they add no great profit or power to the new possessors, who generally retain and enjoy them in obscurity, till seized and appropriated by some new and more powerful conqueror.

To pursue the idea of Musical Sovereignty, BOETHIUS may be regarded as the *last* ancient, and *first* modern who established a dominion in the Scientific parts of the Musical Empire,

pire, to which all the learned in Europe were long unanimous in submitting.

GUIDO, whose authority continued to increase for many ages after his decease,, and of whose laws many are still in force, was the next who established a permanent fame among Musical Monarchs.

JOHN DE MURIS, though it is now hardly known what he atchieved for the common good, is still more frequently had in remembrance among Theorists and Practitioners, than any other chief or legislator who flourished between the time of Guido and FRANCHINUS GAFURIUS, one of the first Theorists whose doctrines were disseminated by the press: but as Theory owes its existence to successful practice, it seems but just to speak first of those early contrapuntists, whose works have been the basis upon which the present rules of composition were constructed.

There must, however, have been many Musicians whose works are lost, between the time of John de Muris and the middle of the fifteenth century; every art is progressive, and the harmony of Okenheim, Henry Isaac, and Jusquin du Prez, of which specimens will hereafter be given, is so superior to that of all the other more ancient musical productions which I have been able to find, that there seems to be the difference of two or three centuries between them; and it is difficult to imagine that such regular composition, and even learned and ingenious contrivance, could be attained by the gigantic stride of any one Musician, however superior his genius may have been to that of all his predecessors.

Rome was pillaged and burnt in the year 1527, by the army of Charles the Fifth, which may perhaps account for the difficulty of finding compositions anterior to that time, in this city, which long continued to be the capital of the arts, after it ceased to be the capital of the world. Antonfrancesco Doni, in his list of Music, printed in Italy before the year 1550, at which

which time he published the second edition of his *Libraria*, mentions no names of higher antiquity than Jusquin and Morales; though he says, if he had specified all the music which had been then published, he should have composed a thicker book than any volume of Music that could be found. Our countryman Morley mentions in the list of practical musicians or composers on the continent, none more ancient than Okenheim, and his scholar Jusquin.

Of Englishmen, Pashe, Jones, Dunstable, Power, Orwel, Wilkinson, Guinneth, Davis, and Rishby, are the most ancient in his list; but of the compositions of these, who all preceded Fayrfax, I have been able to meet with no examples, except of Joseph Guinneth and Robert Davis, who flourished about the time of Edward the Fourth, and of whose counterpoint in two parts there are some fragments at Cambridge, in the Pepysian Collection, in which red notes are used for diminution. It is very rude, and inferior to that of Bonadies, the master of Franchinus, Okenheim, Henry Isaac, Jusquin, Fayrfax, and Taverner, who flourished only about twenty or thirty years later.

By the kind of characters which Dunstable uses in the passages that Franchinus and Morley have inserted from his *Motet*, and *Veni Sancte Spiritus*, I should imagine his melody very uncouth and unmeaning; of his harmony, as only one part is given, there is no judging. Yet still this chasm must have been occasioned by accident, and the perishable materials upon which the music of other composers of the fifteenth century has been written.

Something like a chain or series of the writings of Musical Theorists is preserved; but of Musical Compositions, the collectors of great libraries throughout Europe have been very negligent. The Emperor Leopold, indeed, began to form a Musical Library at Vienna, and the Elector of Bavaria another at Munich in the last century; but both have been

been long neglected, and are now in a very confused and imperfect state (*l*). Nor is a complete series of musical compositions by the best masters, from the earliest period of counterpoint to the present time, to be found in any public or private library in Europe, to which I have ever had access. Indeed the collectors of books for royal, collegiate, or public libraries, seem never to have had an idea of forming any regular plan for making such a collection; and though many individuals have been possessed of a rage for accumulating musical curiosities, it has seldom happened that they have extended their ideas to musical productions in general; so that no more than one class or species of composition has been completed by them, and even this, at the death of the proprietor, is usually dispersed.

In a library, formed upon so large a scale as that of the King of France at Paris, the Bodleian, and Museum in England, it seems as if music should be put on a level with other arts and sciences, in which every book of character is procured. In a royal or ample collection of pictures, specimens at least of every great painter are purchased, and no private library is thought complete while the writings of a single poet of eminence are wanting (*m*).

Though

(*l*) The late composer Gasman, Maestro di Capella to the present Emperor, told me, that many works of old masters had been stolen out of the library at Vienna, by Musicians low in fancy; who, after making use of the best movements and passages as their own property, had destroyed the originals. This he discovered by the old catalogues, in which innumerable works were entered, that he was never able to find.

(*m*) In forming such a Musical Library as would assist the student, gratify the curious, inform the historian, and afford a comparative view of the state of the art at every period of its existence, it were to be wished that the books, when collected, were classed in a way somewhat like the following.

Masses, Motets, Madrigals, Songs in parts, & single Songs.	to Latin words. In modern languages,	From the infancy of Counterpoint to the year 1500.

The same continued to the year 1600; to which should be added:

Services and full Anthems, Verse and solo Anthems, Psalmody, in two or more parts		To English words, as well as those of other modern languages.

The

Though the number of volumes of music in the British Museum bears no proportion to those in other faculties, and can hardly be called a collection, yet some very scarce and valuable compositions of old masters are preserved in that repository, to which, by the kindness and friendly zeal of the gentlemen to whose care they are consigned, I have been indulged with easy and frequent access.

The most curious specimens of early counterpoint, among the printed music in the Museum, are a collection of Masses in four parts, the first that issued from the press after the invention of printing. They consist of the first and third set of the Masses which Jusquin composed for the Pope's Chapel,

The same classes completed to the year 1700, with the addition of Masques, Intermezzi, Serenatas,

Operas, serious and comic.
Oratorios.
Cantatas.
Fantasias and Recercari, for various instruments.

All the above continued to the present time, with an addition of full

Concertos, Symphonies, and Overtures.
Concertos, with Solo parts for particular instruments.
Quintets.
Quatuors.
Sonatas, or Trios, Duets, and
Solos for every Instrument for which Music has been composed, including Voluntaries for the Organ, and Lessons for every species of Keyed-instrument.

The music published in single parts should be scored, and that published in partition, transcribed in single parts; to be alike ready for the eye or the ear, for the theorist to examine, or the practical musician to perform.

And in order that science and criticism may keep pace with the mechanism and practice of the art, all the Treatises, Tracts, and Essays, both in the dead and living languages, should be collected, arranged chronologically, and assigned a particular portion of the Library.

The Bodleian Library, the Museum, and Royal Society, with some other libraries, have copies of new books sent to them, by the Stationers' Company, and by individuals, either by law or by courtesy; and when once such a foundation of old music is laid as we have here sketched out, it would soon become a custom, or might be made one by the legislature, for copies of all Music that is published in England, as well as books on the subject, to be presented by the authors or editors to the Public Library. And the same means should be used for procuring all Foreign Musical Publications as are employed in accumulating books from all parts of the globe, where the press is at work.

The Librarian, Custode, or Keeper of these books, should be a good Practical Musician, as well as theorist and scholar, in order to know the worth of the productions he has in charge, and to be enabled to give instructions at least how to draw single parts from a score, and score single parts; to explain difficulties to the ignorant, and display curiosities to the learned; to know the rank each composer should hold in every class, and perhaps record the degree of respect that has been paid to him by his cotemporaries, and which is due to him from posterity.

during

during the Pontificate of Sextus the Fourth, who reigned from 1471 to 1484; the Masses of Pierre de la Rue, sometimes called Petrus Platensis, a set of Masses by Anthony de Feven or Feum, Robert de Feven, and Pierzon. The Masses of John Mouton; ditto of different composers, (*Missæ diversorum Auctorum*) viz. Obrecht, Phil. Bassiron, Brumel, Gaspar, and de la Rue.

All these were printed by Ottavio Petruccio da Fossembrone. He first published the Masses of de la Rue at Venice, 1503, and in 1508 those by different authors. In 1513, removing to Fossembrone, in the Ecclesiastical State, he obtained a patent from Leo the Tenth in behalf of his invention of types, for the sole printing of figurative song, (*Cantus Figuratus*) and pieces for the organ (*Organorum Intabulaturæ*) during the term of twenty years (*n*). This patent is signed by the learned Cardinal Bembo, Leo's secretary.

The Masses are followed in this collection by the second, third, and fourth sets of Latin Motets, in four or five parts, called *Mottetti della corona*, from the figure of a crown stamped on the title page. The words of these excellent com-

(*n*) Whether this music for the organ was expressed by letters or numbers, as formerly in the tablature for the Lute, Viol de Gamba, &c. or whether it was printed in two staves of six and eight lines, like the compositions of Frescobaldi, is now uncertain, as they are lost; but we are certain that they could not be scores for the organ, which has been imagined; as the word and thing were equally unknown for more than a century afterwards. See above, p. 440.

It has likewise been said that Frescobaldi's pieces for the organ were the first of the kind produced in Italy; but here is a patent granted for the printing similar productions near a century before, and Doni gives a list in his *Libraria*, printed in 1550, under the article *Ricercari*, of more than ten volumes of *Tablatures* for the organ; *Intabolature da Organi, e da Leut d'Autore da Bologna, di Giulio da Modena, di Francesco da Milano, di Giaches Buus, piu di dieci volumi, e la continua.* I have been able to find no memorial of any other pieces for the organ, printed, published, or even composed, of so high a date as those printed by Petruccio, under the patent of Leo the tenth. *Intavolare* and *Intavolatura* are general terms in Italy for the notation of music, whether by letters and figures, in the same manner as for the lute, or otherwise.

Ricercari, or *Recercari*, was the title given to *Solfeggi* for the voice, and original compositions or inventions for instruments, in early times of Counterpoint, before the word *Fantasia* supplied its place; and to succeeded the terms *Concento, Concerto, Sinfonia, Sonata*, &c.

positions

positions consist of short portions of scripture, and hymns of the Romish church, set by Jusquin, Carpentras, Mouton, Adrian Willaert, Constantius Festa, and other great masters of the same period: they were all printed at Fossembrone, in 1519, by Petruccio, and published with the same patent as the masses.

It is from these collections that Glareanus has extracted almost all the examples of style of the early Contrapuntists, which he has inserted in his Dodecachordon, and to which Zarlino so frequently referred afterwards as models of perfection in his Harmonical Institutes, and other writings, in speaking of what were even then (1558) called the old Classical Masters.

The second set of Jusquin's Masses, and the first set of Motets are wanting; however, I have seen in no other collection so many of the works of these venerable masters (o).

But before we present our scientific readers with examples of composition from these scarce and valuable productions, it will be necessary, from such scanty records as remain, to resume the clue of our narrative concerning times somewhat anterior to their publication.

It has been frequently asserted, upon the authority of Ludovico Guicciardini, and the Abbé du Bos, that Figurative Harmony was invented and first cultivated in the Netherlands; but though I purposely visited the chief cities there, both in the Austrian and French dominions, in order to ascertain a fact so important to the history of music, the inhabitants were never able to furnish such examples of early composition as will put the matter out of dispute. And to confess the truth, I have always regarded the testimony of L. Guicciardini and the Abbé du Bos as alike suspicious.

(o) The printed copies which are now in the British Museum were formerly in the possession of the noble families of Arundel and Lumley, whose signatures appear in the title page of each volume.

L. Guic-

L. Guicciardini, who was a renegade Italian, settled at Antwerp, in the service of the emperor Charles the Fifth, seems in his History of the Low Countries, determined to give the people among whom he lived the honour of every useful as well as ornamental invention, in order to flatter his patron and benefactors, even at the expence of his native country, from which he had no farther hopes. The Abbé du Bos, from a contrary principle, wished to give the honour to the Flemings, in order to pilfer it from them afterwards in favour of his own country, France (*p*). But if we may believe John Tinctor, who was himself a native of Flanders, and the most ancient composer and theorist of that country, whose name is upon record, it was the English, with John Dunstable at their head (*q*), who invented and first cultivated florid counterpoint, or figurative harmony. As bare assertions of this kind in favour of our countrymen, without proof, would not sufficiently authenticate the fact, I shall insert here an extract which I made at Bologna, from an inedited tract written by John Tinctor, and preserved, with other MS. treatises of the same author, in the library of the canons regular of S. Saviour, in that city; to which P. Martini referred me, upon asking him by what nation he thought music in parts, or simultaneous harmony, was first cultivated.

(*p*) The Abbe du Bos, as Voltaire observes, has seen, heard, and reflected upon the fine arts, and he must be allowed to be an elegant writer, and an ingenious, I would have said a just, reasoner, if he had not been too frequently warped by the *Amor Patriæ*, which is but too visible in many of his decisions. He not only determines, without sufficient proof, that the French and Flemings cultivated music before the Italians; but, wholly unacquainted with the compositions of other parts of Europe, asserted that there was no music equal to that of Lulli, only known and admired in France. And where will he be believed, except in that kingdom, when he says that foreigners allow his countrymen to understand *time* and *measure* better than the Italians? He never loses an opportunity of availing himself of the favourable opinions of foreigners in behalf of French music, against that of other parts of Europe. Not only L. Guicciardini, but Addison, Gravina, and Vossius, all equally unacquainted with the theory, practice, or history of the art, and alike deprived of candour, by the support of some favourite opinion or hypothesis, are pressed into the service of his country.

(*q*) See above, p. 399.

The title of this particular Tract is, *Proportionale Musices;* it is addressed to Ferdinand King of Sicily, Jerusalem, and Hungary, who reigned from 1458, to 1494, by John Tinctor, Chaplain, and Maestro di Capella to that Prince *(r)*. The passage which confers on the English the honour of having invented Figurative Harmony is the following *(s)*:—*Cujus, ut ita dicam,* novæ Artis *fons et origo* (Contrapuncti) *apud Anglos,* quorum caput Dunstaple extitit, fuisse perhibetur. Et huic *contemporanei fuerunt in Gallia,* Dufai, *et* Binchois; *quibus immediate successerunt moderni,* Okenheim, Busnois, Regis *et* Caron, omnium, quos audiverim, in compositione præstantissimi: nec *Anglici* nunc licet vulgariter *jubilare, Gallici vero cantare dicantur* veniunt conferendi. Illi etenimin dies novos cantus novissime inveniunt; at isti, quod miserrimi signum est ingenii, una semper et eâdem compositione utuntur. Sed, prob dolor! non solum eos imo complures alios compositores famosos, quos miror, dum tam subtiliter, ac ingeniose, tam incomprehensibili *suavitate componunt, mors abripuit.*—" Of which " new art, as I may call it, the fountain and source is said to " have been among the English, of whom Dunstable was the " chief. And with him were cotemporary in France, Dufai " and Binchois, whose immediate successors were the mo- " derns, Okenheim, Busnois, Roi, and Caron, who of all " the composers I ever heard were the most excellent; nor " can the English, who are proverbially said to shout, while " the French sing *(t)*, now come in competition with them. " For the latter invent new melodies every day *(u)*, but the

(*r*) Johannis Tinctoris, *Musicæ Professoris,* Proportionale Musices *incipit.—Et primo Proemium.——Sanctissimo et invictissimo Principi Divo* Ferdinando, regis regum Dominique dominantium Providentia, *Regi Siciliæ, Gierusalem et Ungariæ,* Johannes Tinctor, inter Musicæ Professores, suosque Capillanos, minimus.

(*s*) This passage has been already cited, p. 400, but incompletely, as I could not then find my extract, which is here given more fully.

(*t*) This alludes to national characters which I have seen in several books that were written during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and which were at first probably circulated by one of the natives of France, as no others are allowed to sing. Of these characters we shall have occasion to speak farther hereafter.

(*u*) He seems to use *Gallici* in the extended sense of the Abbe du Bos, and to include the Netherlanders and Flemings.

former

" former continue to make use of one and the same style of " composition, which betrays a miserable poverty of inven- " tion (x). But, alas! death hath deprived us, not only of " these, but of many other famous masters whom I admire " for the subtilty, ingenuity, and inconceivable sweetness of " their compositions."

Glareanus, who wrote in 1547, calls those compositions ancient, which were in use about seventy years before his time; nor does he believe that music in four parts subsisted, a century more early. His *Dodecachordon* was published during the last year of Henry the Eighth, and our John of Dunstable, who died in 1455, must have flourished about the time when Glareanus imagines music in four parts to have been first composed. Now as his tenor parts, which have been quoted by Franchinus Gafforus (y), prove, that he had written in several parts, and as the invention of music of this kind is given to him by Tinctor, who was nearly his cotemporary, I should be guilty of great ingratitude, as an Englishman, if I did not accept of the present, in the name, and for the use of my countryman.

However, as to the invention of simple counterpoint, that is an honour for which we shall not contend, as the point has been given up already (z); but that he was at least one of the first who composed and wrote upon the subject of figurative harmony, consisting of three or four different melodies moving together in consonance, a considerable time before the Flemings or Netherlanders had distinguished themselves, or were dispersed all over Europe, which was the case during the next century, it is not only easy to believe, but to demonstrate. Tinctor and Franchinus, the first writers upon music in Italy,

(x) This is an accusation from which I fear it will be difficult to defend my countrymen, in the early days of counterpoint; as the chief part of their learning and genius was employed in varying and harmonizing old melodies.

(y) *Pract. Musicæ*, lib. ii. cap. 7. and lib. iii. cap. 4.

(z) See above, p. 399.

whose

whose works were printed, not only quote Dunstable as a theorist, but insert fragments of his compositions to illustrate their rules of practice.

These writers mention two other composers in France, Dufai and Binchois, who were nearly cotemporary with Dunstable; but neither they, nor any other authors whom I have ever consulted, have recorded the name of any Flemish musician more ancient than John Okenheim, whom Tinctor enumerates among the moderns that were living in his own time (*a*).

From this period we shall not only find the names of musicians who distinguished themselves in almost every part of Europe, but shall be able to produce specimens of their works; which will be more satisfactory to our musical readers than all the praise, censure, or description of their style and abilities, which ingenuity and the most flowery language can furnish.

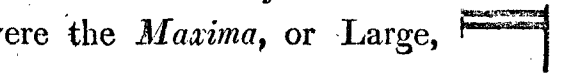
But before we exhibit any of the productions of these fathers of Figurative Harmony, it will be necessary to explain the characters in which they were originally written, and form them into a diagram, or time table, in order to facilitate their perusal; for though we shall exempt the reader from the difficulty of comparing the separate parts, by placing them over each other, in *score*, and dividing the measures by bars, yet the square notes and ligatures which will frequently occur, would be unintelligible to those who are unacquainted with any longer notes than semibreves, if not previously apprised of their respective duration. To write this ancient music in modern notes would deprive it of its venerable appearance, and the learned reader of an opportunity of judging whether it has been copied with care and fidelity; and indeed a promise was made to the reader in a former chapter (*b*),

(*a*) See p. 400.

(*b*) Page 190.

that

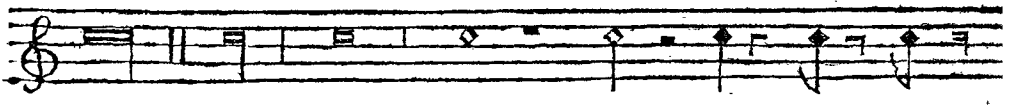
that as soon as we were arrived at Music in parts, worthy of contemplation, the subject of *Time* should again be resumed, and this seems the fittest place for its performance.

Franchinus, one of the most ancient Theorists whose doctrines first issued from the press after the invention of printing, speaks of but five different characters by which Musicians measured time: these were the *Maxima*, or Large, 

the Long, ; Breve, ; Semibreve, ; and Minim, . But other writers, early in the Sixteenth Century, added to these the Crotchet, ; Quaver, ; and Semiquaver, ; the Italians call *Semiminima*, *Croma*, and *Semicroma*, or *Biscroma*. And in compositions of the latter end of the fifteenth century, particularly in the celebrated Mass, *l'Homme Armé*, of Jusquin, which is so frequently cited by almost every writer on Music of the sixteenth Century, Crotchets and Quavers frequently occur.

Musical Characters used in Morley's Time, with their equivalent Rests.

A Large. Rest. Long. Breve. Semibreve. Minim. Crotchet. Quaver. Semiquaver.



The Semibreve, which is now our longest note, was, at this time, placed in the middle of the Diagram; and it seems at all times to have been the Unit, or Standard Measure, by which other notes were multiplied or divided: as a *Large* was equal, in common time, to eight Semibreves, a *Long* to four, and a *Breve* to two; whence the appellation of *Semibreve*.

All this is extremely simple and easy for those, who are acquainted with the characters used in Modern Music, to com-

prehend; but the great difficulty in old compositions, without bars, is in movements of Triple, or as it was called *Perfect-time*, where, without a point, a Long was equal to three Breves, and a Breve to three Semibreves.

The initial Characters, or *Modal Signs*, placed at the beginning of a Movement, and their several powers, are almost innumerable, and always seem to have been subjects of dispute and perplexity, in the writings of the clearest and best Theorists of the sixteenth century. However, all measure was then, as well as at present, reducible to two standards of proportion, the Ternary and Binary, or perfect and imperfect, which we now call Triple and Common Time.

The Modes, or Moods, for ascertaining the *quantum* of each pulsation of time, were the following:

⊙ O3 for a perfect Long, or three Breves.
O a perfect Breve, or three Semibreves.
☾ Two imperfect Breves, and, in the compositions of Tallis and Bird, sometimes three Minims.
C An imperfect Breve, or two Semibreves.

Besides these, there were others, for a species of Jig-time, in which Semibreves or Minims were Ternary, and moving in Triplets, while the longer notes were Binary: O3. O2. C3. &c (c).

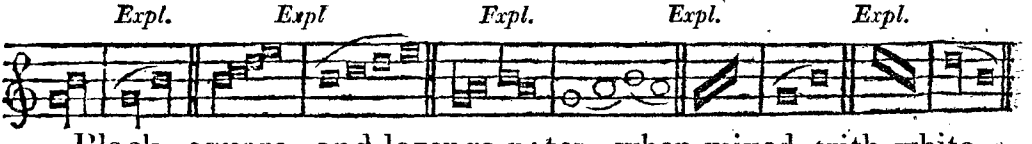
Ligatures were used by the early Contrapuntists, in vocal Music, to connect such sounds as were to be sustained or sung to one syllable, as is done at present by semicircular marks, called binding-notes and slurs. The rules for these are too numerous and vague to be explained without a long discussion, and their powers will perhaps be best comprehended in the examples of ancient composition of different parts, in parti-

(c) Zacconi, *Prat. Mus.* lib. ii. cap. 54. makes the Modal Signs amount to fourteen.

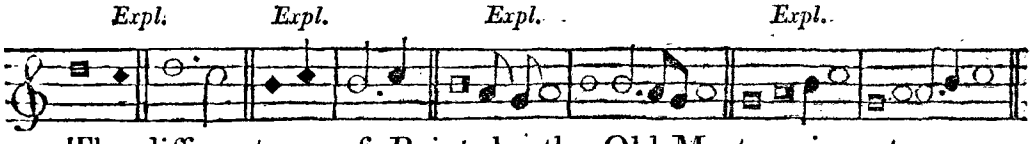
tion,

tion, and barred. However, it may be useful to those who undertake to decipher such Music, to remember, that all the square notes in ligature, with tails on the *right hand*, *descending*, are Longs; on the *left*, Breves; and all with tails on the *left*, *ascending*, are Semibreves. Square notes, without tails, in ligature, are in general Breves, though there are some exceptions to this rule, for which it is not easy to assign a cause.

Ligatures explained by equivalent Notes.



Black, square, and lozenge notes, when mixed with white, are diminished one fourth of the value they have, while open or vacuate. And a note partially black, or demivacuate, is struck twice, in the following proportions:



The different use of *Points* by the Old Masters is eutremely perplexing: there were four in the time of Zarlino (*d*), which must necessarily be distinguished in the perusal of Old Compositions.

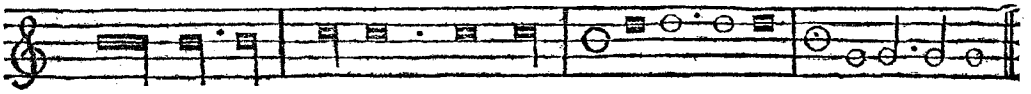
1. The point of *Perfection* was added only to such note as by the Modal Signs was in itself *perfect*, or equal to three notes of the next less in value, but made imperfect by position. ⊙ ☾ are points of perfection in the Modal Signs.
2. The point of *Augmentation* is that still in common use after every species of note; but which the old Masters used

(*d*) *Ubi supra*, p. 274.

only

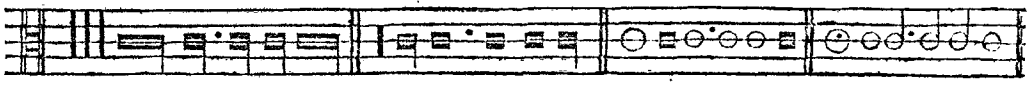
only in common, or, as they called it, *imperfect* time: C¢.

3. The point of *Division*, or Imperfection, is placed between two shorter notes that follow and precede two longer, in perfect Modes, to render both the long notes imperfect.



In all these examples the longer notes are, as in common time, imperfect, or equal to two of shorter duration, and the point is neither sung nor played. If, instead of the second note, a rest be placed before the point, its effect is the same.

4. The point of *Alteration*, or, more properly, of *Duplication*, is placed *before* two shorter notes preceding a longer, in order to double the length of the second short note (*e*).



In all these instances, the fourth note is as long again as the third.

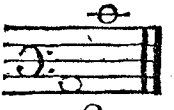
In early times of Counterpoint, human voices of different compass, occasioned by age, sex, and natural organ, were classed and divided into four distinct kinds, at the distance only of a third above each other, which the Base, or F Clef, placed from line to line, expressed. The lowest of these was called the *Tenor*, the next *Contratenor*, *Motetus* the third, and *Triplum* the highest, or *Treble*; of which term, this was the origin.

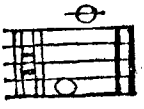
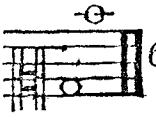
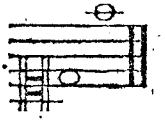
(*e*) Rests placed in this manner, at the beginning of a movement, were indicial signs of prolation, and to ascertain the perfection or imperfection of the moods.

After

After this, about the middle of the fifteenth century, as different parts began to be multiplied, the scale received six divisions: *Base*, *Baritono*, *Tenor*, *Contralto*, *Mezzo Soprano*, and *Soprano*. The natural pitch of these is about three or four notes above each other, as their several Clefs, which originally served as barriers, will discover.

It seldom happens that a voice has more than ten real, steady, and full, natural notes, in its compass, without a mixture of *falset*, which, being of a different register, is easily discovered *f*. The following are the names and usual extent of the several species of human voice.

1. *Base.* 2. *Baritono.*  3. *Tenor.*

4. *Contralto.*  5. *Mezzo Soprano*  6. *Soprano.* 

But as there are sometimes Base voices which go down to double F, and even lower; so there are in the Treble, among modern vocal phenomena, singers that go higher than F in altissimo; which make the whole Diapason of voices exceed four Octaves (*g*).

But though parts were multiplied, not only to six, but even thirty-six, before the close of the fifteenth century, as we shall have farther occasion to relate hereafter; yet the general, and

(*f*) See Tosi, Obs. on Florid Song, p. 22, et seq.

(*g*) In the fifteenth and sixteenth century, the ambition of composers and singers seems to have been the approaching the great abyss, by an extension of the scale *downwards*; as in scoring music of those times I have frequently met with passages in the base as low as double D, and even C! Every lover of music must, on the contrary, have observed of late years, singers possessed of a *centrifugal* passion, and a rage for extraordinary altitudes, as much as if the apotheosis depended on such flights. Agujari, an admirable singer, in other respects, in fluted-notes used to out-top the compass of modern harpsichords, reaching to *g* in *altissimo*; but Madame Le Brun astonishes, with two or three notes of still higher absurdity!!

established number, in the Pope's Chapel, by which probably all other Choral Service was regulated, amounted to no more than four: *Cantus*, *Altus*, *Tenor*, and *Base* (*h*).

When

(*h*) As these were the principal colours on a Composer's pallet, which he blended at his pleasure, and sometimes varied his tints by additional mixtures, it may be necessary to acquaint the reader with the importance in which they were held by Musicians.

All written music, in counterpoint, was at this time composed for voices, at least I have never seen any other; and, being intended for the church, was set to Latin words; so that the first *terms* used in the art, were likewise in that language. And these were so numerous about the year 1474, that John Tinctor collected them under the title of *Terminorum Musicæ Diffinitorium*, and printed them at Naples. This was doubtless not only the *first Musical Dictionary* that was ever compiled, but the *first book* that was *printed* on the subject of music in general. The work is so scarce that I have never been able to find it, except in his Majesty's inestimable Library, abounding with scarce, valuable, and beautiful copies of the most precious productions of the press. And I was not only allowed to consult this rare book in the Royal Library, but was honoured with the singular indulgence of a permission to transcribe it at my own house: for which I was the more solicitous, as it seemed of the greatest importance to my inquiries into the progress of the art at this early period, to have a precise idea of the acceptation in which these technical terms were then used.

CANTUS, *Canto*, *Cantilena*, *Soprano*, Ital. *Chant*, *Dessus*, Fr. Gesang, die höchste unterden singe-stimmen. Germ. Treble, supreme part, in counterpoint.

ALTUS, *Contralto*, It. *Hautre-contre*, Fr. Alt-stimme, Germ. That melody among the four principal parts in a vocal chorus, which is assigned to the *highest* natural voice of man.

TENOR, *Tenore*, It. *Taille*, Fr. Tenor-stimme, Germ. That part which holds the middle and most common pitch, among male voices. The word is derived from *teneo*, I hold; being that part in discant which sustains the notes of the canto fermo, while the other parts are moving in dissimilar melodies. Du Cange gives an instance of its use in 1407, ex Bibl. Reg. and from Zarlinelli's *Hist. Britan.* to ii. col. 962. *Jehan Tramelin* Tenour *de la Chapelle de Monsei neur* LXX. l. *par an.* The tenor part is likewise mentioned in the *Roman de la Rose:*

Et chante haut a plaine bouche
Motets, gaudis & Teneure.

The Tenor part in music has been compared to the *pole* of a coach, which couples and holds together the horses by which it is drawn.

BASSUS, *Basso*, It. *Basse*, Fr. Grundstimme, die tiefste stimme einer Harmonie, Germ. The term appears in no composers before Jusquin. It is derived from *Basis*, by Zarlino and others, and said to imply the *fundamental sounds* upon which all Harmony and even Melody is constructed. Others are of opinion that the Latin, which is barbarous, came from the Italian *Basso*, low, and so has got admission into all modern languages with a double s. The word is not inserted in Tinctor's *Diffinitorium*.

Teofilo Folingio, of Mantua, the poet, has facetiously, and with some degree of precision, described the four principal parts in Music, in as many *macaronic* verses.

Plus ascoltantum Sopranus *captat orrecchias.*
Sed Tenor *est vocum rector, vel guida tonorum.*
Altus *Apollineum carmen depingit et ornat.*
Bassus *alit voces ingrassat, fundat, et auget.*

The *Treble* chiefly captivates the vulgar ear;
But the *Tenor* is the Ruler of Voices, and guide of tones;

The

When an additional part was wanting, it was called *Quinta pars;* and, if still another was added, *Sexta pars.*

Now the several parts of the scale are appropriated to different voices, I shall proceed to shew my musical reader, what harmonies were chiefly used in accompanying the eight notes of the scale, ascending and descending from any given note, and it seems my business carefully to remark the gradual changes, that have happened in melody and harmony, from this period. With respect to melody, its flights will ever be so wild and capricious, as to elude all laws, or require a new code every year; it is as subject to change, as the surface of the sea, or the fluctuating images of an active mind. But harmony is somewhat more permanent; however, *that* cannot be long fixed by immutable laws, as will be shewn in the course of this work, where we shall present our readers, from time to time, with the general harmony, which was given to each note of the base, in the ascent and descent of the Diatonic Scale; which the French, during the present century, have distinguished by the title of *Regle de l'Octave (i).*

Tartini has remarked, with great truth, that there was no modulation in the modes or keys of the fifteenth century, but what intrinsically belongs to the tone or key proposed; and all the music of those times remains perfectly and rigorously in the Diatonic Scale *(k).*

The purity at present seems monotonous, but perhaps the want of variety in the melody and modulation was compensated by accuracy of intonation and perfection of harmony; for as so few keys were used, but little temperament was required, even in the organ, which, for all the modulation then prac-

The *Counter-Tenor* colours and ornaments the Lyric Poem;
While the *Base* feeds, enriches, supports, and completes the harmony.

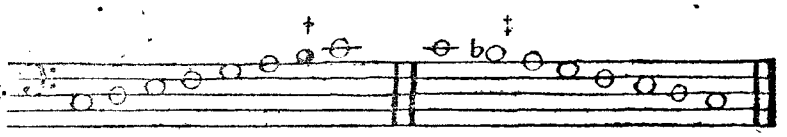
(*i*) The *Harmonic Formula,* so called, was first published, according to Rousseau, in 1700, by M. Delaire. *Dict. de Musique.*

(*k*) Tartini, *Trattato di Musica,* cap. v. p. 147, and Stillingfleet, p. 81.

tised,

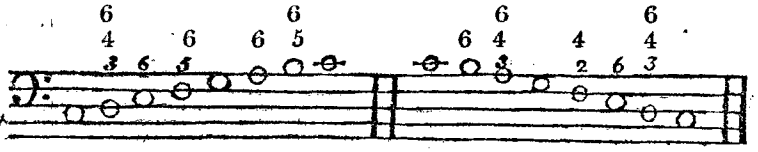
tised, could have every consonance and interval nearly as perfect, as they can be produced by voices or violins *(l)*.

(l) The reader, who has studied composition, or even accompaniment, will be able, by comparing the harmony of an ancient and modern scale, to account for the different effects, arising from the two kinds of music. The old masters seldom used discords, except at a close; and often accompanied seven of the eight notes, in every key, with common choras. The moderns, on the contrary, allow them only to the key note, and its fifth; to all the rest they give a sixth or a discord. In old compositions, the harmony of each note in the scale seems detached and unconnected by relative sounds; and in the new two chords seldom succeed each other, without being combined by some sound, in common with both.

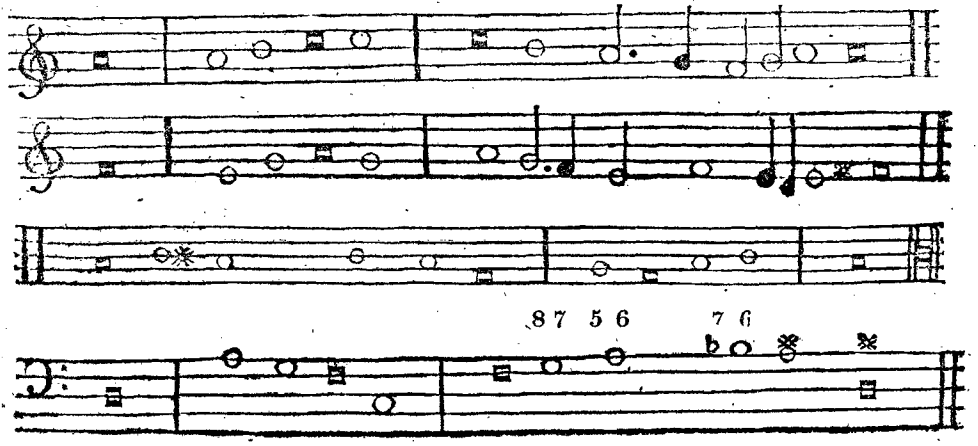


† About the middle of the sixteenth century, the sharp 7th of the key, ascending, began to be accompanied by the 6th; indeed, before that period, if the 7th of the key was ever used in the base, it was made flat.

‡ The old contrapuntists held the sharp 4th and flat 5th in such abhorrence, that, to avoid them, they frequently made the 7th of a key flat, even before a close. Mi *contra* fa *est Diabolus* in *Musica*, has been said by an eminent musical writer, during the present century. *FUX, Grad. ad Parn. Viennæ*, 1725.



It is not common, or necessary, for the sounds of either of these scales, thus accompanied, to be used in this regular manner; but the following bases, with no other harmony, than common chords, perpetually occur, in ancient music: DC, CE, EG, AGF. Of this last modulation, I can give no better illustration, than the following chant of Palestrina, from a MS. chiefly in his own hand writing, which will be described hereafter.



Indeed most of the attempts at Harmony, that we have been able to discover, previous to the middle of the fifteenth century, seem only to disgrace and encumber melody. A succession of fourths or fifths, which was called *Diatessaronare*, and *Quintoier*, with a very sparing use of other Concords, would be very disgusting to modern ears; and the slow manner in which thirds and sixths were received into favour, seem still to prove the want of a temperament in the instruments, with which the voice was then accompanied. These Concords, which, on this account, seem to have been ranked among Discords, by the ancients, perhaps acquired, from the same cause, the appellation of *imperfect*, among the moderns *(m)*. The Pythagorean division of the scale seems to have been all, that the Musicians, of those times, had retained of the Ancient Music. Poetry was now sunk into Gothic Barbarism, and elegant Melody was wholly unknown; for the Chants of the Church, to which Music seems now to have been wholly confined, offered little to the ear, but melodies that were either monotonous, or uncouth.

However, while Harmony was refining, and receiving new combinations, it was found, like other sweet and luscious things, to want qualification, to keep off langour and satiety; when some bold Musicians had the courage and address to render it piquant and interesting by a mixture of DISCORD, in order to stimulate attention; and thus by giving the ear a momentary uneasiness, and keeping it in suspence, its delight became the more exquisite, when the discordant difficulty was solved. And this contrast of imperfection seems a necessary zest to all our enjoyments: in Painting, a tawdry glare of vivid colours without shade would but dazzle and fatigue the sight;

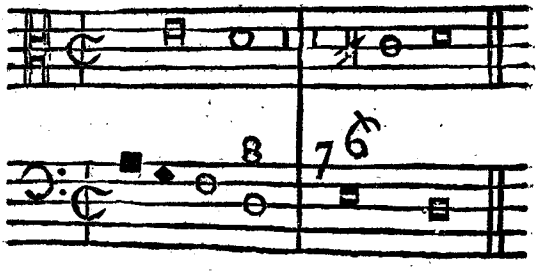
(m) Their mutability into major and minor, which is given by some writers as a reason for their being called imperfect concords, seems rather to entitle them to a precedency over all others: for it is on this account, and from their variety of effect on the ear, that they are so agreeable in succession, and afford us a pleasure peculiar to themselves.

and to delineate figures, without the intervention of shade, would be writing upon water. Sleep, if uninvited by fatigue, would unwillingly approach our dwelling; even sun-shine would lose all its charms, if not interrupted sometimes by clouds and darkness; and happiness itself, if monotonous, and incessant, would degenerate into apathy. Contrast is the great principle of beauty, in all the arts, and indeed throughout the universe; for amidst the wonderful order and symmetry, with which it is composed, an endless variety is discoverable in the proportions, forms, colours, and qualities, of its most minute, as well as most magnificent parts.

Discord, in musical composition, does not consist in the excess or defect of intervals, which, when false, produce jargon, not music; but in the warrantable and artful use of such combinations, as, though too disagreeable for the ear to dwell upon, or for the purpose of finishing a musical period, yet so necessary are they to modern counterpoint, and modern ears, that harmony, without their relief, would satiate, and lose many of its most beautiful effects.

Discords were very sparingly used by the old masters, who were cotemporary with Franchinus; their laws were not soon established, and in scoring the first masses that were printed in Italy, and those composed before the Reformation, in England, which are preserved in MS. at Oxford, I find few discords regularly prepared and resolved, except the 4th into the 3d, or the 7th into the 6th; the 2d, 9th, or 5th, made a discord by the 6th, scarcely ever occur *(n)*.

(n) The first discord that seems to have been regularly used was the 7th; the next, the fourth, at a close; after this the $\frac{4}{2}$; and then, the ninth. In a fragment of *Canto Figurato*, by Bonadies, the master of Franchinus, 1473, there is no other discords to be found than a 7th prepared by the 8th, and resolved upon the sharp 6th:



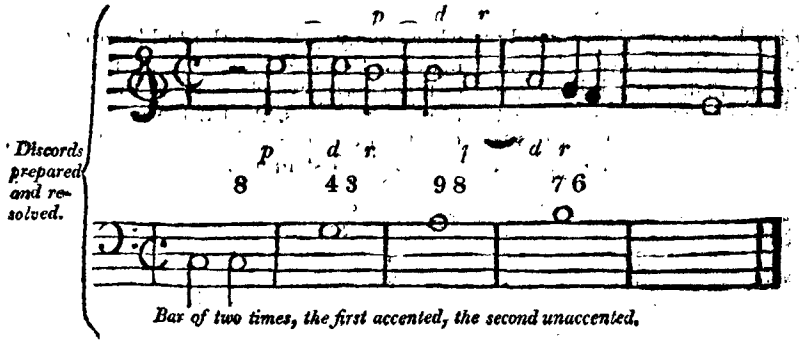
Franchinus quotes Dunstable, on the subject of discord; but our countryman seems only to have used it in passing-notes, to which no accompaniment is given, or notes which lead from one concord to another, in order to connect the melody. Franchinus is obscure on the subject of preparing and resolving discords; indeed, he only mentions the 4th made a discord by the 5th, though in the recapitulation and illustration of his rules, he uses, not only that, but the 7th, 2, 9th, and 5th made a discord by the 6th; which are almost all the discords that were used for near two centuries after the publication of his book.

But in a tract upon counterpoint, by John Tinctor, cited likewise by P. Martini *(d)*, the subject is more clearly treated than by Franchinus, who wrote several years after him: for we are there told, that every discord must be preceded by a concord, as the second by the unison or 3d; the 4th by the 3d or 5th; the 7th by the 5th or 8th, &c *(e)*. After

It is probable that the rule for preparing discords, originated from the danger of unskilful singers not hitting them: and we find in the old church-music, composed for voices only, no discords, but what were prepared, and in ligature; even during the last century, it was esteemed a great licence to use one that had not been previously a concord.

(d) To. I. p. 215.

(e) Whether Tinctor means regular, prepared discords, or discords used as passing-notes, is perhaps not certain; but in either case, a discord should be rendered supportable by two concords, one before its percussion, and one after it; that by passing from one agreeable sound to another, the ear may not have more of this acid and piquant sauce, than it can bear. There is a very material difference between the use of discords, as passing-notes, and preparing and resolving them, which I shall endeavour to explain: a bar, in common time, is divided into two or four equal portions, times, or parts; of these, the first and third are accented, the second and fourth, unaccented; now the percussion of a prepared discord should always be on an accented part of a bar, and the resolution on an unaccented part; on the contrary, a transient discord, used only as a passing-note, is generally struck on the unaccented part of a bar. A short example in notes will perhaps make a deeper impression than the precept.

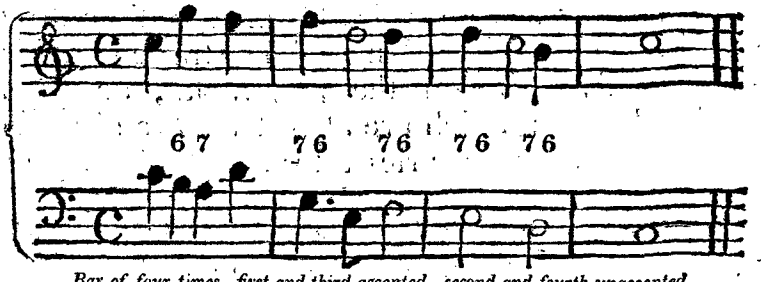


Discords prepared and resolved.

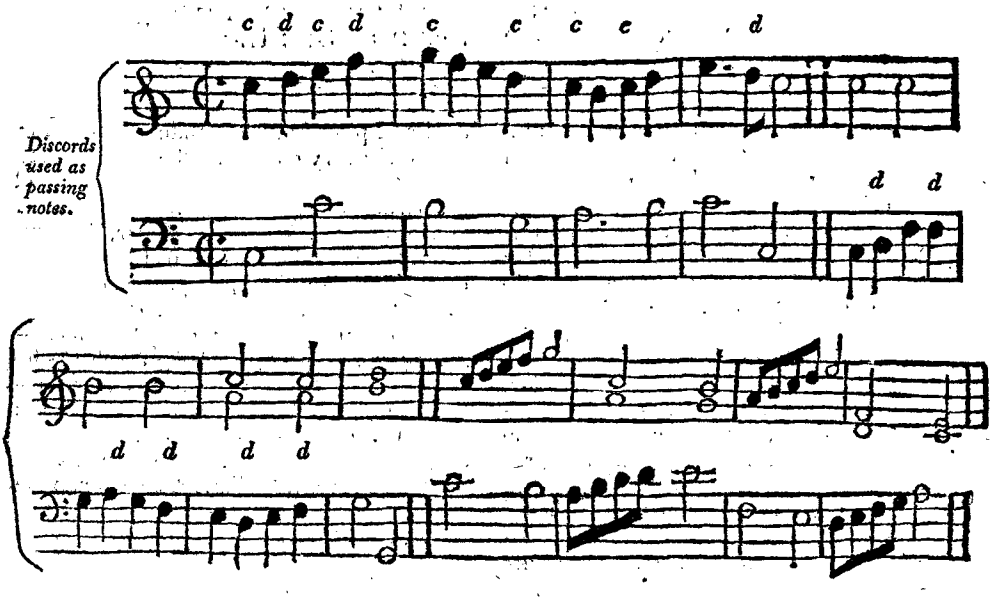
Bar of two times, the first accented, the second unaccented.

Bar

After the scale, which furnishes Melody, was settled, and agreeable simultaneous sounds were discovered, which enriched it



Bar of four times, first and third accented, second and fourth unaccented.



This subject has been so well and amply treated by Dr. Pepusch, *Treatise of Harmony*, p. 41. and by Padre Martini, *saggio di Contrap.* that more examples need not be added here; I shall only, in general, remind musical students that, in divisions, where many notes in the treble go to one note in the base, all that are not sounds of the chord, which belongs to the base, are passing-notes. And if the base is divided, then all are passing-notes, in that part, except the first in a group.

with

with *harmony*; after these sounds were classed into *perfect*, and *imperfect*, *Concords*, and other intervals, called *Discords*, were found practicable in composition, and, when discreetly managed, to add to the beauty and effect of Harmonical Combinations, it was natural to imagine that Melody and Harmony, like twin-sisters, would have grown up, and been refined and polished together. But the elder of the two sisters, *Melody*, was long neglected, and suffered to run wild, while every method was used, which Science and diligence could devise, in order to cultivate and improve the natural powers and agreeable qualities of *Harmony*. It was indeed a long time, before sufficient attention had been given to Melody, to find that she was capable of the least improvement, or had a genius for any thing but *Psalmody*; however, in riper years, she was discovered to have many captivating qualities, and to be susceptible of grace, elegance, and every embellishment which art and invention could suggest. This discovery, in process of time, brought her into good company, and made her the delight of the most polished and fashionable part of the world, after having long associated with the lowest of the people; rioting in alehouses with jolly fellows, and roaring in the streets with ballad singers. At length, however, she went upon the stage, and there, though indeed she was accused of giving herself airs, and affecting the company of princes and heroes, and manners of the ancient Greeks, yet, of whatever absurdities she was guilty in her theatrical character, she seems from *that* to have derived all her favour and importance; as it was on the *Stage* that she studied the public opinion, and acquired the approbation of persons of sensibility, taste, and discernment. But before we proceed to give her dramatic adventures, we must relate what happened to her sister, in the *Church*.

It has been already shewn (*a*) that *Counterpoint*, in the Church, began by adding parts to plain chant; and, in secular music,

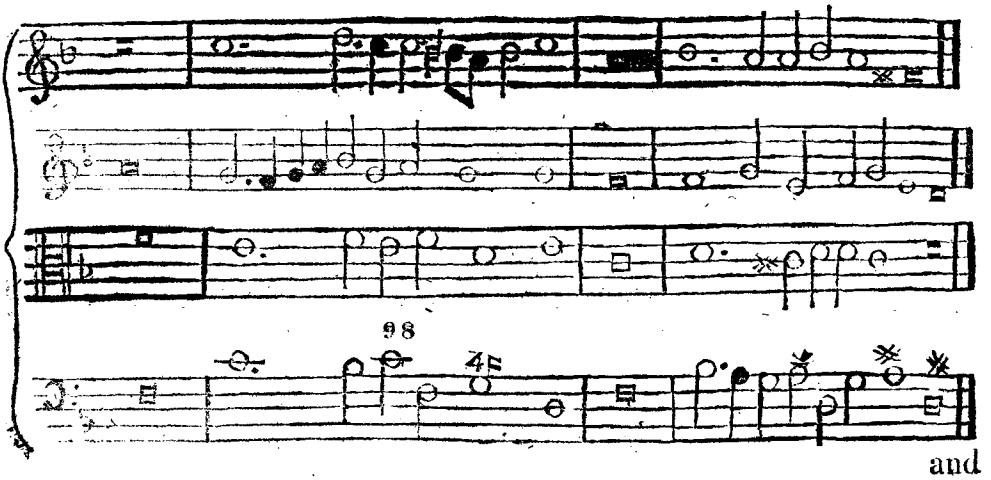
(*a*) Chap. II. of this volume.

by harmonizing old tunes, as florid melody did, by variations to these tunes. It was long before men had the courage, or genius to *invent new melodies (h)*.

It is a matter of surprize, that so little plain Counterpoint is to be found, and, of this little, none correct, previous to attempts at imitation, fugue, and canon, contrivances to which there was a very clear tendency, in all probability, during times of extemporary Discant, before there was any such thing as *written Harmony;* for we find in the most ancient Music, in parts, which is come down to us, that Fugue and Canon had made a considerable progress, at the time it was composed (*c*). The Song, or Round, "Sumer is i cumen in," is a very early proof of the cultivation of this art; and the first compositions for the Church, or Masses in Music, that were printed,

(*b*) Harmony in two parts must necessarily have been poor, and insipid, while the modulation was so confined, and discord so seldom used. This seems to account for the rage of composing and hearing music in many parts, heaped one on the other, without much delicacy or selection, that each chord might have its full complement. Till fancy, taste, and expression, had existence, a solo or even duet, unaccompanied, must indeed have been as dull and uninteresting as the musical societies for the preservation and performance of ancient music, have ever pronounced them; but either invention, refined tones, grace, and exquisite performance, are nugatory, or a solo, and a single song, have their merit at present, as well as choruses and full pieces.

(*c*) The following chant, by Josquin, is the most ancient and accurate counterpoint, *non fugato*, that I have hitherto found.

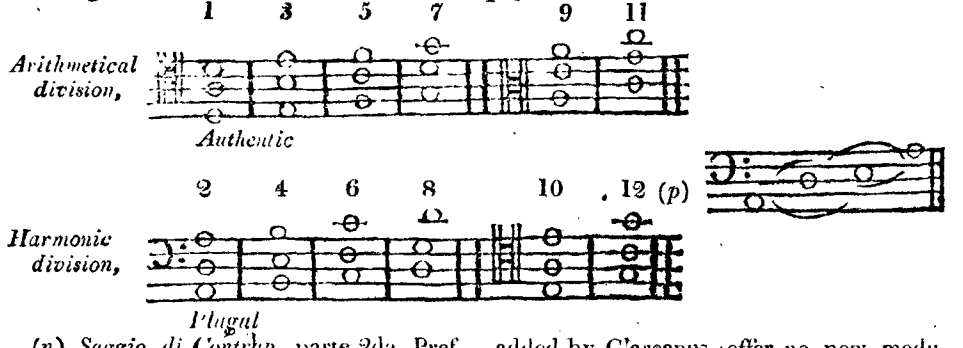


and

and which were composed in the fifteenth century, are full of Canons and Fugues, of the most artificial and difficult construction. What could have given birth so early to these mockeries, is a subject which merits some investigation.

Padre Martini (*n*) is of opinion that this species of composition had its beginning in the following manner. The first composers having begun to add another part to *Canto Fermo*, which at the same time that it formed a different melody, was in harmony, or counterpoint, which is the union of different melodies, contrived that whatever part they superadded to the chant, should resemble it as much as possible, if not throughout the movement, at least in the subject. But as this Canto Fermo is sometimes transposed from one Hexachord (or *Proprietà del Canto*) to another, in the same manner the *imitations* of the several parts in counterpoint are made sometimes in the unison or octave, and sometimes in the 4th or 5th above or below; still taking great care that the intervals and syllables, or Solmisation, are the same; that is, that the distance between one sound and another, and the Solmisation, or syllabic names of the sounds, perfectly correspond with those of the subject, or principal Chant (*o*).

And it is easy to discover from the Skeleton of the Ecclesiastical Modes, authentic and plagal, that this is the true origin of fugue, and all the laws of reply.



(*n*) *Saggio di Contrap.* parte 2da. Pref. p. XXVIII.

(*o*) See above, p. 94, the Diagram, representing the Hexachords, or, as they are likewise called, *proprieties* of the three original keys of G, C, and F.

(*p*) The last four modes, which were added by Glareanus, offer no new modulation or melody; as all the intervals which the eight ancient ecclesiastical modes allow in the key of A, are furnished by the second mode, or plagal of D; and C is supplied with all its sounds by the plagal of F.

Here

Here we have all the keys; and, if these fixed and fundamental sounds were filled up with the intermediate notes, we should have all the scales whence the melody of Fugues and Canons was drawn, during almost three centuries. The chants of the church furnished the subjects, and their answers; the accuracy of which was proved by the syllables of the Guidonian Hexachords.

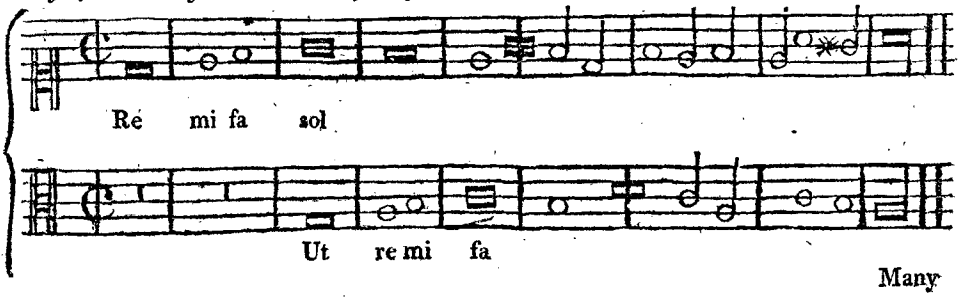
The 5th above and 5th below, or 5th and 4th of a key, either major or minor, are its first relatives; and as they furnish the most agreeable modulation, so they are the only intervals, different from the identity of unison and octave, in which the answer of a regular Canon or Fugue can be made (*a*). All other replies are allowed by Theorists to be nothing but imitations. And the *literal* names of notes, their appearance on paper, or even effect on the ear, will not demonstrate the truth of an answer to a subject given, with such certainty, as Solmisation; and it seems as if the Guidonian syllables would be more useful in this species of composition, than in singing (*b*).

I have

(*a*) If, for instance, the subject of a fugue was delivered in any series of notes belonging to the Hexachord of C Major; the answer should be in one of the other two Hexachords of F or G, its 4th and 5th, in the same intervals, and syllables. In a minor key the same rules should be observed, remembering that no accident of ♭, ♯, or ♮, should have admission in the answer, which does not occur in the subject. The relative minor keys to a major, and major to a minor, are, reciprocally, the 3ds above and 3ds below, which furnish *imitations*, but not *answers*, to subjects of Fugue.

e a b minor. { c f g major.
C F G major. { A D E minor.
a d e minor. { f b c major.

(*b*) Pietro Aaron, in his *Lucidario in Musica*, published 1545, gives the following little movement, as a proof, that a Fugue, in appearance, is not always a Fugue, *in reality*.



Many

I have dwelt the longer on these first principles of Canon and Fugue, as the lives and labours of the primitive Fathers of Harmony were spent in establishing, and those of their immediate successors, in producing such illustrations of them, as were not only the delight of their own age, but are still the admiration of every friend to the art.

Though it has been frequently asserted, upon the authority of Lud. Guicciardini, and the Abbé du Bos, that Counterpoint was invented and first cultivated in the Netherlands, yet it should be remembered that Guido, who furnished the Musical Scale and system still in use; Marchetto da Padua, who first attempted Modern Chromatic, or Secular Modulation; and Franchino Gafforio, who produced the first practical treatise upon Composition, were Italians.

It is well known, and generally allowed, that it was the custom in the middle ages, during times of the greatest mental darkness, when reason and reflection were the least cultivated, for the priests, of almost every part of Europe, to visit Rome, in order to learn Canto Fermo, and the manner of performing those rights of the church, in which music had any concern *(c)*. Even those historians who are the least friends to bigotry, and the most

Many of the rules of Fugue, it must be owned, were frivolous, and often followed with such rigour and pedantry, as merited reprobation; for all rules in music, deduced from any other principle than *effect on the ear*, are absurd. If that sense, which this art was invented to delight, be satisfied, what title has the eye to take offence, though a sharp, flat, or other accident, interrupt the apparent symmetry of intervals? However, it was chiefly in Fugues, which were wholly built on fragments of *Canto fermo*, that such Rules were thought indispensable; for in secular music, composed upon subjects of invention, where the ecclesiastical scales have been abandoned, more latitude, both of subject and reply, has been taken by the greatest masters of the art; as will appear from the specimens of their abilities in this kind of Composition, which will be inserted in the course of the work.

It is upon the *Hexachords* that Dr. Pepusch has founded all his rules of Fugue: *Treatise of Harmony*; Mr. Marpurg, *Traite de la Fugue*, has likewise had recourse to *Solmisation, a la Francoise*, for explaining his precepts,; and Padre Martini, in his learned and admirable *Saggio di Contrapunto*, recommends *syllabic* demonstration to students in church Music, where Fugue and Canon have still, and will ever have, their champions, among the friends of masterly composition, and local propriety.

(c) King Pepin, Charlemagne, and Alfred, had applied to the Roman Pontiffs for singing masters to instruct their subjects.

ready to combat superstition and papal usurpations (*d*), allow that it was only at the court of Rome that the arts of elegance and refinement were at all cherished, during these times.

And in the fifteenth century, when we first hear of harmony in four parts, and masses set to figurative music, it was for the use of the Pope's Chapel that the greatest efforts of genius in composition were excited among the candidates for favour in that art, by the double certainty of having their labours liberally rewarded, and their productions well performed. And if we find that many of the composers of the Pontifical Chapel were Netherlanders, and the singers Spaniards, it does not necessarily follow that the Italians had either counterpoint, or the art of singing, from the Low Countries, or from Spain. The Roman College of singers had been established and celebrated during so many ages, that we may as well imagine these foreigners went to Rome to learn music, as to teach it.

We know, in later times, that many of the greatest musicians of Europe have either had their education in Italy, or thought it as necessary to visit that country as the ancient Roman philosophers to travel into Greece, or the Grecians into Egypt. Orlando di Lasso, Handel, Hasse, Gluck, and J. C. Bach, went thither very early, and may be said to have formed their styles on the best models of that country (*e*).

(*d*) See Hume's History, at the close of the reigns of Richard III. and Henry VIII. chap. 3.

(*e*) The first motets of Orlando that were published at Antwerp, by Tylman Susato, 1555, were said to be made *a la nouvelle composition d'aucuns d'Italie*; as the first productions of Handel, that were published in England, were said to be composed by an eminent Italian master; Hasse went very young into Italy, and was a scholar of Alessandro Scarlatti; however, his clear and graceful style more resembled that of Vinci and Pergolesi, his competitors in the natural, simple, and elegant manner of writing for the voice, than that of either Scarlatti, his master, or Kaiser, his countryman, and first model. The late excellent composer, Mr. J. C. Bach, son and brother of two of the greatest musicians that ever existed, is allowed to have been a fine player on keyed instruments, before he went to Italy; but his vocal music is certainly more in the style of Italy, than of his native country.

The

The learned Josquin went thither as a singer (*f*), during the pontificate of Sixtus the Fourth. And before the year 1600, the names of near twenty Spanish singers and composers are recorded, who were employed in the pontifical chapel. Yet all this proves nothing more than that musicians of great abilities, from whatever part of the world they came, were certain of encouragement there.

It is, however, very true, that in the beginning of the sixteenth century, many excellent Flemish composers were dispersed all over Europe; but the Netherlanders had long been in possession of its chief manufactures and commerce; and, as the polite arts are children of affluence, and dependent on superfluity for support, it is natural to suppose that they would thrive well at this period, particularly during the reigns of the emperors Charles the Fifth, and Francis the First of France, who were not only both lovers and encouragers of music, but such knights-errant, that they lived less in their own capitals than elsewhere, and we find that the arts followed them wherever they went.

This reflection will, perhaps, a little abate our wonder, at the great number of musicians which French Flanders, and the Spanish Netherlands, produced, if it be recollected that Brussels, Antwerp, Mons, Cambray, &c. were frequently the residence of these munificent princes (*g*).

(*f*) Adami, *Osserv. per ben reg. il Corodella Cap. Pontif.* p. 159.

(*g*) Rabelais, in the prologue to the third book of his Pantagruel, written in 1552, (*voyez* To. 5. p, 52. *partie* 2*de. du Rabelais Moderne*, Amst. 1752.) names sixty *et aultres joyeulx Musiciens*, whom he had heard perform, the chief of whom were Netherlanders; and Lod. Guicciardini (*Descrit. di tutti i Paesi Bassi*) enumerates fourteen great musicians of that country, who were dead at the time he wrote, 1566; and gives a more considerable list of such as were then living. But as compositions of many of these still subsist, and as I shall hereafter have occasion to exhibit some of them, I shall not trouble my readers here with a dry catalogue of the names of persons, who though they may have been interesting to a great part of Europe, during the sixteenth century, have been too long out of the world, to have many friends in it, at present.

With

With respect to the particular region, or city in Europe, where Harmony was first cultivated, till other countries can produce an earlier specimen of Music in parts than the Song, or Round, "Sumer is i cumen in," or refute the assertion of Tinctor, himself a Netherlander, in favour of the countryman, Dunstable, who is likewise frequently cited by Franchinus, we seem to have the fairest claim to the honour. If the Italians were the first, as they were afterwards the best musicians, of modern times, they have been negligent, in not giving incontestible proofs of it. Bonadies, the master of Franchinus, lived certainly as early as any other good composer in parts, of whom any thing is preserved; but it must be allowed, that we are still in possession of works by Okenheim, Josquin, Isaac, and Brumel, who were neither Englishmen nor Italians, that surpass in excellence all that can be produced, of equal antiquity, by the inhabitants of England, Italy, or any other parts of the world. We shall therefore, in justice to these great Harmonists, and the countries which gave them birth, proceed to speak of them in chronological order, and give specimens of their works.

And among these, JOHN OKENHEIM deserves the first notice, as he is the oldest composer in parts, on the continent, of whose works I have been able to find any remains. M. le Duchat, in his notes upon Rabelais, says he was a native of Hainault, and treasurer of St. Martin de Tours; but I believe this assertion was hazarded more with the patriotic view of making Okenheim as much a Frenchman as possible, than from proof or conviction; for he was always spoken of as a Netherlander by his cotemporaries, Tinctor, Franchinus, and even in the Deploration, or Dirge, written upon his death, which his scholar, Jusquin, set to music in five parts, as well as in the following, which was set by Guillaume Crespel:

Agricola,

Agricola, Verbonnet, Prioris,
Josquin des Pres, Gaspard, Brunel, Compere,
Ne parlez pluz de joyeulx chants, ne ris,
Mais composez un ne recorderis,
Pour lamenter nostre Maistre et bon Pere.

There is still another Dirge, in Latin *(h)*, on the death of Okenheim, set to music by Lupi, a Netherlander, and composer of eminence in the time of the emperor Charles the Fifth. Many of whose Latin motets, and French songs, in parts, are preserved in the Museum Collections, as are those of Crespel, the composer of the French *Deploration*, just cited.

Little more is recorded concerning the life of Okenheim, than that he was a Netherlander, who flourished in the 15th century, produced many learned and elaborate compositions for the church, and had many scholars, by whom he seems to have been much beloved and respected. It is, indeed, often mentioned to his honour, that he was the master of Jusquin (*i*): but he seems to have been as fortunate in a disciple, as Jusquin in a master: as no great professor is sure of making great scholars in any art, unless he have genius and diligence to direct; and it is only from such fortunate and rare concurrences that the narrow limits of mediocrity are surpassed, or the wild effusions of youthful ardour restrained.

None of the musical writers of the sixteenth century forget to tell us, that Okenheim composed a motet in thirty-six parts: of what these parts consisted, or how they were disposed, is not related by Ornithoparcus, Glareanus, Zarlino, or any one who mentions the circumstance, which all seem to have received from tradition. But of our countryman, Bird, a

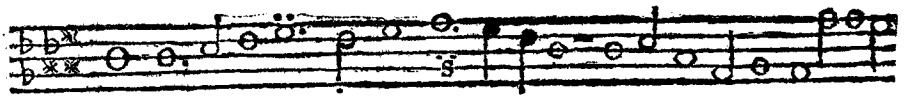
(*h*) *Nænia in* Joannem OKegi, *Musicorum principem.*

(*i*) Padre Martini calls him, *Il famoso Maestro del famosissimo Giosquino del prato.* Stor. To. I. 333.

Song is still preserved in forty parts (*k*); yet, though I have seen this effort of science and labour, its effects must still be left to imagination; for where shall we find forty voices, assembled together, that are able to perform it? (*l*)

We may, however, deduct from the reputation of Okenheim, all the increase it received from the story of his Polyphonic composition, and there will still remain sufficient cause for the respect and wonder of Contrapuntists, in the fragments only of his works, which have been preserved in the *Dodecachordon* of Glareanus. This writer tells us, that he was fond of the Καθολικα in the cantus; that is, of composing a melody which may be sung in various modes, or keys, at the pleasure of the performer, observing only the ratio, or relation of consonant notes in the harmony *(m)*. From the following single part, which may be led off in any key, with either a flat, or a sharp third, two other parts may be extracted, a fifth lower, beginning at the distance of a perfect breve, or whole measure, after each other. (*n*)

Canon



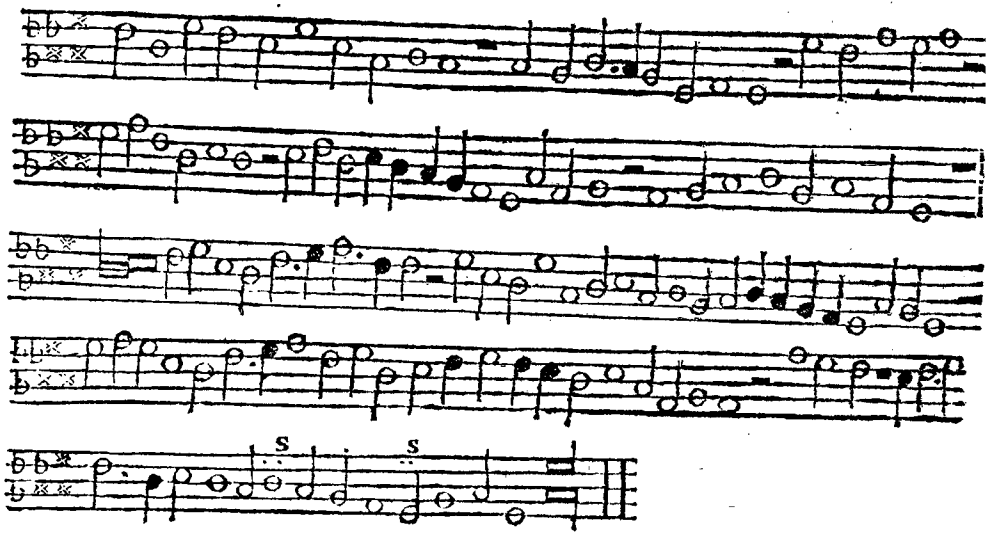
In epidiapente.

(*k*) It is in the possession of Mr. Bremner in the Strand, and will be further described hereafter.

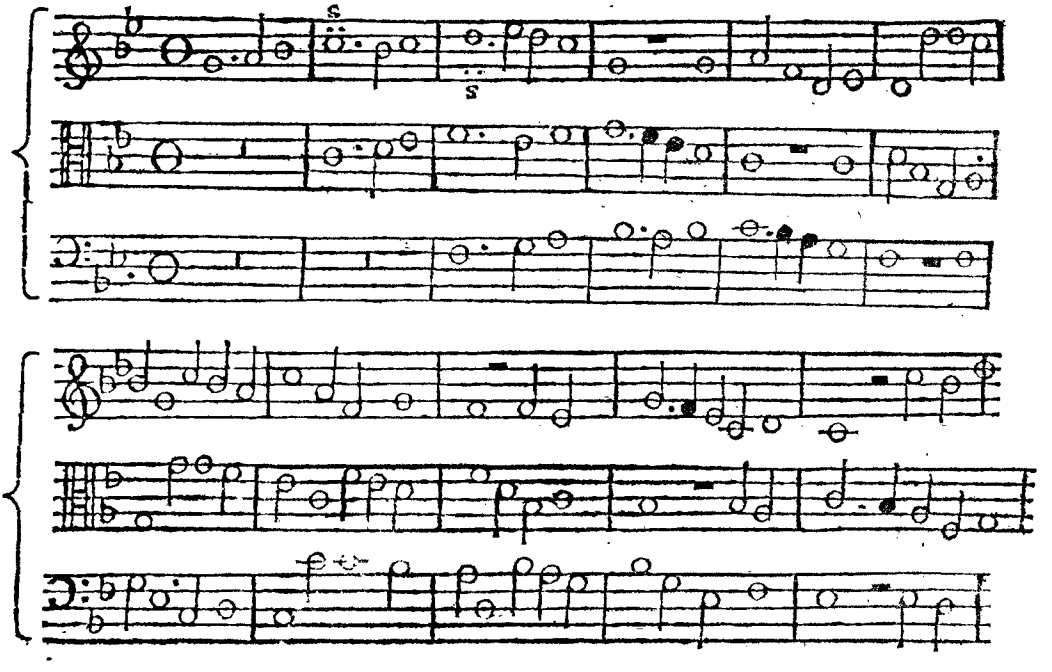
(*l*) If there had been more frequent rehearsals of the *Miserere* of Leo, in 8 real parts, which Ansani had performed last year, 1781, at the Pantheon, by more than 40 voices. I can conceive, from such movements as were correctly executed, that the effects of the whole would have been wonderful, and greatly have surpassed all the expectation which the high reputation of the composer, and the uncommon magnitude of the enterprize, had excited. I am at present in possession of the mass by Benevoli, in twenty-four parts, for six choirs, mentioned p. 11, and a movement for twelve sopranos, or treble voices, of equal extent. There can be little melody in any of these multiplied parts; but to make them move at all, without violation of rule, requires great meditation and experience.

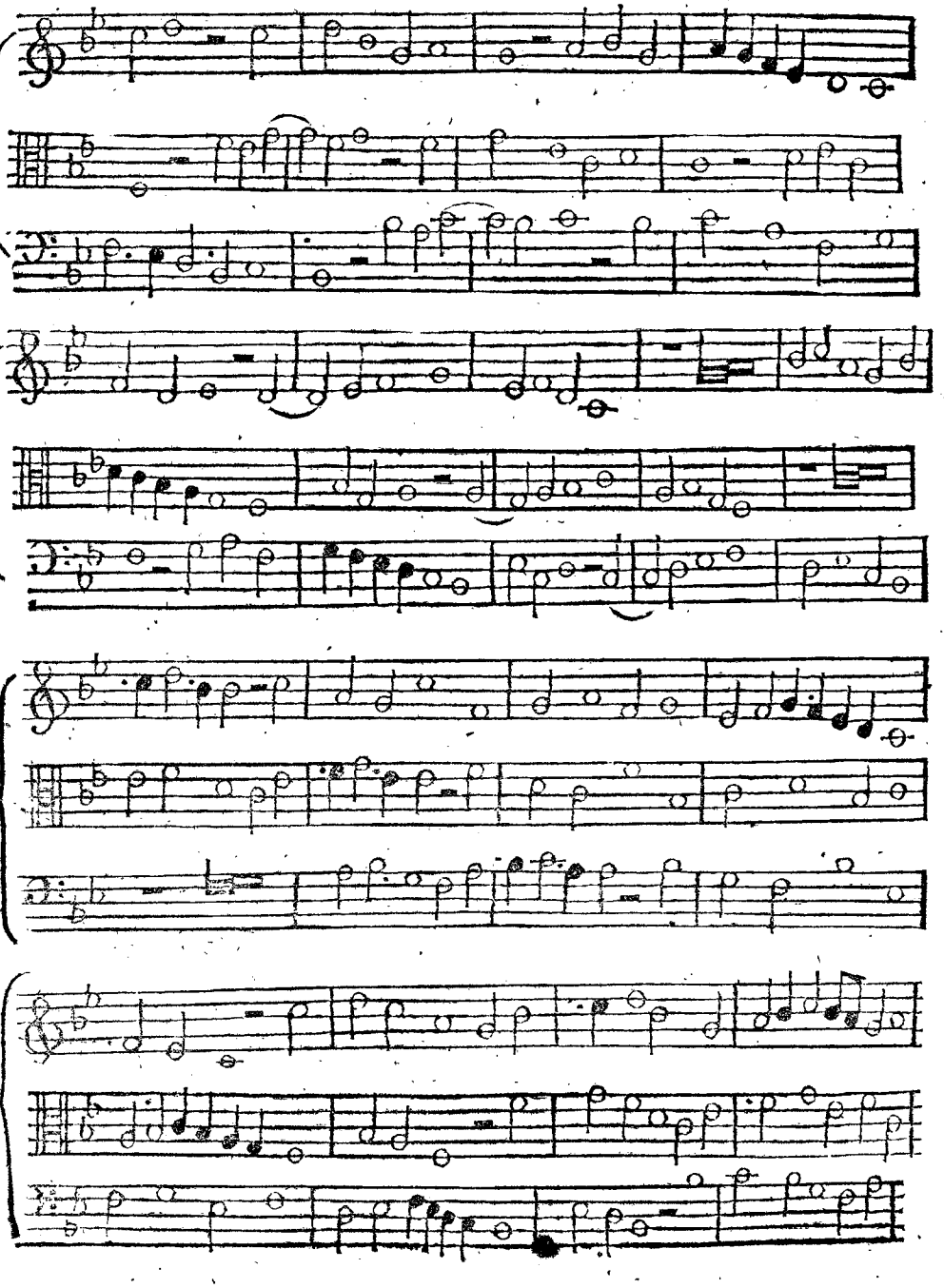
(m) This seems to imply no more than that the singer, as was usual in old music, should himself discover and express the accidental flats and sharps, without which, however ecclesiastical the melody might look, the harmony would be intolerable; and, indeed, this kind of music seems more calculated to please the *eye* than the *ear*.

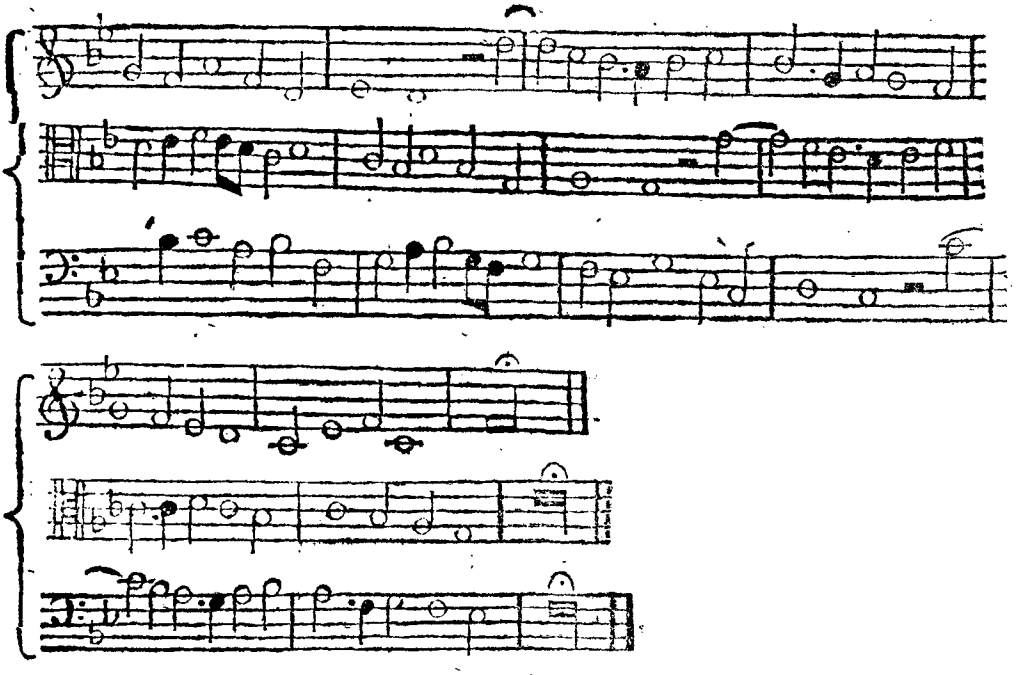
(n) By this injunction of resting a *perfect time*, with the circular modal sign at the beginning, all doubt is removed concerning the *time* of this movement, which is certainly *triple*, though some have erroneously imagined it to be in *common* time.



SOLUTION.

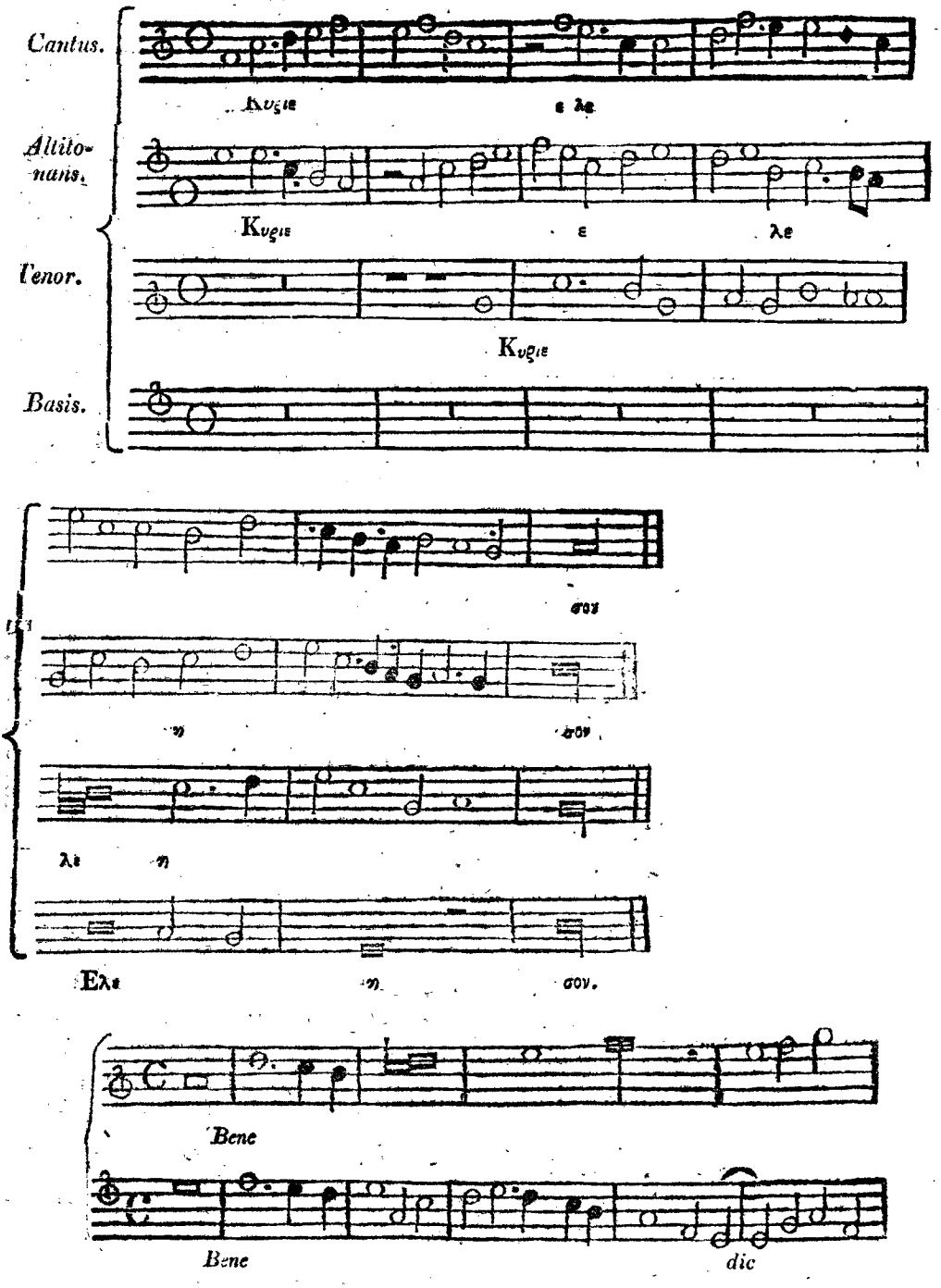


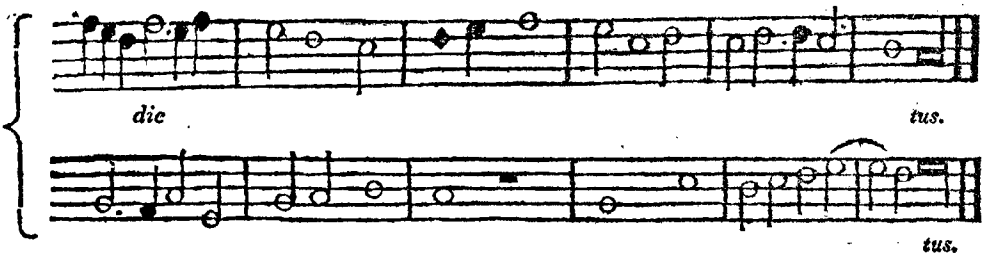




Okenheim likewise composed a mass for three and four voices, *ad omnem tonum*, which, as the words imply, might be sung in any of the three species of diatessaron, each part beginning at *ut*, *re*, *mi*, or in *c*, *f*, *g*, major, and *d*, *e*, *a*, minor, on which account no indicial clef is marked; as the performer, at setting off, has his choice of any of the modes, or ecclesiastical keys. Indeed, all the fragments from Okenheim are inserted in Glareanus, without bars, clefs, or accidental flats and sharps.

In whatever tone the following *Kyrie* is begun by the *Cantus*, if the *Altus* takes the same note, and the *Tenor* and *Base* the octave below, the harmony will be found correct, provided the necessary flats and sharps are remembered. The circle, with a note of interrogation, placed at the beginning of each line, where the clef should be, seems to ask the singer, in what key or clef he means to begin?


Cantus.
Κυριε ε λε
Altitonans.
Κυριε ε λε
Tenor.
Κυριε
Basis.
σου
η σου
λε η
Ελε η σον.
Bene
Bene
dic



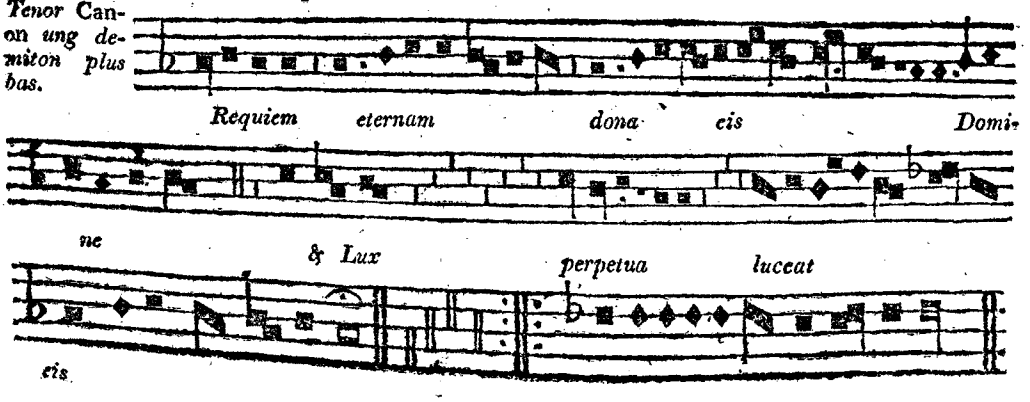
These compositions are given rather as specimens of a determined spirit of patient perseverance, than as models of imitation. In music, different from all other arts, learning and labour seem to have preceded taste and invention, from both which the times under consideration are still very remote. But as the chants of the church were the ground-work of all composition at this period, the ears of the congregation seem to have been less consulted than the eye of the performer, who was to solve canonical mysteries, and discover latent beauties of ingenuity and contrivance, about which the hearers were indifferent, provided the general harmony was pleasing. However, the performer's attention was kept on the stretch, and perhaps he gained, in mental amusement, what was wanting in sensual.

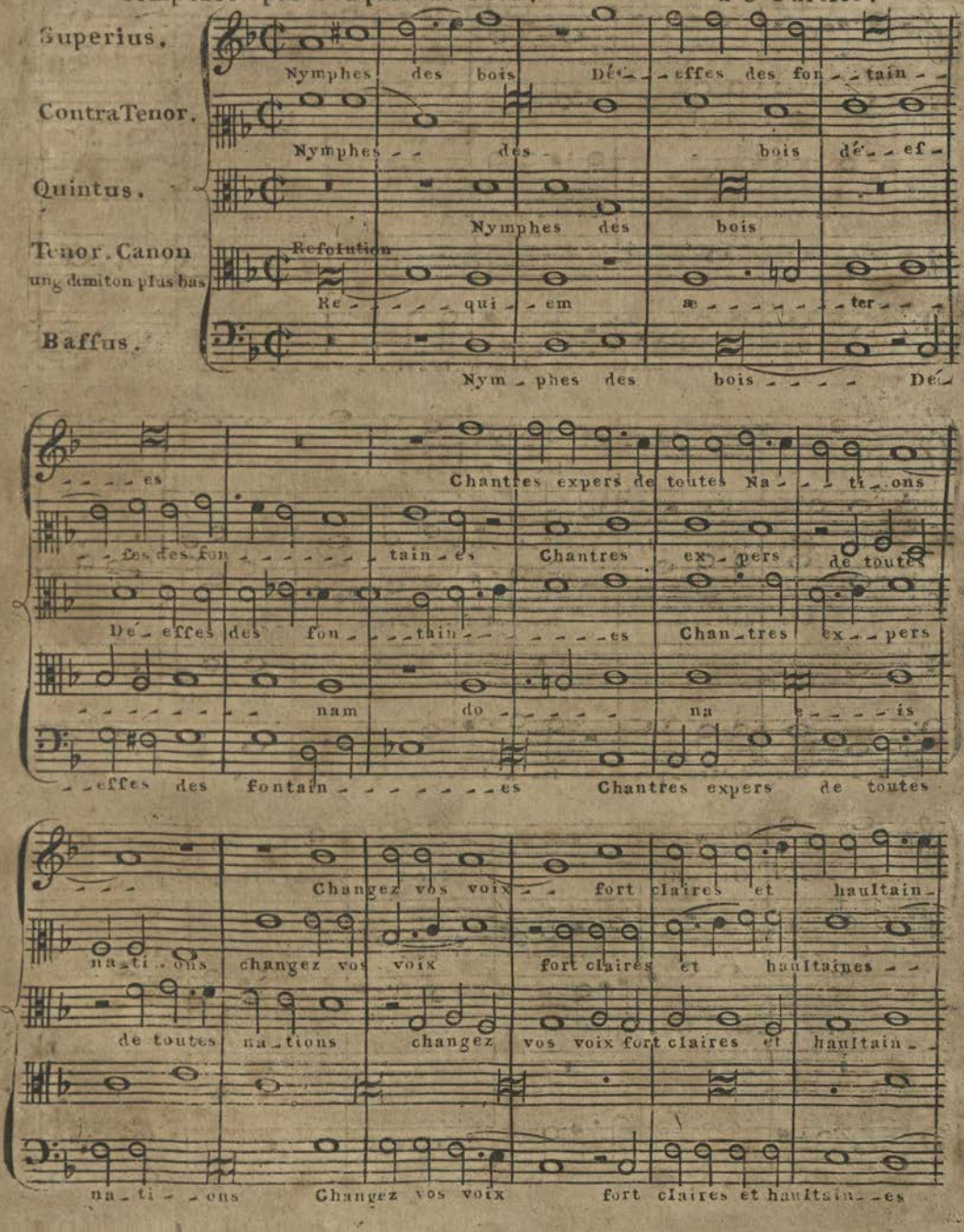
It is not certain when Okenheim died; but he is generally mentioned as a composer of the 15th century, and I have met with no proof of his existing in the next. In a set of old French songs, in five and six parts, printed at Antwerp, 1544, there is the following dirge on his death; the language seems to be that of the 15th century. The music is printed entirely in black breves, semibreves, and minims, which I have never seen in secular music elsewhere, after the invention of types. It is printed in separate parts, without bars, clefs, or character for time. The difficulties I encountered in scoring this composition are not to be described, and I am ashamed to confess how much time and meditation I bestowed upon it; for, after I had discovered the clefs of the other parts, and the measure,

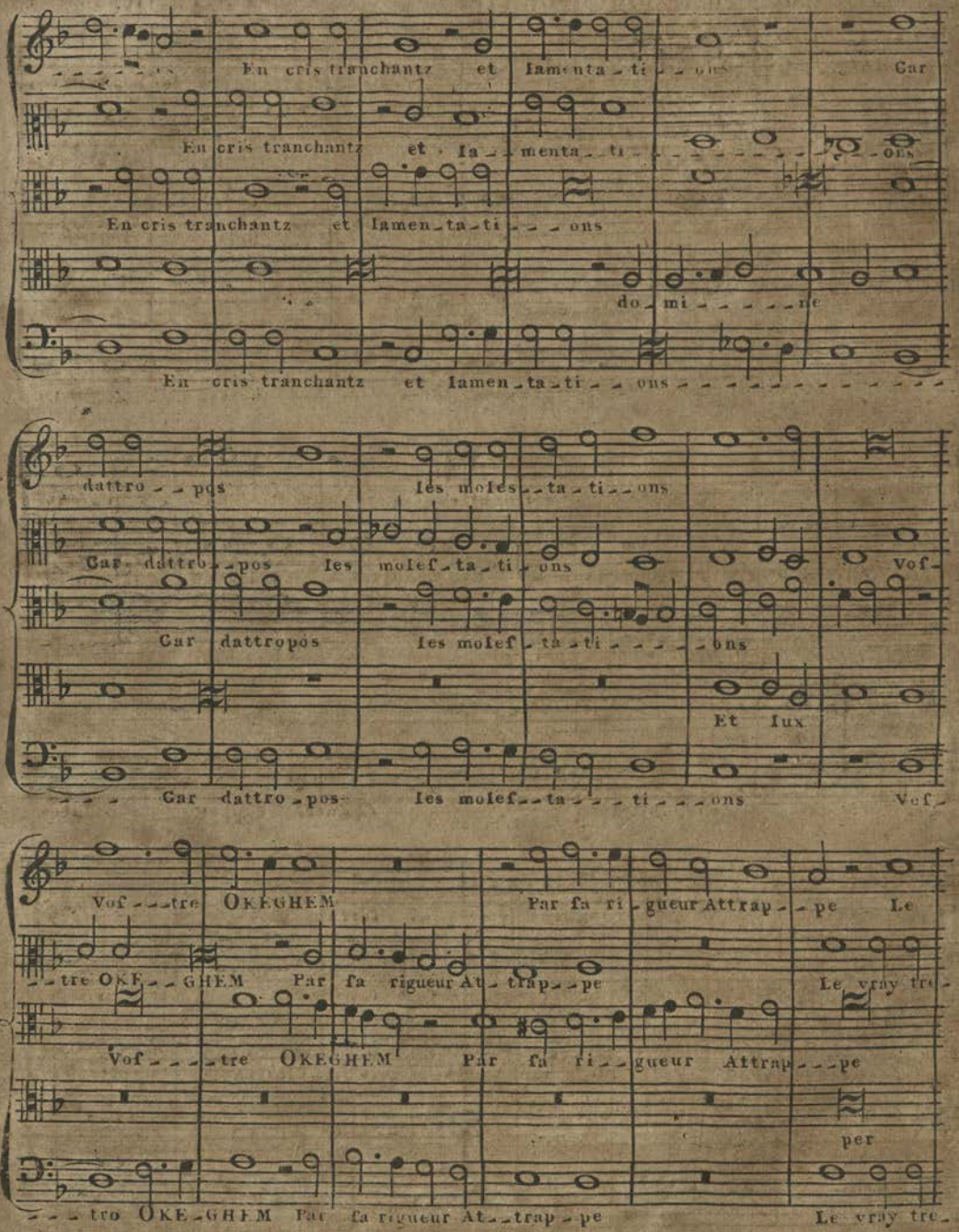
I was

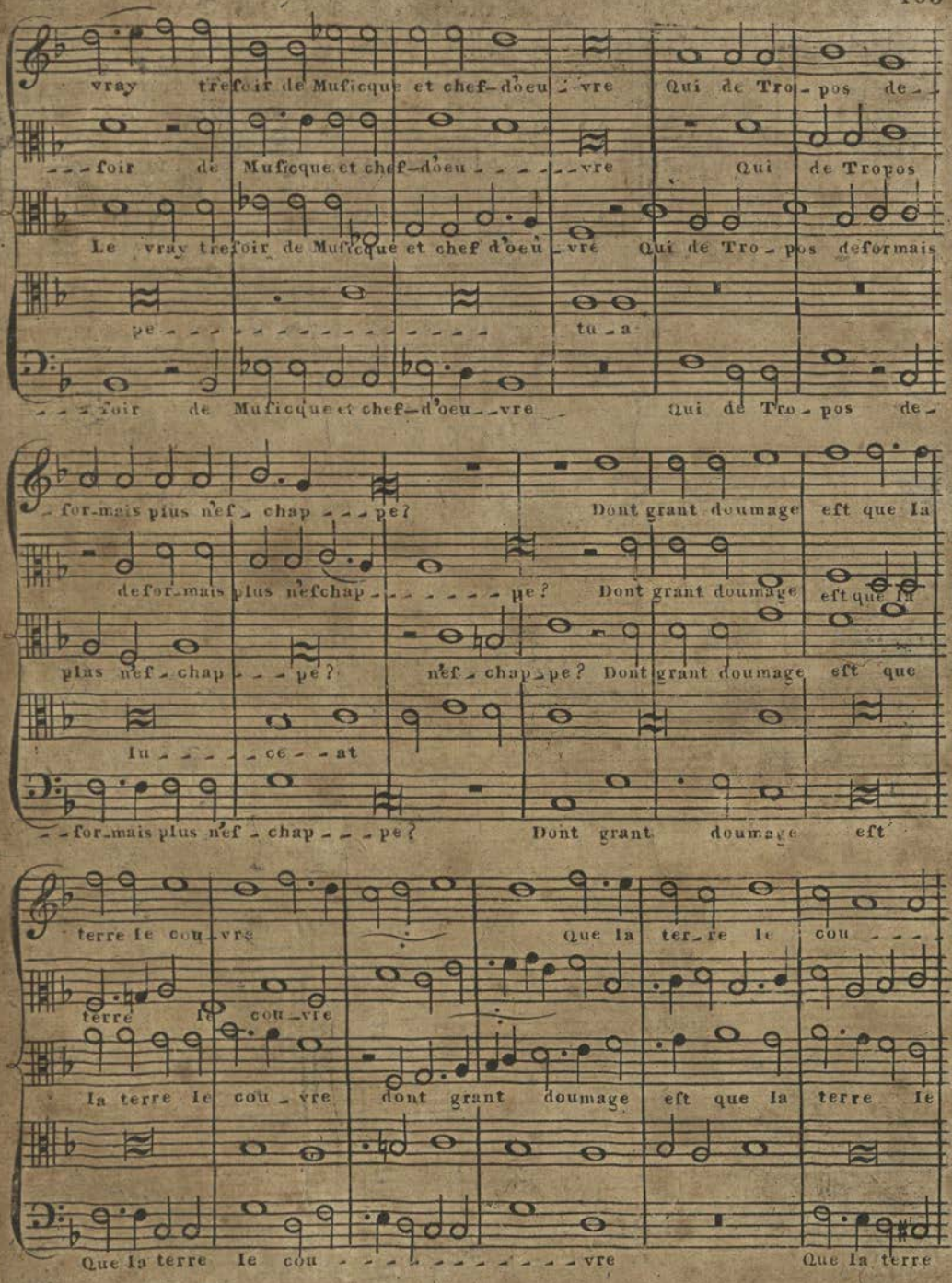
I was thrown into despair by the *tenor*, which is said to be a CANON, *ung demiton plus bas*; and I was equally unable to find a clef which would harmonize with the other parts, or make it a Canon to itself. At length, in scoring a five-part French song, by Josquin, I discovered, by chance, what I should never have found by study, that, by the word *Canon*, he does not always mean a *perpetual Fugue*, but some mystery which the performer is to unravel; according to the definition of John Tinctor, his cotemporary, who says: "CANON *est* "*regula voluntatem compositoris sub* OBSCURITATE *quadam* "*ostendens.*" And the obscurity in the present Canon seems only that of *transposition*. The flat, which is printed on the second space, implied the contralto clef; and, by beginning the first note, which is likewise on the second space, half a tone lower upon A, the whole will agree very well with the other parts. Another reason for supposing that nothing more was meant; is, that the dirge is said to be *à cinq parties*; now, if another part were extracted in Canon with the Tenor, which I cannot see possible, there would be a sixth part; and the harmony seems complete without it. Before I exhibit a score of this dirge, I shall insert a *fac-simile* of the tenor-part, which is said to be in *Canon*, in order to afford the learned musical reader an opportunity of exercising his sagacity in its resolution, if it should be different from that which I have given.

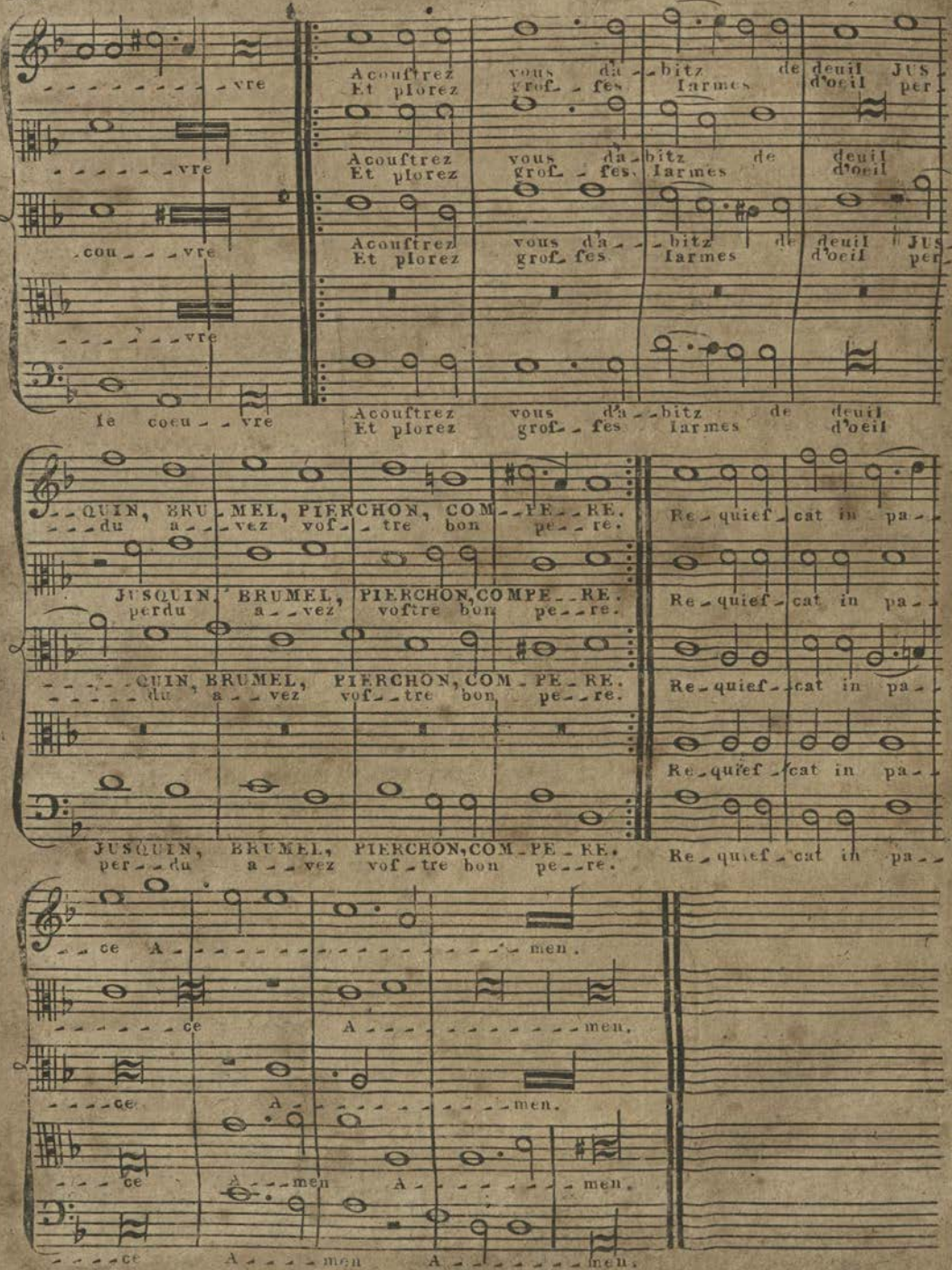
La Deploration de Johan Okenheïm, à 5 Parties.




Superius.
Nymphes des bois Dé- effes des fon- tain-
ContraTenor.
Nymphes - des - bois dé- ef-
Quintus.
Nymphes des bois
Tenor. Canon
ung demiton plus bas
Refolution
Re- qui- em æ- ter-
Baffus.
Nym- phes des bois Dé-
es
Chantres expers de toutes Na- ti- ons
- les des fon- tain- es Chantres ex- pers de toutes
De- effes des fon- thain- es Chan- tres ex- pers
nam do- na- is
- effes des fontain- es Chantres expers de toutes
Changez vos voix fort claires et haultain-
na- ti- ons changez vos voix fort claires et haultaines
de toutes na- tions changez vos voix fort claires et haultain-
na- ti- ons Changez vos voix fort claires et haultain- es


En cris tranchantz et Iamenta-ti-ons Car
En cris tranchantz et Ia-menta-ti-ons
En cris tranchantz et Iamen-ta-ti-ons
do-mi-ne
En cris tranchantz et Iamen-ta-ti-ons
dattro-pos les moles-ta-ti-ons
Car dattro-pos les molef-ta-ti-ons Vof-
Car dattropos les molef-ta-ti-ons
Et lux
Car dattro-pos les molef-ta-ti-ons Vof-
Vof-tre OKEGHEM Par fa ri-gueur Attrap-pe Le
-tre OKE-GHEM Par fa rigueur At-trap-pe Le vray tre-
Vof-tre OKEGHEM Par fa ri-gueur Attrap-pe
per
-tro OKE-GHEM Par fa rigueur At-trap-pe Le vray tre-


vray treſoir de Muſicque et chef-d'oeu-vre Qui de Tro-pos de-
-foir de Muſicque et chef-d'oeu-vre Qui de Tropos
Le vray treſoir de Muſicque et chef d'oeu-vre Qui de Tro-pos deformais
pe-
tu-a
-foir de Muſicque et chef-d'oeu-vre Qui de Tro-pos de-
-for-mais plus nef-chap-pe? Dont grant doumage eſt que la
deſor-mais plus nefchap-pe? Dont grant doumage eſt que la
plus nef-chap-pe? nef-chap-pe? Dont grant doumage eſt que
lu-ce-at
-for-mais plus nef-chap-pe? Dont grant doumage eſt
terre le cou-vre Que la ter-re le cou-
terre le cou-vre
la terre le cou-vre dont grant doumage eſt que la terre le
Que la terre le cou-vre Que la terre


vre
Acouſtrez vous d'a_bitz de deuil JUS_
Et plorez groſ_ſes larmes d'oeil per_
vre
Acouſtrez vous d'a_bitz de deuil
Et plorez groſ_ſes larmes d'oeil
cou_vre
Acouſtrez vous d'a_bitz de deuil JUS_
Et plorez groſ_ſes larmes d'oeil per_
vre
le coeu_vre
Acouſtrez vous d'a_bitz de deuil
Et plorez groſ_ſes larmes d'oeil
_QUIN, BRU_MEL, PIERCHON, COM_PE_RE.
_du a_vez voſ_tre bon pe_re.
Re_quieſ_cat in pa_
JUSQUIN, BRUMEL, PIERCHON, COMPE_RE.
perdu a_vez voſtre bon pe_re.
Re_quieſ_cat in pa_
_QUIN, BRUMEL, PIERCHON, COM_PE_RE.
_du a_vez voſ_tre bon pe_re.
Re_quieſ_cat in pa_
Re_quieſ_cat in pa_
JUSQUIN, BRUMEL, PIERCHON, COM_PE_RE.
per_du a_vez voſ_tre bon pe_re.
Re_quieſ_cat in pa_
_ce A_men.
_ce A_men.
_ce A_men.
_ce A_men A_men.
_ce A_men A_men.

The next great Contrapuntist, of the Flemish School, to Okenheim, was his Scholar, Iosquin Des Prez; Del Prato, or, as he was styled in Latin, Iodocus Pratensis, the author of the preceding Dirge, whose compositions for the church, though long laid aside, and become obsolete by the gradual changes in Notation, continue still to merit the attention of the curious. Indeed the laws and difficulties of Canon, Fugue, Augmentation, Diminution, Reversion, and almost every other species of learned contrivance allowable in ecclesiastical compositions for voices, were never so well observed, or happily vanquished, as by Josquin; who may justly be called the father of modern harmony, and the inventor of almost every ingenious contexture of its constituent parts, near a hundred years before the time of Palestrino, Orlando di Lasso, Tallis, or Bird, the great musical luminaries of the 16th century, whose names and works are still held in the highest reverence, by all true judges and lovers of what appears to me the true and genuine style of choral compositions.

This ingenious, learned, and voluminous composer, is enumerated by Lewis Guicciardini (*a*), among Flemish musicians. However, the constant addition of Pratensis, or Del Prato, to his name, seems rather to make him a native of *Prato* in Tuscany; and the frequent mention that is made of him by Italian writers, implies at least, if he was not a native of Italy, that he had lived there, and that his works were very familiar to them; for not only by the name of Josquino, Jodoco del Prato, is he often mentioned by Franchinus, and all the musical writers of Italy in the next age, as a most excellent composer, but by miscellaneous writers, who only speak of music incidentally. As a proof of this, I need give no better authority than the following passage in Castiglione's admirable *Cortegiano*.

(*a*) *Descritt. di tutti i Paesi bassi*, p. 42.

This author, speaking of the operations of prejudice in favour of great names, tells us of the eagerness and delight with which a polite company of his acquaintance had read a copy of verses, supposing them to have been written by Sannazaro, who afterwards, when it was certain that they were not of his composition, thought them execrable. "So likewise, says one "of the interlocutors, a Motet sung before the Duchess of "Urbino, was unnoticed, till it was known to be the produc-"tion of Josquin."

Franchinus *(b)*, enumerating the great musicians of his time, specifies Tinctor, Gulielmus, Guarnerius, *Jusquin de Pret*, Gaspar, Agricola, Loyset, Obrecht, Brumel, Isaac, and calls them most delightful composers *(c)*.

The same author, in another work *(d)*, lets us know that he had been personally acquainted with Josquin: for, speaking of some inaccuracies in the Sesquialterate proportion, he says: *Di questi inconvenienti ne advertite gia* molti anni *passati* Jusquin Despriet *et* Gaspar *dignissimi compositori.* This was printed in 1508, so that "many years ago," must throw these composers far back into the 15th century; and, he adds, "though they acquiesced in my opinions, yet, having been "corrupted by long habit, they were unable to adopt them."

Zarlino *(e)*, who likewise speaks of him among the *practici periti*, gives another instance of predilection in favour of Jusquin at Rome *(f)*, "which, says he, was at the expence of "my friend, the admirable Adrian Willaert, who has often him-"self confirmed the fact." The Motet *verbum bonum et Suave*, for six voices *(g)*, having been long performed in the Pontifical Chapel at Rome, on the festival of our Lady, as the production of Josquin, was thought to be one of the finest compo-

(*b*) *Præt. Mus.* lib. iii. cap. 12.
(*c*) *Jocundissimi Compositores.*
(*d*) *Angel. ac. Div. opus Musicæ Tract. 5 Cap. 6.*
(*e*) *Parte 4ta.* p. 346.
(*f*) Ib. p. 175.
(*g*) We shall have further occasion to speak of this composition hereafter.

sitions

sitions of the time? but Willaert, having quitted Flanders, in order to visit Rome, in the time of Leo X. and finding that this Motet was sung as the composition of Josquin, whose name was affixed to it in the chapel books, ventured to declare it to be his own work, and not that of the famous Josquin: but so great was the ignorance, envy, and prejudice of the singers, that, after this declaration, the Motet was never again performed in the Pontifical Chapel.

Adami (*h*), in his historical list of the singers in the Pope's Chapel, mentions Josquin next to Guido, as one of the great cultivators and supporters of Church Music; he calls him "*Uomo insigne per l'inventione*," and says that he was a singer in the Pontifical Chapel during the time of Sixtus the Fourth (*i*).

After quitting Italy he was appointed Maestro di Capella to Lewis the Twelfth of France, who reigned from 1498 to 1515, and it is hardly probable that such an honour should have been conferred upon him till he had arrived at great eminence in his profession; he must either have acquired the public favour by his works or performance, before he could be noticed by a sovereign: indeed the impediments to their approximation must have been reciprocal, and it has been well observed, that it is as difficult for a prince to get at a man of merit, as it is for a man of merit to approach a prince.

It is related (*k*), that when Josquin was first admitted into the service of Lewis, he had been promised a benefice by his majesty (*l*); but this prince, contrary to his usual custom, for he was in general both just and liberal, forgot the promise he had made to his Maestro di Capella; when Josquin, after suffering great inconvenience from the shortness of his Majesty's memory, ventured by a single expedient to remind him public-

(*h*) *Osserv. per ben regolare il Coro della Cap. Pontif.*

(*i*) This Pontiff reigned from 1471 to 1484.

(*k*) Glareano, *Dodecachordon*, p. 441.

(*l*) This seems to imply that Josquin was an Ecclesiastic.

ly

ly of his promise, without giving offence; for being commanded to compose a Motet for the Chapel Royal, he chose part of the 119th Psalm: *Memor esto verbi tui servo tuo*; "Oh "think of thy servant, as concerning thy word;" which he set in so supplicating and exquisite a manner, that it was universally admired, particularly by the king, who was not only charmed with the music, but felt the force of the words so effectually, that he soon after granted his petition, by conferring on him the promised preferment. For which act of justice and munificence, Josquin, with equal felicity, composed, as a hymn of gratitude, another part of the same psalm! *Bonitatem fecisti cum servo tuo Domine*, "Oh Lord, thou hast "dealt graciously with thy servant."

Josquin seems to have been possessed of a certain vein of wit and humour, as well as musical genius; of which Glareanus has given his readers several instances, besides those just related. In consequence of the long procrastination of the performance of Lewis XIIth's promise relative to the benefice, Josquin applied to a nobleman, in high favour at court, to use his interest with this prince in his behalf, who, encouraging his hopes with protestations of zeal for his service, constantly ended with saying, "I shall take care of this business, *let me alone*---*Laisse faire moi, (laisser moi faire)* when, at length, Josquin tired of this vain and fruitless assurance, turned it into *Solmisation*, and composed an entire Mass on these syllables of the Hexachords: *La sol fa re mi;* which Mass is among the productions of our author in the Brit. Mus. and is an admirable composition.

The following circumstance, which likewise happened during Josquin's residence at the court of France, has been recorded both by Glareanus (*m*) and Mersennus (*n*). These writers inform us, that Lewis, though Music afforded him great pleasure, had so weak and inflexible a voice, that he never was

(*m*) *Ubi supra.*

(*n*) *Harm. Univ. Liv. de la Voix.* p. 44.

able

able to sing a tune, and that he defied his Maestro di Capella to compose a piece of Music in which it was possible for him to bear a part. However the musician accepted the challenge, and composed a canon for two voices, to which he added two other parts, one of which had nothing more to do than to sustain a single sound, and the other only the key note, and its fifth, to be sung alternately. Josquin gave his Majesty the choice of these two parts, and beginning with the long note, after some time, his royal scholar was enabled to continue it, as a drone to the canon, in despite of nature, which had never intended him for a singer *(o)*.

Rabelais, in his prologue to the third book of Pantagruel, places Josquin des Prez at the head of all the fifty-nine *Joyeulx Musicines* whom he had formerly heard *(p)*. Josquin, among Musicians, was the Giant of his time, and seems to have arrived at that universal monarchy and dominion over the affections and passions of the musical part of mankind, that has been mentioned above *(q)*. Indeed his compositions seem to have been as well known, and as much practised throughout Europe, at the beginning of the 16th century, as Handel's were, in England, about forty years ago.

In the music book of Prince Henry, afterwards Henry VIII. which is preserved in the Pepys collection at Cambridge, there are several of his compositions; and we are told that Anne of Boleyn, during her residence in France, has collected and learned a great number of them. In a very beautiful MS. at the British Museum *(r)*, consisting of French Songs of the 15th century, in three and four parts, there are likewise many of Josquin's compositions (*s*). But the most capital collection of

(*o*) This Canon is printed in Glareanus, and Mersennus, *ubi supra*.

(*p*) Rabelais died in 1553, at seventy years of age; so that he might have heard Josquin while he was in the service of Lewis XIIth.

(*q*) P. 441.

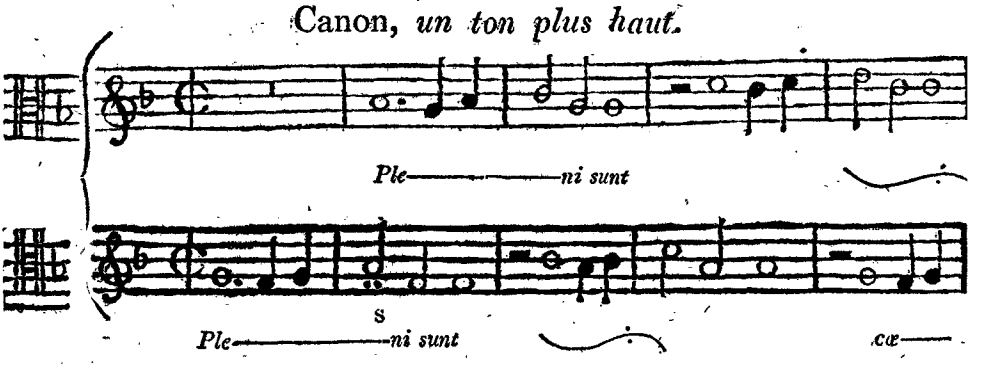
(*r*) Bib. Reg. 20. A. 16.

(*s*) The names of the other composers in this MS. are Heyne, Brumel, and Crespieres. The parts are generally Soprano, Tenor on the third line, and Contra

of his works, and of cotemporary Contrapuntists, which, I believe, is now subsisting, is that of the British Museum, already described (*t*); and as these productions are not only precious, from their age and scarcity, but intrinsic worth, I shall here be more ample and diffuse in my extracts and accounts of them.

My first intention was only to transcribe from this collection two or three movements of Josquin's celebrated Mass upon the old tune, called *l'Homme Armé*, as specimens of his style; but I was so drawn on and amused by the author's ingenious and curious contrivances, that I scored the whole mass and several others, and regard them as the most subtle and elaborate productions that I have ever seen in this kind of writing.

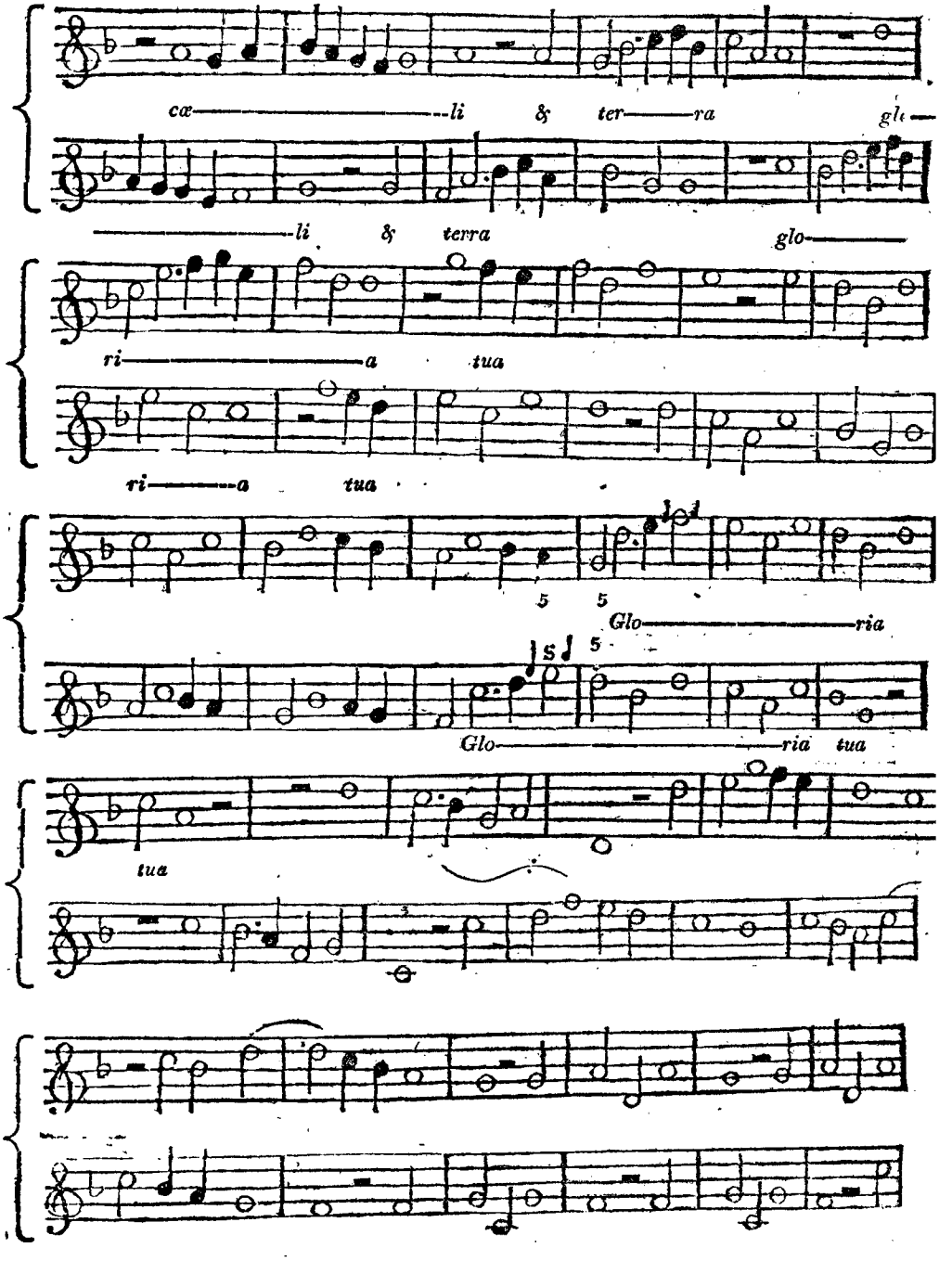
Josquin's Mass, *Sine Nomine* (*u*), consisting of upwards of twenty movements, is wholly made up of Canons in the different intervals of Diatessaron, Diapente, Diapason; and one, very curious, in the second above, and another in the second below the subject.

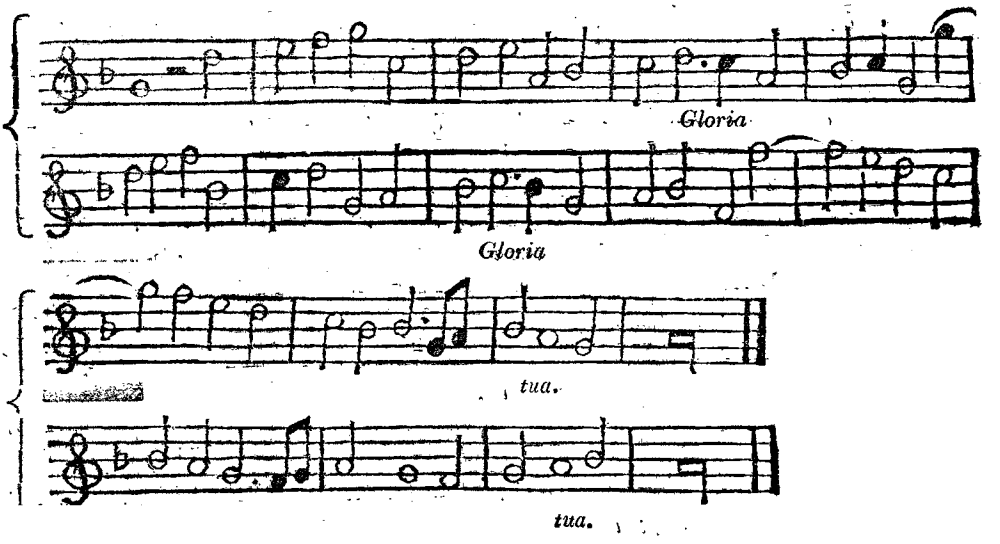


tra Tenor in the clef of F, either on the third or fourth line, or of C on the fifth. In Josquin's compositions, and in two or three more, the under part is called Bassus, and this is the earliest use which I have seen made of the word. These Songs are chiefly in Fugue, and all in common time, ¢. The treble clef on the second line only occurs once, and then the second part is in the Soprano, the third is the Alto tenore, and the fourth in the common base. In the first song the lowest part which is written in the Base Clef on the fourth line, is called *concordans*, a term still used by the French for the Middle Base: they have *Basse-taille*, *Concordans*, and *Basse-contre*.

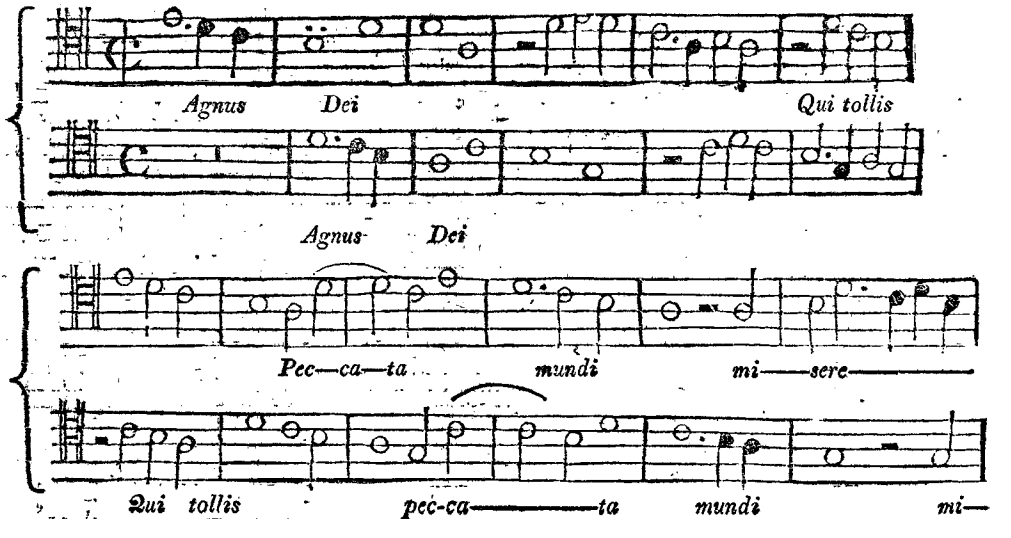
(*t*) P. 446.

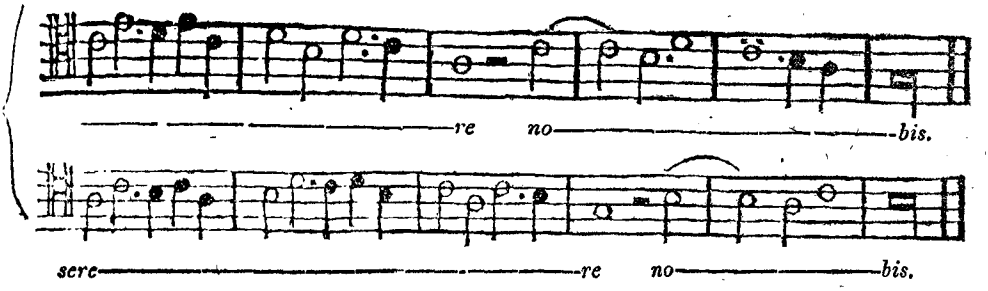
(*u*) This is a title given by the old Masters to such Masses as were not composed on Fragments of Canto Fermo, or on Old Tunes, but on a subject *invented* by the author. See *Ragionamenti di Musica, del* P. Pontio, p. 156.


cæ——li & ter——ra gl——
——li & terra glo——
ri——a tua
ri——a tua
5 5
Glo——ria
Glo——ria tua
tua



Canon, *un Ton plus bas.*





Sometimes the superius, or upper part, is to be drawn out of the altus, and sometimes out of the tenor, or base, without being written; a task the more difficult, as the sign where they are to begin is frequently omitted.

These compositions must have been studied, and frequently rehearsed, before their performance; for though no rapidity of execution is required, yet, as there are no bars, and the value of the notes is frequently changed by position, as well as by the modal signs, upon very short notice, this, joined to the difficult solution of the canons, must have made it impossible for them to have been sung at sight, even by those who were accustomed to the notation.

There are more than twenty compositions, by Josquin, inserted in Glareanus, among which are several from his celebrated Mass, *l'Homme Armé*. P. Martini (*x*) supposes the subject of it to have been the tune of a Provençal song: *il canto d'una certa canzone Provenzale:* but though I have taken great pains, both by enquiry and reading, to find the words to which this old melody used to be sung, yet I have never been successful. Nothing, however, has appeared to me more probable, than that this is the famous *Cantilena Rolandi*, or air to the song which the French armed champion used to sing at the head of the army, in honour of their hero Roland, in advancing to attack an enemy. (*y*)

(*x*) *Saggio di Contrap. Parte ima.* p. 129. (*y*) See above, p. 275.

But, whatever may have been the import, or merit of the poem, the tune was in such favour among composers, at the end of the 15th and beginning of the 16th century, that not only Josquin composed two different masses upon it, but De Orto, Pipilare, Brumel, Pierre de la Rue, and, afterwards, Morales, and Palestrina, in friendly contention, and trials of skill, made it the theme of very elaborate compositions for the church. *(z)*

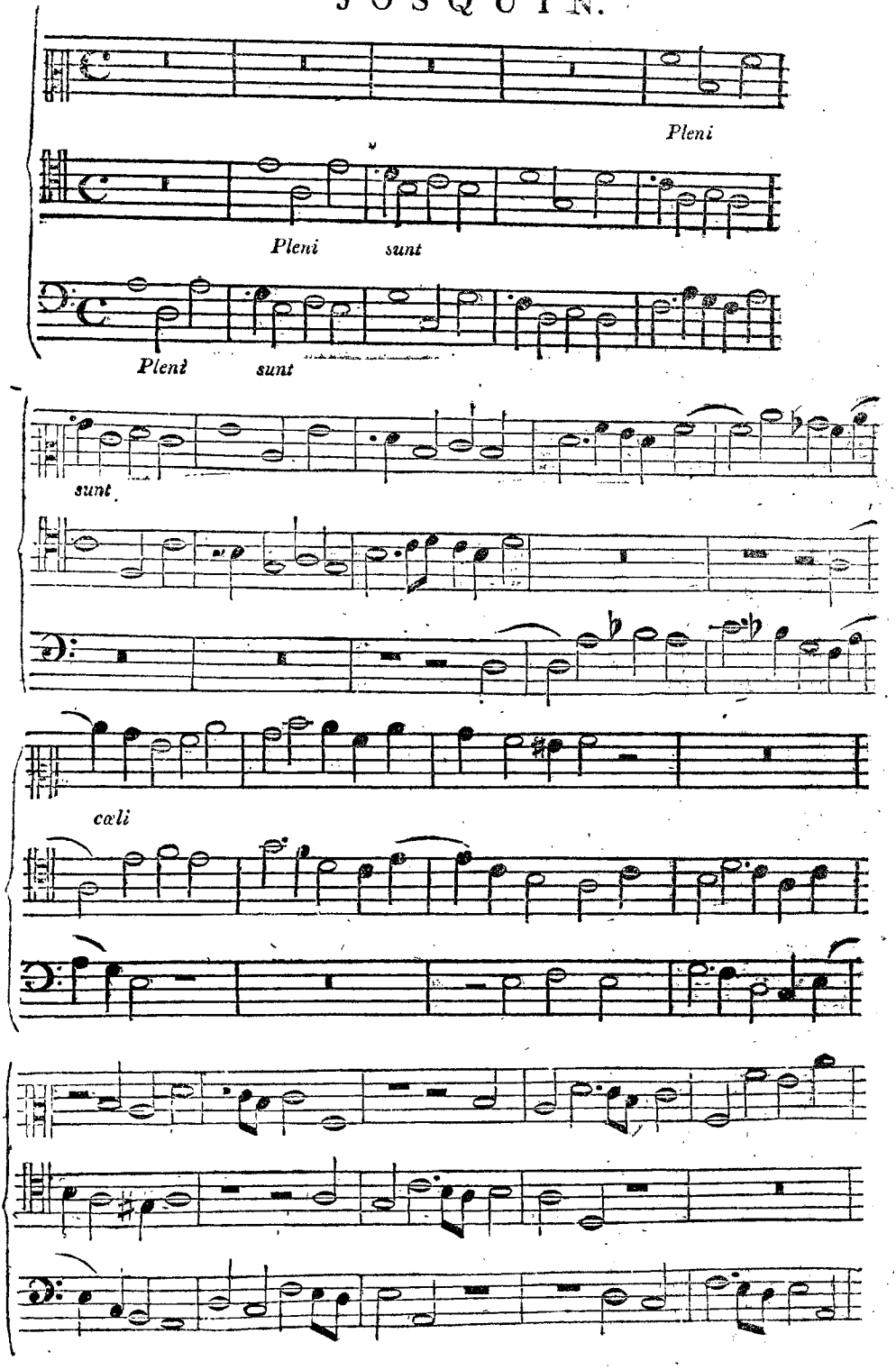
In every movement of Josquin's Mass, some part or other, but generally the tenor, is singing the tune in different notes and measures: sometimes in augmentation, and sometimes in diminution. In the *Kyrie*, or first movement, the tenor has the first part of the tune, which the superius, or upper part, had led off; in the next movement, or *Christe*, it has the second part. In the third, fourth, and sixth movements, the tenor has the subject-tune in different and difficult notations, and in the fifth and seventh, the same part sings it in *retro*, or, as it is called in the musical technica of the times, *cancrizans*.

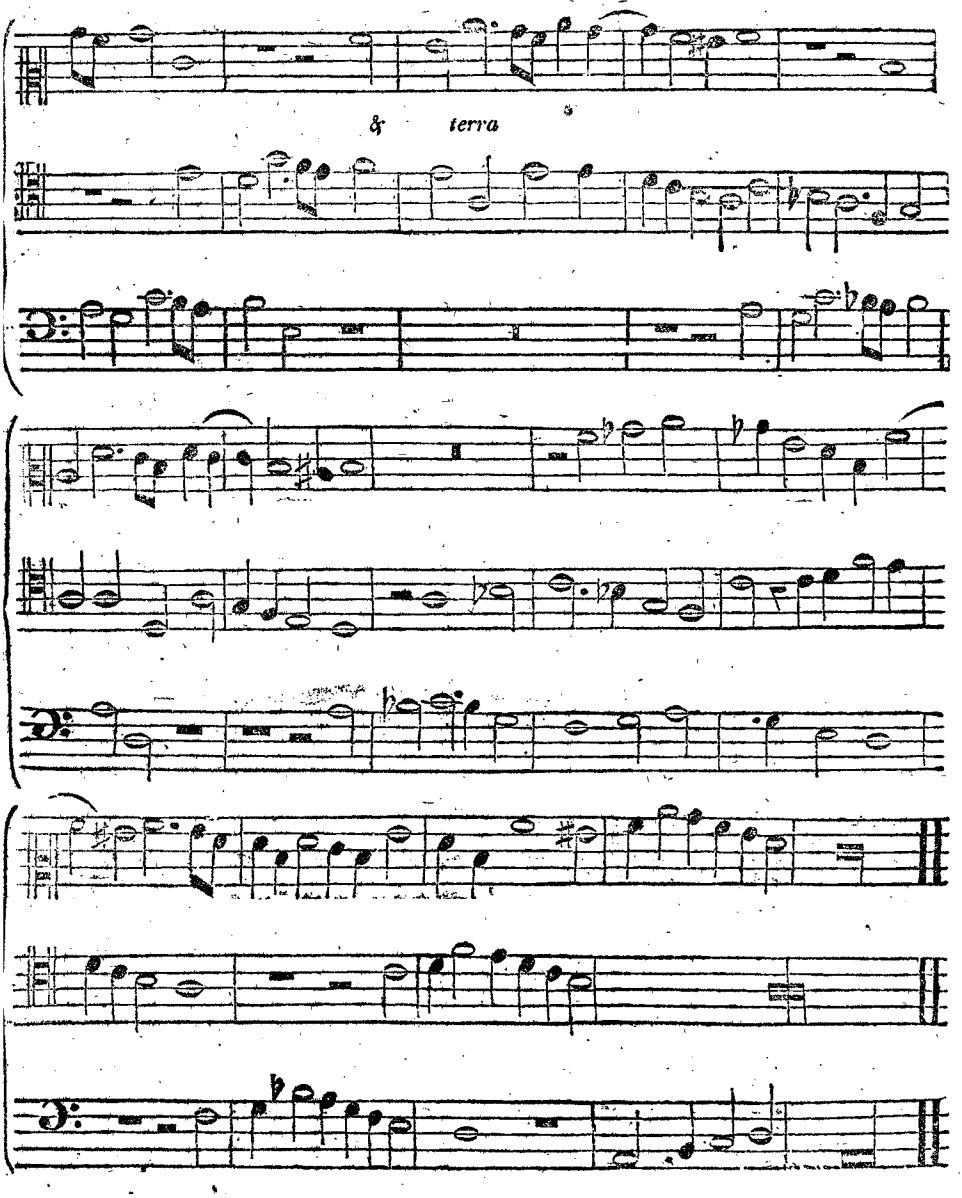
In the *Sanctus*, the soprano leads off the subject, in D minor, moving in breves and semibreves, accompanied by the tenor, in a free and airy melody; and, after six bars, the counter-tenor sings the theme, in F major, and in augmentation; when the first part is finished, the base leads off a new subject of close imitation between that, the tenor, and the soprano; and while the counter-tenor is singing the second part of the tune, the intelligent musician will see several ingenious contrivances in the other three parts.

The next movement, *Pleni sunt*, is only in trio; but the subjects of fugue are so well treated, and the texture of the parts is so masterly, that I shall present it to my readers.

(z) Those of Josquin are both preserved, as is that of De la Rue, in the Museum Collection; and I have made a score of Palestrina's, from the single parts which Zacconi has inserted in his *Pract. Mus.* printed at Ven. 1596, which, though it contains many admirable combinations and contrivances, is in nothing superior to that of Josquin, except in clearness and facility; advantages, that a period of near an hundred years had, perhaps given to music in general.

JOSQUIN.

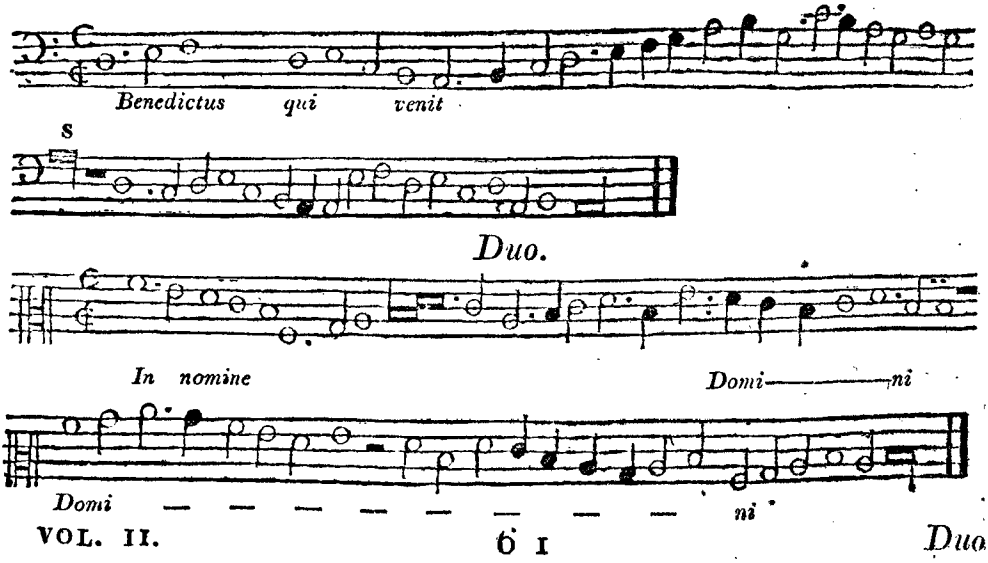


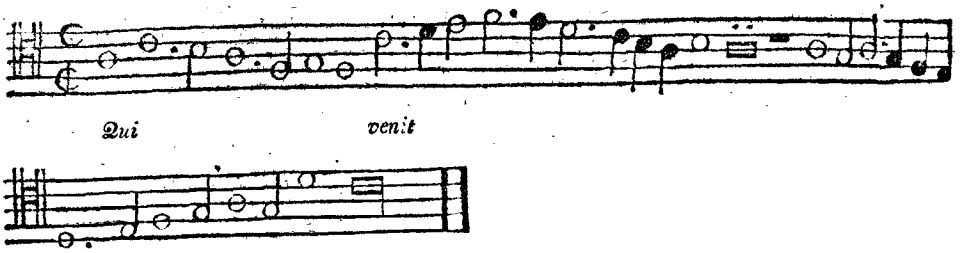

& terra

Whoever examines these compositions of Josquin in score, will find that no notes have had admission by chance, or for the sake of *remplissage*, but that, like the prints of Hogarth, every thing not only contributes to the principal design and harmony of the whole, but has a specific character, and meaning in itself.

The *Osana* has many curious contrivances in *moto contrario*, *double counterpoint*, &c. in three parts; while a fourth is still singing *l'Homme Armé*. In the two next movements, "*Bene-*" *dictus qui venit*," and "*In Nomine*," by a curious species of contrivance, *Duos* are formed by two parts singing the same intervals in different measures: that is, while one performs the melody in semibreves, the other sings in minims, and é contra. After furnishing the musical student with this hint at a solution, I shall present him with these short movements in the same manner as they appear in the printed copy, and leave the rest to his sagacity.

Duo in unum.





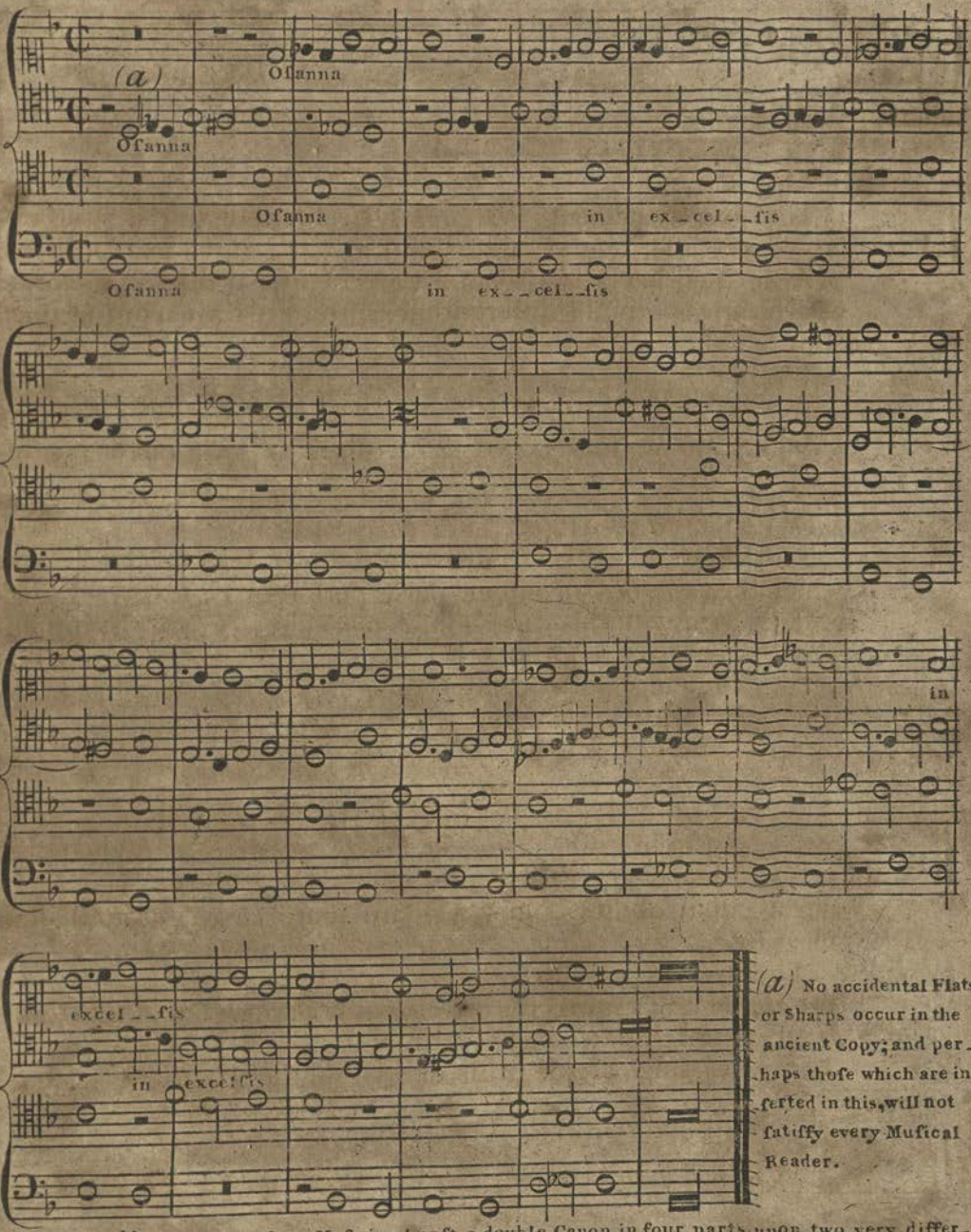
The next movement, "*Agnus Dei*," in four parts, is an exercise for time, as the proportions in all of them are different.

After this, there is a second movement, to the same words, where three parts, in different measures, are drawn out of one: *tria in unum*. At the beginning of this canon, three characters for time are placed over each other, thus ¢ C ¢ 3 : but as it is inserted by Glareanus with its solution, I shall only refer the curious reader to p. 442 of the *Dodecahordon*.

The next and last movement, is a third *Agnus Dei*, á 4, in which the *superius*, or upper part, performs the tune in Longs and Breves, with this direction, *clama ne cesses*; which implies perpetual singing, without keeping any of the rests that may occur, allowing only for the time of the notes. The other three parts are in close fugue, during the whole movement, and often in canon, the tissue of which is carried on with wonderful art and ingenuity.

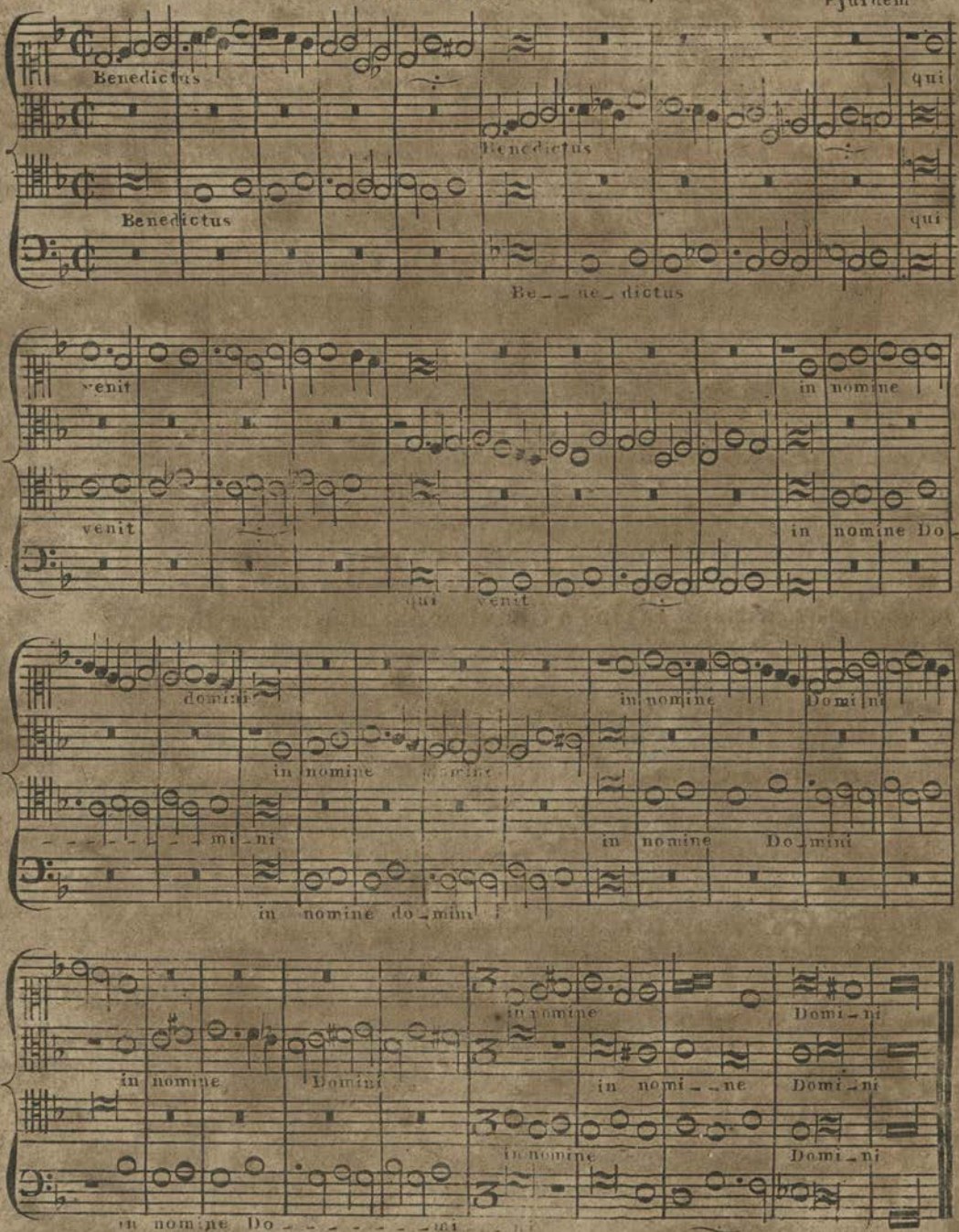
But though this mass has not only been more celebrated than any of Josquin's other masses, but than any of his motets, or songs, I think there are many of his compositions which manifest equal abilities, and yet are more clear, natural, and pleasing.

The *Osanna*, in his mass upon the melody of an old song beginning "*Faysans regrés*" is truly curious: the tenor and base are in constant canon, and the other two parts in free fugue, consisting of little traits of natural and pleasing melody.



(a) No accidental Flats or Sharps occur in the ancient Copy; and perhaps thoſe which are inſerted in this, will not ſatiſfy every Muſical Reader.

The **Benedictus** of the ſame Maſs is almoſt a double Canon in four parts, upon two very different Subjects; that of the Tenor and Baſe being a fragment of the old tune, FAYSANS REGRETS.


Benedictus
qui
Benedictus
Benedictus
qui
Be_ _ ne_dictus
venit
in nomine
venit
in nomine Do_
qui venit
domini
in nomine
Domini
in nomine
mi_ni
in nomine Do_mini
in nomine do_mini
in nomine
Domi_ni
in nomine
Domini
in nomi_ _ne
Domi_ni
in nomine
Domi_ni
in nomine Do_ _ _ _ _ _mi_ _ni

His mass, called *Didadi*, is likewise a very curious and elaborate composition, on a tune that was probably well known in the time of Josquin, and which the tenor part is continually singing in different measures, of so uncommon a kind, that the author has thought it necessary not only to give their *resolution* in notes, but to place at the beginning of each, one of the following signs of prolation.

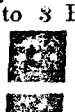
To the *Kyries*, or two 1st movements. To the 3rd & 4th movements, *Et in terra*, and *Qui tollis*. *Patrem omnipotentem*, & *crucifixus*, and in the *Sanctus*.

(*a*)

His mass, "*De beata Virgine*," abounds with canons, fugues, and imitations, of admirable contrivance. Almost every movement is in five parts, yet only four are printed, as some two of them are constantly in canon, for which, though frequently of difficult solution, only one part is followed.

Josquin's "*Missa, Sine Nomine*," is almost the only one which he composed without taking a Chant or old tune for his theme; but the writing upon vulgar melodies was not a practice peculiar to him, for Pierre de la Rue, Brumel, Mouton, Gaspar, Fevin, or Feum, and all his cotemporaries, did the same, as appears by the titles of their Masses in the same collection; and Zarlino (*b*), long after, tells us, that it was an ancient custom, which still prevailed in his time, not to compose a Mass, unless upon a certain

(*a*) The author doubtless give these types of his Rhythmical proportions in allusion to the Song which he had taken as the theme of his Mass; *Dadi*, from *Dado*, being the Italian word for *Dice*, and *Di dadi*, as it should have been printed, were either the initial words, or title, of a popular Song upon *Hazard* or *Gaming* in general, during the fifteenth century. Our fanciful author might faintly have completed the *six faces* of the *Dado*, or *Die*, by the proportions in the perfect Mood, or Ternary Measure, O, where one long is equal to 3 Breves, or a Breve to 3 Semibreves:



(*b*) P. 172. and 267.

or

theme or subject, taken from a well known Chant, Motet, or Song. Glareanus (*c*) informs us, likewise, that hardly any Mass was composed in his time, except an old subject.

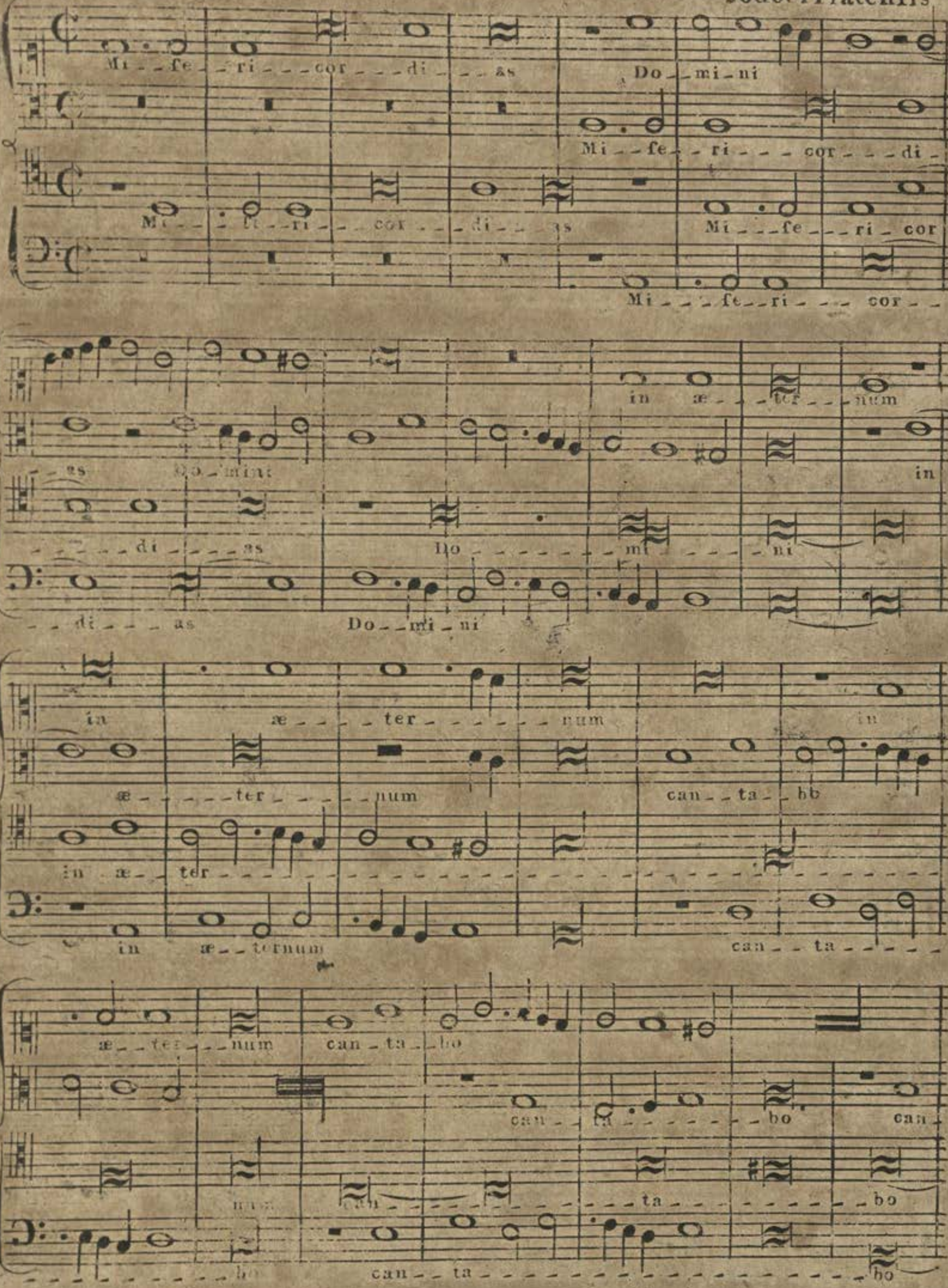
That Chants, and the Canto Fermo, to which the Hymns of the Church had been sung for many ages, should be made the subject, or basis of Counterpoint, in the Church, had something of piety and propriety in it, which would naturally silence censure, and incline the heads and rulers of ecclesiastical rites to excuse, if not encourage the attempt; but when Composers polluted pious ears with the light and contaminated strains of the vulgar and licentious, most profanely adapted to humble supplications, Hymns of praise, or sacred injunctions, the sentiments of which must be perpetually driven from the minds of the congregation, by the frequent repetition of these profane fragments, in all the several parts of a Chorus, they abused the privilege they had obtained of harmonizing the Chants, and discovered an egregious want of understanding, decorum, and reverence, for the religious rite which they were appointed to direct *(d.)*

But Josquin's Masses, though more frequently cited and celebrated by musical writers, than those of any other author, and, indeed, than any of his other works, seem to me inferior to his Motets in every respect; for these are not only all composed upon subjects of his own invention, or upon fragments of the most beautiful and solemn Chants of the Church, but in a style more clear and pleasing. The following Motet, which is the eighth of the fourth Book *della Corona*, will afford the musical reader an opportunity of forming a judgment of the solemnity and science with which he treated sacred subjects.

(*c*) P. 275.—*Nulla est fere hodie Missa, quæ non ex antiquo Themate quopiam deprompta.*

(*d*) This censure must not, however, be confined to Josquin and his cotemporaries; for we find that Francis the First and all his court, sung Clement Marot's translation of the Psalms, when they first appeared, to the tunes of favourite songs; indeed, at this time, all melody was psalmody. See Bayle, Art. Marot.

Motectus.

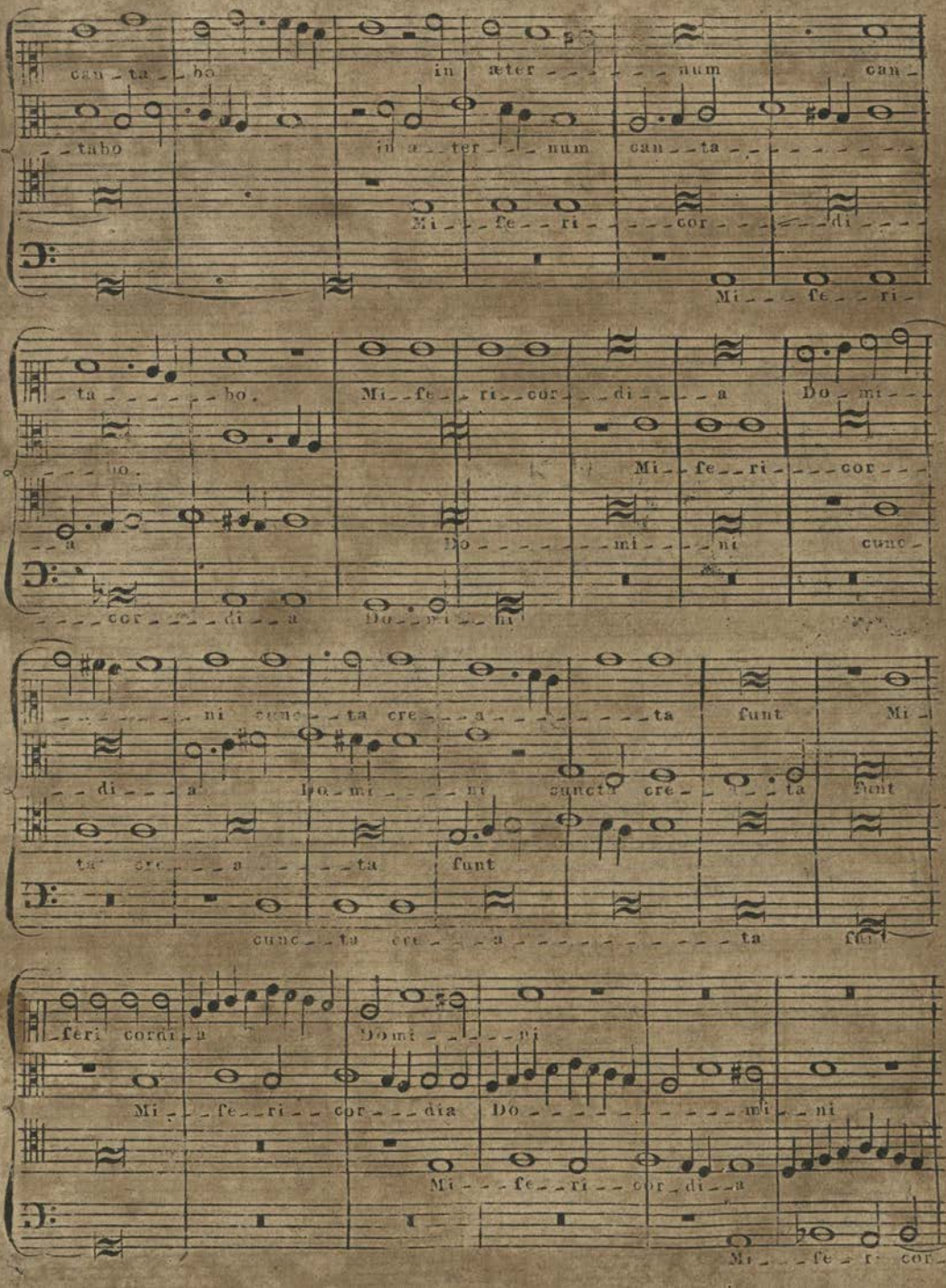

Mi-fe-ri-cor-di-as Do-mi-ni
Mi-fe-ri-cor-di-
Mi-fe-ri-cor-di-as
Mi-fe-ri-cor
Mi-fe-ri-cor-
in æ-ter-num
-as Do-mini
in
di-as Do-mi-ni
di-as Do-mi-ni
in æ-ter-num in
æ-ter-num can-ta-bo
in æ-ter
in æ-ternum can-ta
æ-ter-num can-ta-bo
can-ta-bo can
can-ta-bo
can-ta-bo

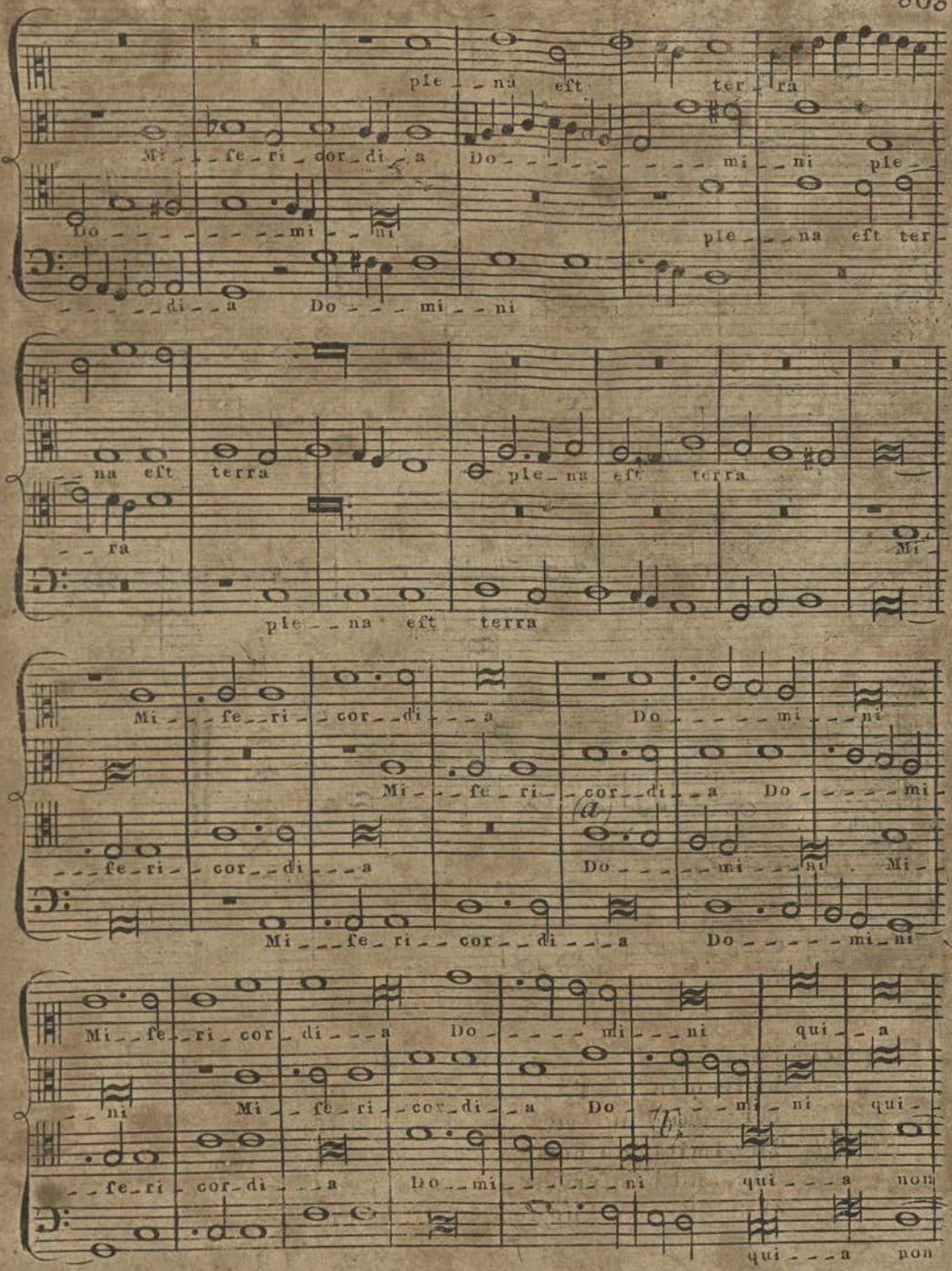
can_ta_bo in æter_num can_
_tabo in æ_ter_num can_ta_
Mi_fe_ri_cor_di_
Mi_fe_ri_

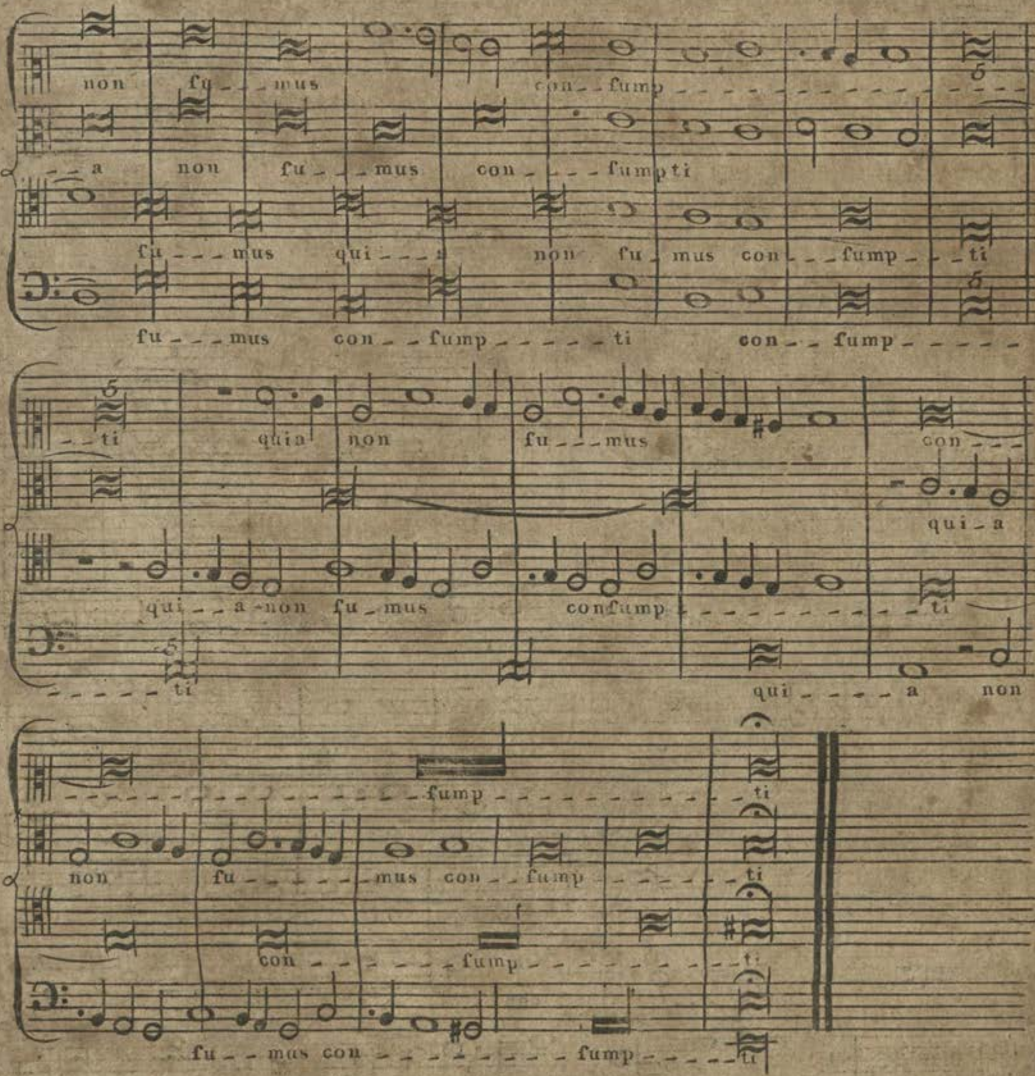
_ta_bo. Mi_fe_ri_cor_di_a Do_mi_
_bo. Mi_fe_ri_cor_
_a Do_mi_ni cunc_
_cor_di_a Do_mi_ni

_ni cunc_ta cre_a_ta funt Mi_
_di_a Do_mi_ni cuncta cre_ta funt
ta cre_a_ta funt
cunc_ta cre_a_ta funt

_feri cordi_a Domi_ni
Mi_fe_ri_cor_dia Do_mi_ni
Mi_fe_ri_cor_di_a
Mi_fe_ri_cor_




ple na eft ter ra
Mi fe ri cor di a Do mi ni ple
Do mi ni
ple na eft ter
di a Do mi ni
na eft terra
ple na eft terra
ra
Mi
ple na eft terra
Mi fe ri cor di a Do mi ni
Mi fe ri cor di a Do mi
fe ri cor di a
(a)
Do mi ni Mi
Mi fe ri cor di a Do mi ni
Mi fe ri cor di a Do mi ni qui a
ni
Mi fe ri cor di a Do mi ni qui
fe ri cor di a Do mi ni qui a non
qui a non



(*a*) This was a favourite Point, with Handel, as may be seen in the 1.st Allegro of his 1.st Organ Concerto, and in several of his Choruses.

(*b*) The Imitation here, a CONTRE-TEMS, is admirable, and has served as a Model to Corelli, in the ALLA BREVE Fugue of his 1.st Concerto, and to many others.

In the third and fourth collection of Motets, published at the beginning of the sixteenth century, under the title of *Motetti della Corona*, there are many by Josquin, which are truly admirable, particularly a *Miserere* for five voices, which, as it consists of three movements, is too long to be inserted in a work of this kind, but appears to me a model of choral composition, without instruments; as the subjects of fugue and imitation are simple, and free from secular levity; the style is grave and reverential; the harmony, pure; the imitations are ingenious; and all constructed upon a fragment of Canto Fermo, to which the second tenor is wholly confined: repeating it, in the first part, a note lower every time, beginning at the fifth of the key, and descending to its octave; in the second part, ascending in the same manner; in the third part, beginning at the fifth, and descending to the key note.

This species of laboured composition has been frequently censured, and stigmatized by the name of pedantry, and Gothic barbarism, which, perhaps, it would *now* deserve, out of the Church; but in the time of Josquin, when there was little melody, and no grace in the arrangement, or measure of single notes; the science of harmony, or ingenuity of contrivance in the combination of simultaneous Sounds, or music in parts, as it was the chief employment of the Student, and ambition of the Composer, so the merit of both, and the degree of regard bestowed upon them by posterity, should be proportioned to their success, in what was their chief object, and not in what had no existence at the time in which these musicians lived. Another apology offers itself for Josquin, as well as for his scholars and followers, who composed for the Church: which is, that pure harmony, and contrivance, are less favourable to that kind of levity which is inseparable from Airs clothed with little harmony, which seem unfit for the gravity of Ecclesiastical purposes.

With respect to some of Josquin's contrivances, such as Augmentations, Diminutions, and Inversions of the Melody, expressed by the barbarous Latin verb *Cancrizare*, from the retrograde motion of the crab, they were certainly pursued to an excess; but to subdue difficulties, has ever been esteemed a merit of a certain kind, in all the arts, and treated with respect by artists. Michael Angelo, in delineating the difficult attitudes into which he chose to throw many figures in his works, and which other artists had not courage, or, perhaps, abilities to attempt, procured himself a great name among the judges of correct drawing, and bold design; though a great part of the spectator's pleasure in viewing them, must arise from reflecting on the difficulty of the undertaking. There are different roads to the temple of Fame in every art; and that which was followed by Josquin and his emulators, was too full of thorns, brambles, and impediments, to be pursued by men of common diligence and abilities. Painting and sculpture, which are to delight and deceive the eye, do not, any more than music, confine their powers to the mere endeavour at pleasing the sense, of which they are the object; and there are pictures, statues, and musical compositions, which afford very little pleasure to the eye or ear, but what is intellectual, and arises from reflecting on the learning, correctness, and great labour which the artist must have bestowed on them.

Canons of difficult solution, were, to musicians, a species of problem, and served more to exercise the mind than please the sense; and, though a peculiar genius, or penetration, is requisite for the quick discovery of riddles and rebusses, yet, still more cunning is necessary to their production; and, however contemptuously these harmonical contrivances may be treated by the lazy lovers of more airy and simple compositions, the study of them is still of such use to musical students, in their private exercises, that a profound and good Contrapuntist has, perhaps, never yet been made by other means. Those who

who despise this seeming Gothic pedantry too much, resemble such half-bred scholars, as have expected to arrive at a consummate knowledge of the Roman Classics, without submitting to the drudgery of Grammar and Syntax. Indeed a great Composer has, perhaps, never existed since the invention of Counterpoint, who, at his moments of leisure, has not attempted to manifest superior learning and skill, in the production of Canons, and other difficult arrangements and combinations of sound; and who, if he succeeded, was not vain of his abilities. Before the cultivation of Dramatic Music, as Canon and Fugue were universally studied and reverenced, they were brought to such a degree of perfection, as is wonderful; and though good taste has long banished them from the Theatre, yet the Church and Chamber still, occasionally, retain them, with great propriety; in the church they preclude levity, and in the Chamber exercise ingenuity.

As Euclid ranks first among ancient geometricians, so Josquin, for the number, difficulty, and excellence of his Musical Canons, seems entitled to the first place among the old Composers, who have been most assiduous and successful in the cultivation of this difficult species of Musical calculation.

But though the style of Josquin, even in his secular Compositions, is grave, and chiefly in Fugue, Imitation, and other contrivances, with little Air or Melody; yet this defect is amply supplied to Contrapuntists, and lovers of Choral Music, by purity of harmony, and ingenuity of design. Indeed, I have never seen, among all his productions that I have scored, a single movement which is not stamped with some mark of the great master. And though Fugue and Canon were so universally cultivated in his time, when there were many men of abilities in this elaborate and complicated kind of writing; there is such a manifest superiority in his powers, such a simple majesty in his ideas, and such dignity of design, as wholly justify the homage he received.

Yet,

Yet, notwithstanding the eminence to which our great Contrapuntist arrived, neither his fame nor his fortune, his protectors, nor friends, seem to have exempted him from mortifications, during the time he was in Italy; when he seems to have complained to his friend Serafino Acquillano, the poet, of the splendor in which some fashionable buffoons lived, while he was in want and obscurity. A sonnet, which was produced on the occasion, is preserved by Zarlino, which we shall present to our readers, though it will perhaps be said to border a little on that *clinquant* and *concetto*, of which Boileau unjustly accuses Tasso.

Sonnet on Josquin des Prez.

Giosquin non dir che'l ciel sia crudo e empio,
Che t'adornò de si soblime ingegno:
Et s'alcum veste ben, lascia lo sdegno;
Chè di cio gode alcun Buffone ò Sempio
Da quel ch' io ti dirò prendi l'essempio;
L' argento e l'or, che da se stess' è degno,
St mostra nudo, è sol si veste il legno,
Quando s'adorna alcun Theatro ò Tempio.
Il favor di costor vien presto manco,
E mille volte il di, sia pur giocondo,
Si muta il stato lor di nero in bianco,
Ma chi hà virtù, gira à suo modo il mondo;
Com' huom che nuota e há la Zucca al fianco.
Metti 'l sott' acqua pur, non teme il fondo (e).

Josquin,

(e) Ne'er say, O Josquin, Fate's to thee unjust,
Blest with a genius so divine;
Nor let the dress of vile buffoons disgust,
Who but in borrow'd plumage shine.
Nor gold, nor silver, want to be adorn'd,
Their price from worth intrinsic springs;
While structures form'd of meaner wood are scorn'd,
Till cover'd with more precious things.
Of these Buffoons how soon the favour fades,
Who ev'ry hour their trappings change;
But short neglect true virtue ne'er degrades,
She safely through the world may range!
Buoy'd up like one whom friendly cork surrounds,
Though plung'd in ocean fathoms deep,
Elastic still with native force she bounds,
And still above the wave will keep.

Serafino

It will perhaps be thought, that too much notice has been taken of this old Composer, Josquin, and his works; but, as he is the type of all Musical excellence at the time in which he lived, the less need be said of his cotemporaries, who, in general, appear to have been but his imitators. And, indeed, it seems as if only *one original genius* of the same kind, could ever burst out at a time in any art or nation. Perhaps, two causes may be assigned for the servility and contraction of the rest: the prejudice of the public, and timidity of individuals. First impressions are difficult to efface, and candidates for favour or applause, eagerly pursue the road to it, which has already been traced by a successful traveller.

Josquin, according to Walther *(f)*, was buried in the church of St. Gudule, at Brussels, where his figure and epitaph are still to be seen. His death must have happened early in the sixteenth Century, but the exact time I have not been able to discover, though I have found, not only several Latin poems that were written on the occasion, but the Music to two of them, in the seventh collection of French Songs in five and six parts, printed at Antwerp, by Tylman Susato 1545, and preserved in the British Museum (*g*). One of these was set by Jerom Vinders, a Netherlander, in seven parts (*h*); in scoring it, I found the harmony good, but without much fancy, or ingenuity of design. The other has been set twice, by Benedictus,

Serafino dall' Acquilla, the author of this Sonnet, was born 1466, and died in the year 1500. He was much esteemed, says Crescimbini, *Ist della Volg. Poesia*, p. 206, by the first personages of his time; not only for his Poetry, but *Music*. His epitaph is cited by this writer as beautiful and curious.

Qui giace Serafin: *partiti hor puoi,*
Sol d'aver visto il sasso che lo serra,
Assai sei debitore agli occhi tuoi.

Here, reader, Serafino lies,
Behold his monumental stone;
Then pass, and grateful bless thy eyes:
They now for thee enough have done.

(f) Musicalisches Lexicon.

(g) *Le septieme livre, contenant 24 Chansoms a 5 & a 6 parties, par feu de bonne memoire & tres excellent en Musique* Josquin des Prez. *Avec trois epitaphes du dict* Josquin, *composees par divers auteurs.*

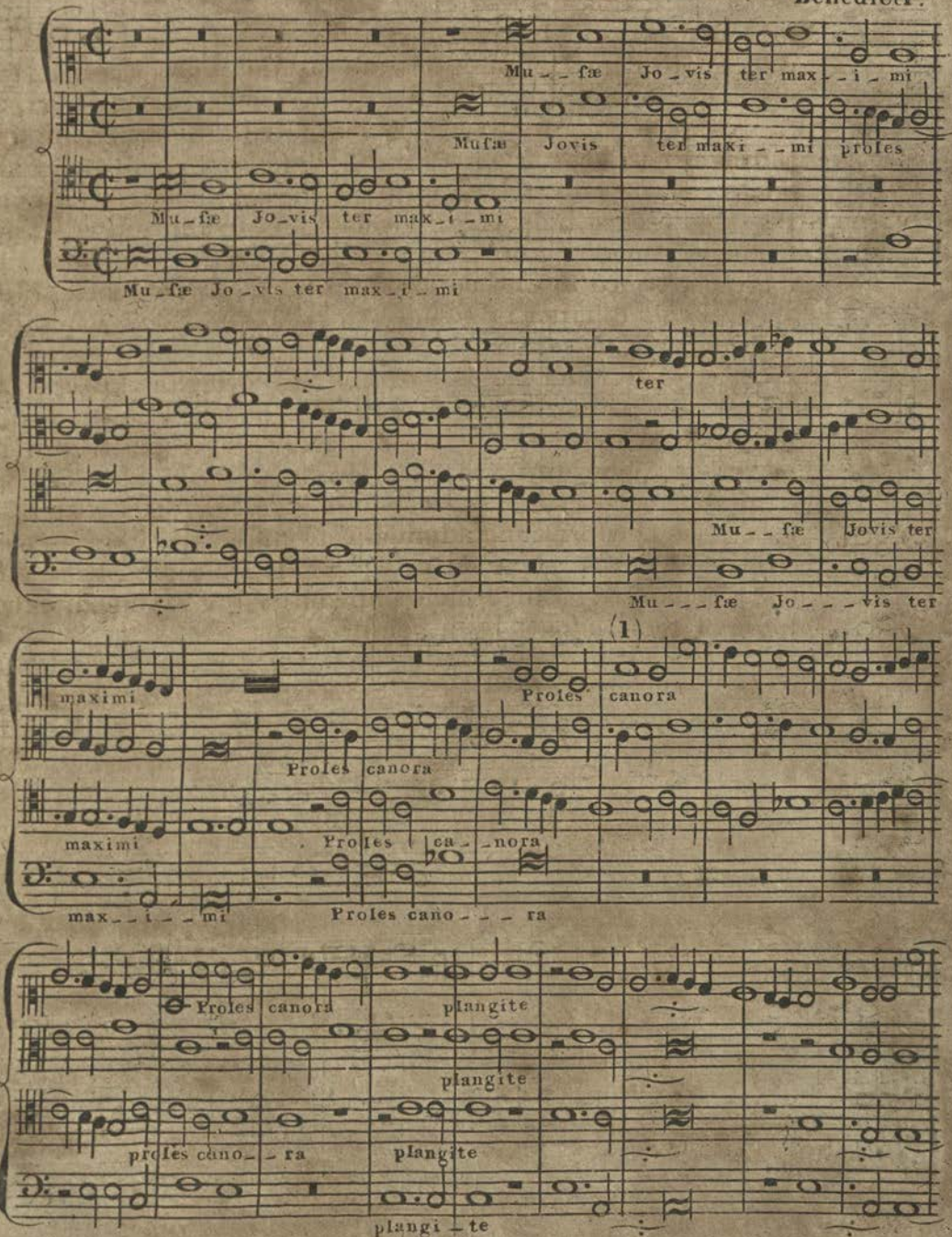
(h) Lamentatio super morte Josquin de Prez. Per Jeronimum Vinders. 7 vocum.

O mors inevitabilis,
Mors amara, mors crudelis, &c.

in four parts, and by Josquin's scholar, Nicholas Gombert, in six. Both these compositions are in the third Ecclesiastical mode of *E*, with a minor second, as well as third; which M. de Blainville some years ago wished to pass on the public for a third, or new key, different from the major and minor, which comprise all secular Music, at present. And it is extraordinary, that this pretension should have had any abettors in a Roman Catholic country, where old Compositions in this Mode are daily performed in Cathedrals and Collegiate Churches. However, it was a matter of wonder and debate, during some time, in France (*i*).

After performing the tedious task of scoring the Music of the *Nænia* on Josquin, as set by Gombert, I found its chief merit to consist in Imitations of his master. The composition of Benedict has, however, considerable merit; and though I can hardly allow room to a movement of such length, I shall insert it here, in honour of the admirable Josquin, and likewise as an example of the method of writing in this equivocal Key, and the dexterity with which all Semitones are avoided, except those of the Diatonic Scale, and Hexachords.

(*i*) See *Mercure de France*, 1751, & *Dict. de Musique par Rousseau*, Art. Mode.


Mu_ _ fæ Jo_vis ter max_ _i_mi
Musæ Jovis ter maxi_ _mi proles
Mu_ſæ Jo_vis ter max_i_mi
Mu_ſæ Jo_vis ter max_i_mi
ter
Mu_ _ fæ Jovis ter
Mu_ _ _ fæ Jo_ _ _ vis ter
(1)
maximi
Proles canora
Proles canora
maximi
Proles ca_ _nora
max_ _i_ _mi
Proles cano_ _ _ ra
Proles canora
plangite
plangite
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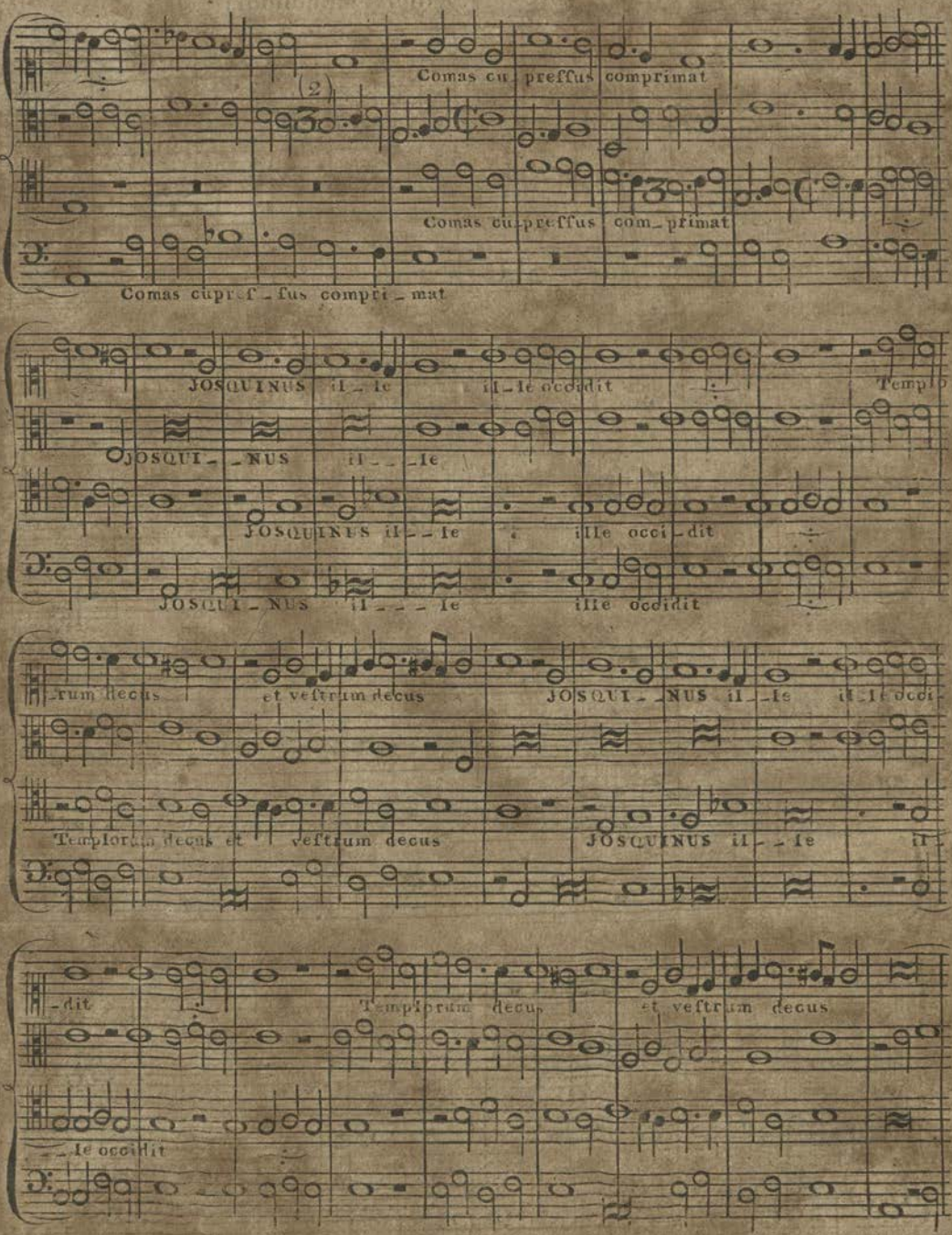
plangite
plangi_te


Comas cu preffus comprimat
Comas cu preffus com_primat
Comas cupref_fus compri_mat
JOSQUINUS il_le il_le occidit Templo-
JOSQUI_ _NUS il_ _ _le
JOSQUINUS il_ _le ille occi_dit
JOSQUI_NUS il_ _ _ _le ille occidit
rum decus et veſtrum decus JOSQUI _NUS il_ _le il_le occi-
Templorum decus et veſtrum decus JOSQUINUS il_ _le il-
_dit Templorum decus et veſtrum decus
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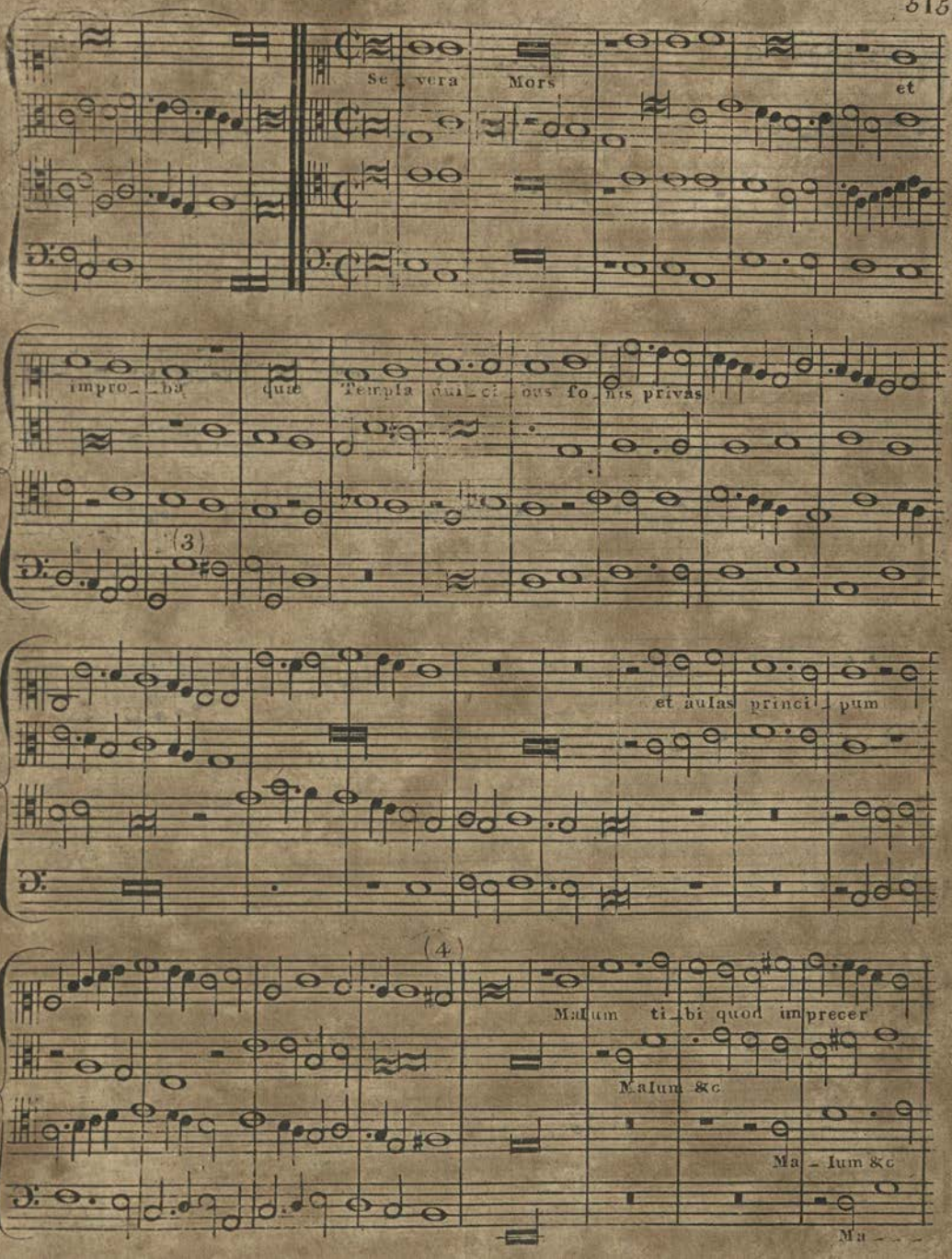
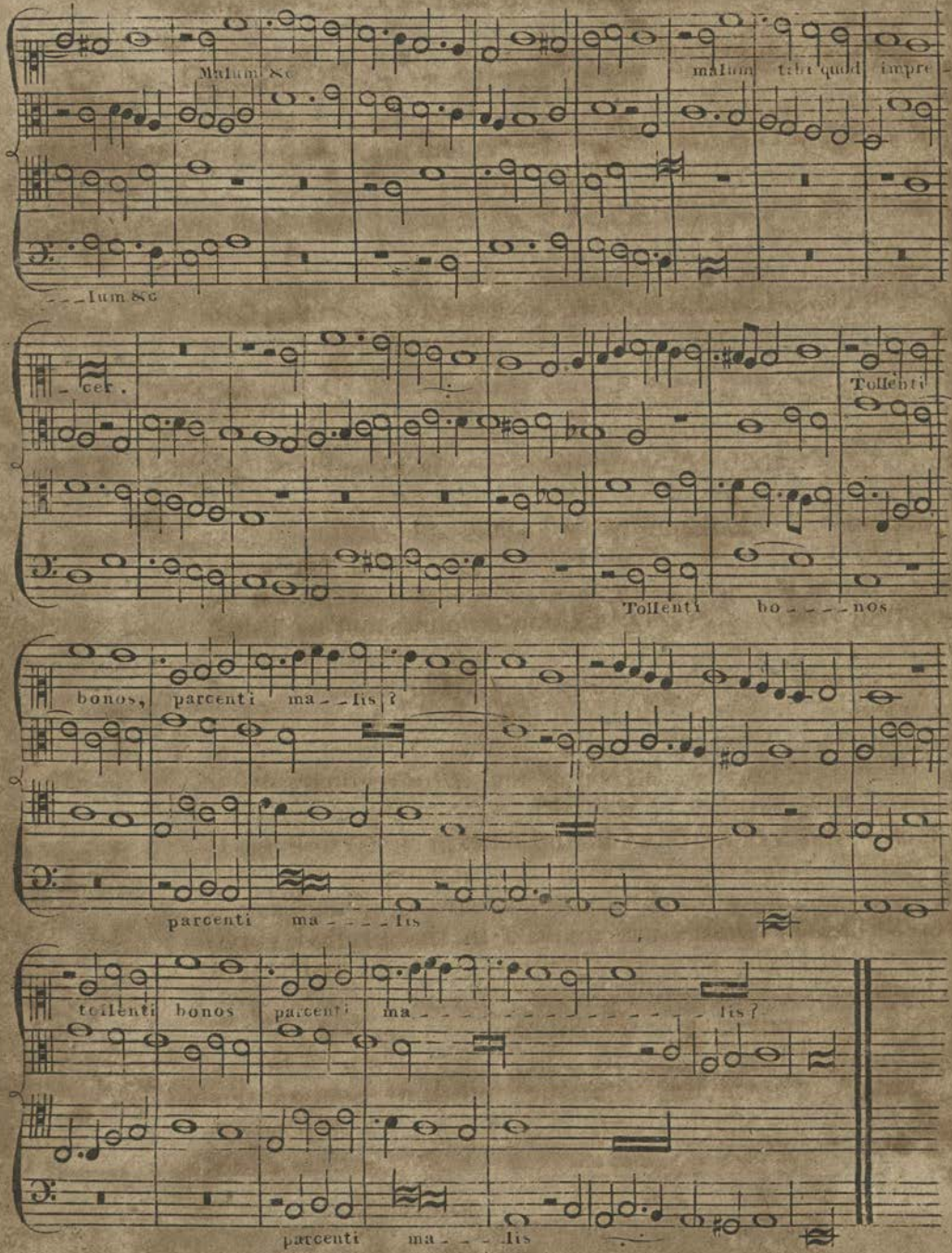

Se_vera Mors et
impro_ba que Templa nul_ci_ous fo_nis privas
(3)
et aulas princi_pum
(4)
Malum ti_bi quod imprecer
Malum &c
Ma_lum &c
Ma_


Malum &c
malum tibi quod impre-
---lum &c
-cer.
Tollenti
Tollenti bo----nos
bonos, parcenti ma--lis?
parcenti ma----lis
tollenti bonos parcenti ma----------lis?
parcenti ma---lis

There are several agreeable combinations, in this Monody, which have a modern appearance, and seem hazarded for the first time, by the author, or his cotemporaries; though they are now so common and so necessary, that a Contrapuntist would find it difficult to avoid them.

Remarks on the preceding Composition.

(1) At the twenty-third bar, we have a $\frac{6}{5}$ to A, and a false 5th to B, both difficult to find in compositions of equal antiquity.

(2) Triplets are introduced in the *Altus*, and afterwards in the *Tenor*, while the other parts continue to move in Common Time. This mixture of Measures was very fashionable in the Music of all Europe, about the beginning of the sixteenth Century, particularly in England, as we shall see hereafter.

(3) The 2d is here accompanied by the 4th, which is continued as a false 5th, to the succeeding base; circumstances which are so unusual in these early times of Counterpoint, that a musical antiquary would doubt the evidences of his eyes and ears, if other circumstances did not confirm it. At this time, the usual accompaniment of the 2d was the 5th; and if a 4th sound was wanting, the Octave of the 2d or 5th was used. But here the point of imitation between the *Tenor* and *Altus* made the 4th a necessary accompaniment of the 2d.

(4) Here is a very beautiful and unexpected close in E minor, *alla moderna*, which I never saw, in Music of this early period, before, and of which I should have doubted, as no accidental Flats or Sharps are marked in the printed copy, had not the ancient rules of Counterpoint authorised, and even required an F♯ in the *Tenor*, to prevent a false 5th with B in the *Base*; and a D♯ in the *Soprano*, as a major 3d to that same B, previous to its falling a 5th. The solemnity of the Modulation, and ingenuity of Fugue and Imitation, in this Composition,

Composition, render it not only worthy of these remarks, but the attention of learned Musicians.

BENEDICT, who set this *Nænia*, or Monody on the death of Josquin, to Music, flourished early in the sixteenth Century, and was author of several Motets, and sacred Songs, that were printed at Antwerp and Louvain, in Collections which are preserved in the British Museum; in one of which *(k)*, he is twice styled *Appenzeller*, which seems to imply, that he was a native of Appenzel, in Swisserland. Though his name occurs not in the lists of Flemish and French Musicians, given by L Guicciardini, and Rabelais, nor in the Dictionary of Walther; yet, in scoring his productions, it appears, that, with respect to Harmony, built on such rules as were then established, no Composer of the same period wrote with more ease and purity.

We find that Counterpoint was cultivated in Italy during the fifteenth Century, not only at Rome, for the use of the Pontifical Chapel, but at Florence, for secular purposes. Antonio Francesco Grazzini, commonly called *Il Lasca*, in the dedication of the first edition of the *Canti Carnascialeschi (l)*, or Songs that used to be sung through the streets of Florence, by persons in masks, during Carnival time, tells us, that the first of these Songs which was performed in this manner, in the time of Lorenzo il Magnifico, was set to Music in three parts, by a certain Arrigo Tedesco, Maestro di Capella of the Church of St. John, and a Musician of great reputation, in those times. Soon after, many such Songs were composed in four, eight, twelve, and even fifteen parts *(m)*.

(*k*) *Lib. primus. Ecclesiasticarum Cantionum quatuor vocum, vulgo* Moteta *vocant, tam ex Veteri, quàm Novo Testamento, ab optimis quibusque hujus ætatis Musicis Compositarum. Antea nunquam excusus,* 1153.

(*l*) *Tutti i Trionfi, Carri, Mascherate o Canti Carnascialeschi andati per Firenze dal tempo di Magnifico Lorenzo de' Medici fino al anno,* 1559.

(*m*) These Songs, after the manner of the Greek *Scolia*, are applicable to persons of different trades and occupations; among the rest, there is one for those who played on the Rebec, the Trumpet, and various Musical instruments, used then by the German Troops, called by the Italians, *Lanzi*.

However

However I may be inclined to celebrate the activity, talents, enthusiasm, and success, with which the Italians have long cultivated Music, I shall not do it with that malignant spirit of comparison, which never praises one nation or individual, except at the expence of another. And it is but justice to say, that earlier proofs of correct Counterpoint, learned Fugue, and ingenious contrivance, can be produced by the Netherlanders, Germans, French, and English, than by the natives of Italy; who seem at first to be stimulated to the study of Counterpoint, in different parts of Italy, by the precepts and examples of foreigners. Tinctor was at the head of the Neapolitan school, and Josquin of the Roman, about the same time as we meet with the name of Arrigo Tedesco, in the writings of Politian, and other Florentine authors of the fifteenth century. I always imagined, that this last must have been a German Composer, but was unable to meet with any specimens of his works, till I discovered from a passage in Glareanus *(n)*, that ARRIGO TEDESCO, and HENRY ISAAC, were the same person. "Politian," says this author, "celebrates "Henry Isaac; but by a corrupt name, and foolishly calls "him Arrigo." But it is common with the Italians, in speaking of foreigners, to use only their Christian names; or, if any cognomen be added, it is that of their country.

Glareanus has preserved several of Henry Isaac's compositions, "in which," he says, "great genius and erudition are "discoverable. Henry Isaac," continues he, "embellished "the Ecclesiastical Chants, in which he found any majesty or "force, with such Harmony, as made them superior to any "new subjects of modern times. He was particularly fond "of making one part sustain a note, while the rest were mov-"ing about, like the waves of the sea, against a rock, during "a storm." However, we are enabled to judge by a Score of the

(*n*) P. 348.

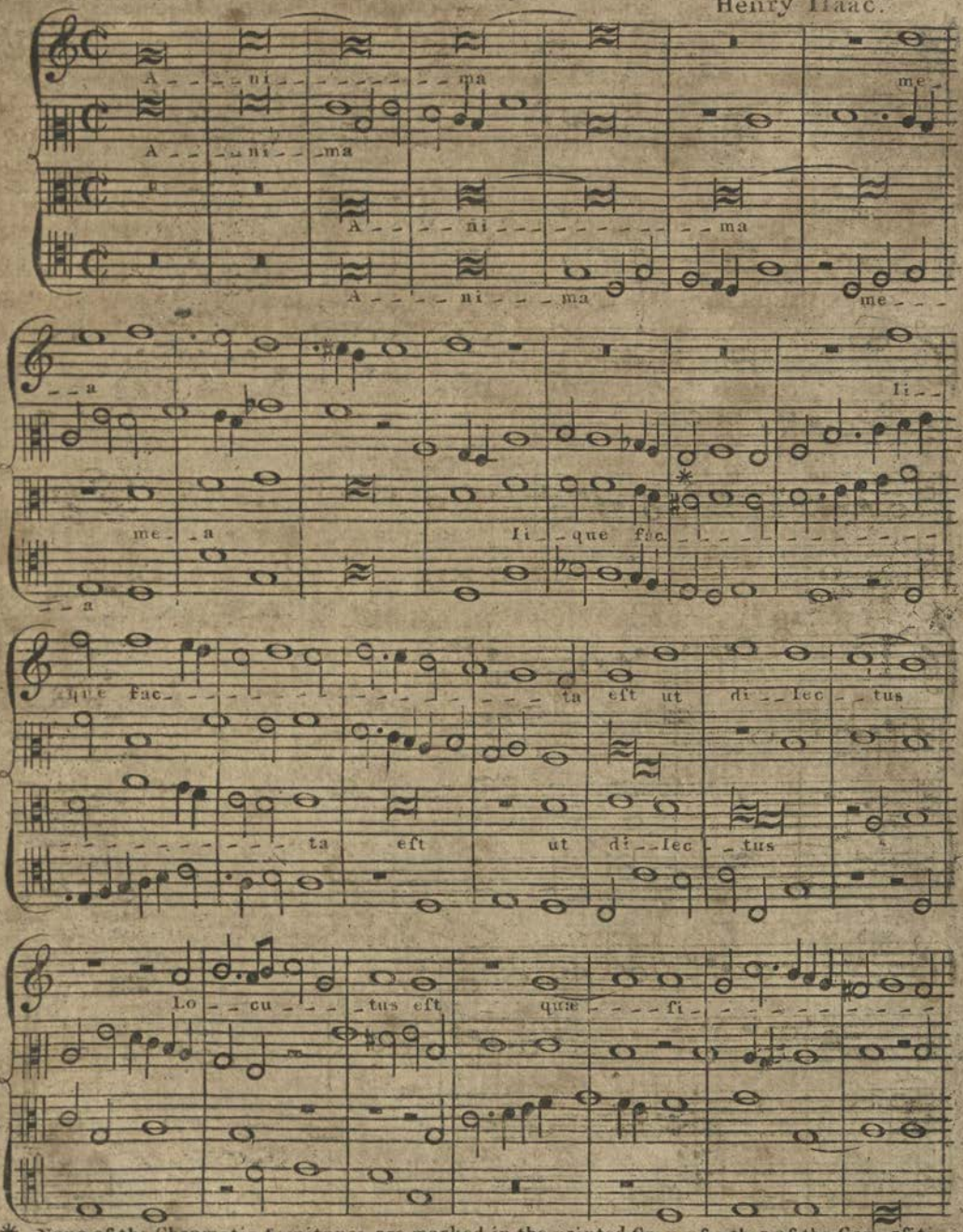
Compositions of this author, upon whom Glareanus bestows such warm praises, how remote the Art of Music was from perfection, when his *Dodecachordon* was written. There is, indeed, some ingenuity in the imitations of a movement, in four parts, inserted in this book (*n*), but no grace in the melody, or remarkable sweetness in the Harmony: the one is rendered uncouth, and the other crude, by too close an adherence to the mode, which he is pleased to call *Mixolydian* (*o*).

The following Composition, however, will shew the progress which Counterpoint had now made, if we remark how frequently this author uses discords, of which he has pressed a considerable number into his service; particularly a naked ninth, which I do not remember to have seen before.

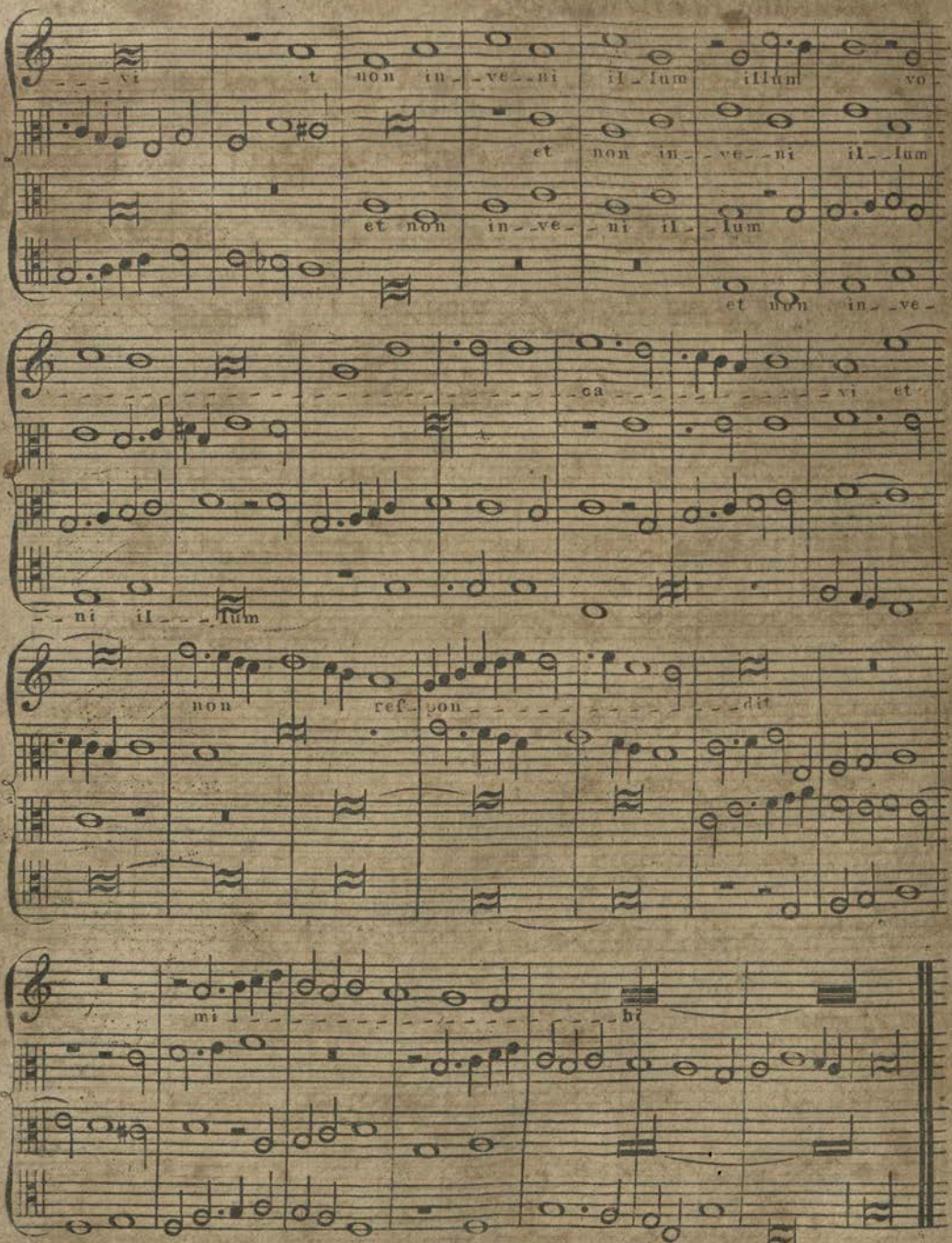
(*o*) *Ubi supra.*

(*p*) *Exemplum—cujus exordium plus quam dici potest admirandam habet gravitatem, non absque summa aurium voluptate.* P. 346.

Henry Ifaac.

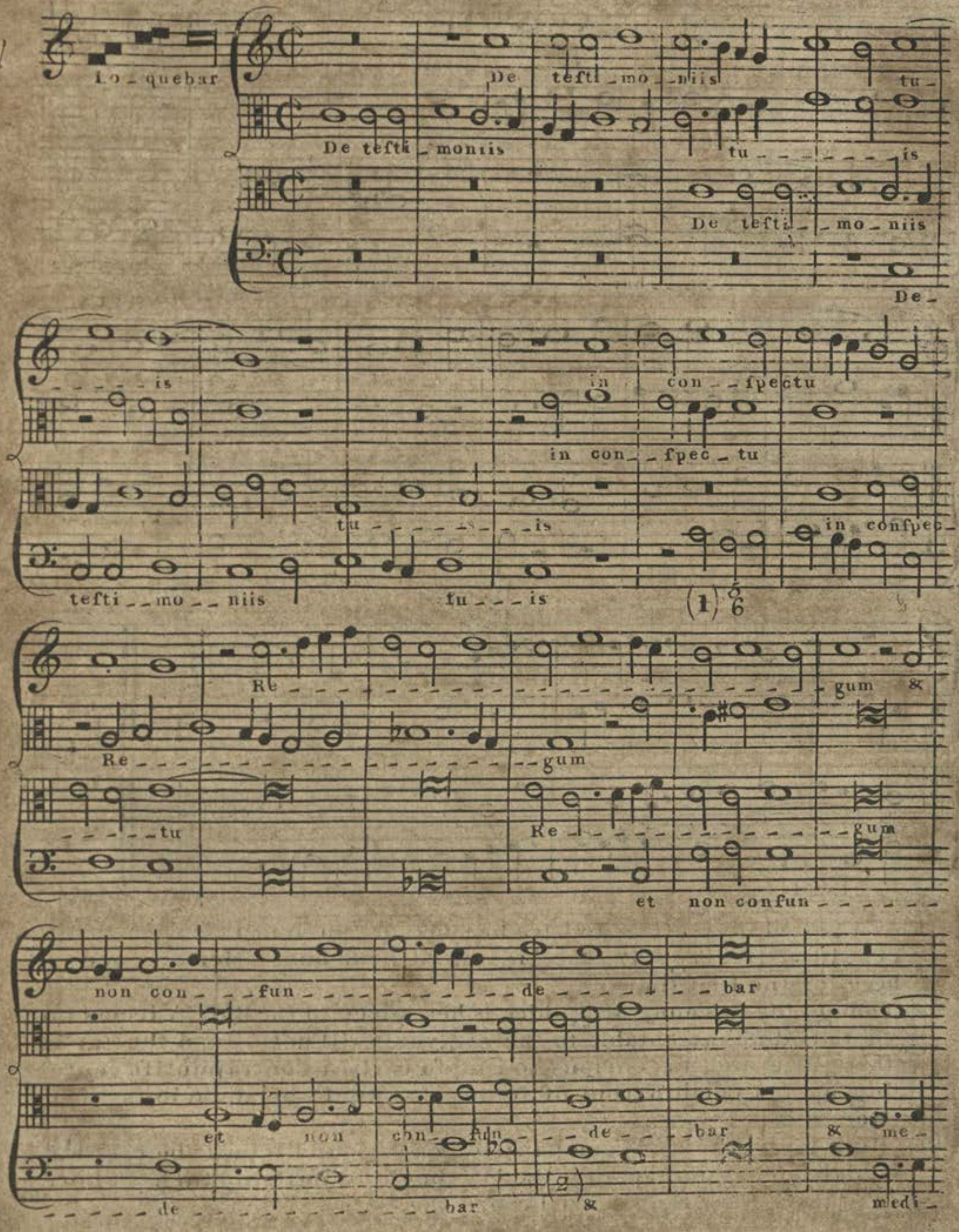


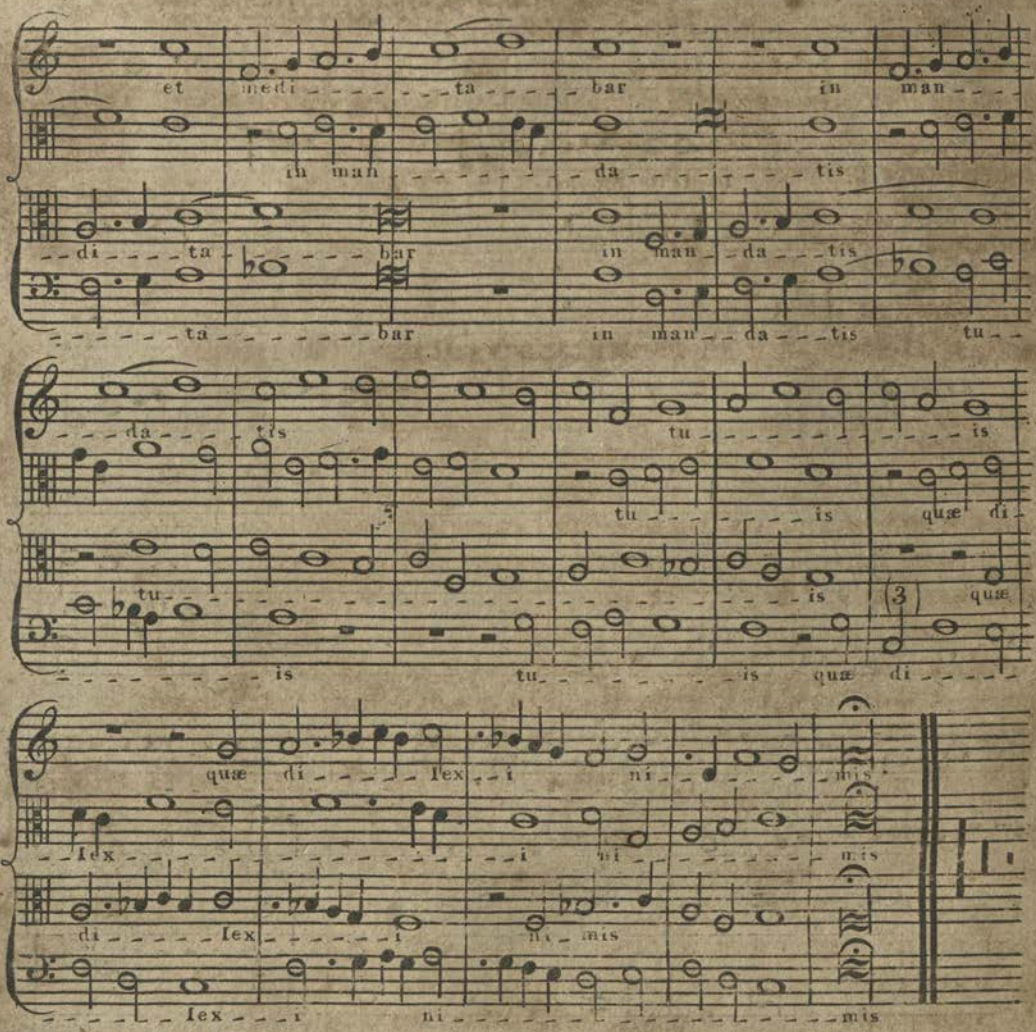
* None of the Chromatic Semitones are marked in the printed Copy of either of the Compoſiti - - ons by HENRY ISAAC; nor indeed would the Puritans in Church Muſic, at the time they were written, have ſuffered the LYDIAN or MIXOLYDIAN MODE to be contaminated by altered intervals.



The moſt pleaſing production of HENRY ISAAC that has been preſerved ſeems to be the following, which, if we may believe GLAREANUS, is in the true LYDIAN MODE of the Antients.

Example from Henry Iſaac, of the ancient Lydian Mode, according to Glareanus.





(1) As I regard Henry Isaac to have been a more ancient Composer than Benedictus (see Page 517.) the $\frac{6}{3}$, if I may depend on my Memory, occur here for the first time.

(2) Though the Harmony of $\frac{5}{4}$, which is here given to the Base A, seems uncouth and unwarrantable to the Eye, yet it will not offend the Ear in this place; and it is curious to find so early a Contrapuntist venturing upon a Combination of sounds, that would be audacious in a Modern.

(3) Here if the $\frac{6}{2}$ were accompanied by a 3d sound it must be the 4th, which would perhaps be the 1st time of admitting such a Chord; as the $\frac{6}{2}$ were long used before the $\frac{4}{2}$.

The next eminent contrapuntist, in point of time, to Okenheim, Josquin, and Henry Isaac, is JACOB HOBRECHT, or OBRETH, a Netherlander, who initiated Erasmus, when a youth, in the secrets of his art, as Damon was formerly the Music-master of Socrates (*q*). Glareanus, the disciple of Erasmus, says, that he had frequently heard his Preceptor speak of Hobrecht as a Musician who had no superior, and say, that he had such a rapid and wonderful facility in writing, that he composed an excellent Mass in one night, which was very much admired by the learned (*r*). Indeed, in scoring his Mass *Si Dedero*, which was printed at Venice in 1508 (*s*), it appears, though the movements are somewhat too similar in subject, that the Counterpoint is clean, clear, and masterly. And this is the chief praise that is justly due to most of the compositions of the same period; which, in other respects, so much resemble each other, that the specimens already given exhibit almost all the variety of melody and pleasure which the productions of a whole century can furnish. Indeed, as air and grace were not at this time the objects of a Composer's pursuits, they should not be sought or expected. Those, however, who have heard modern Melody, Harmony, and Modulation, to a degree of satiety, and admire the Fugues, Canons, and other ingenious contrivances of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, would have great pleasure in the performance or contemplation of such Music as this, which is become new by excess of antiquity. Few or none of the passages have been retained in modern Music; and the harmony and modulation having been regulated by the ecclesiastical tones, or modes, which have been so long exploded in this country, every thing would be as new to a *Dilettante* of the present age, as if he only now heard Music for the first time; so that, those who can tolerate nothing but what is ancient, and those, who are in

(*q*) See vol. i. p. 416.
(*r*) Dodecachord. p. 456.
(*s*) *Missar. divers. auct.* l. 1.

constant

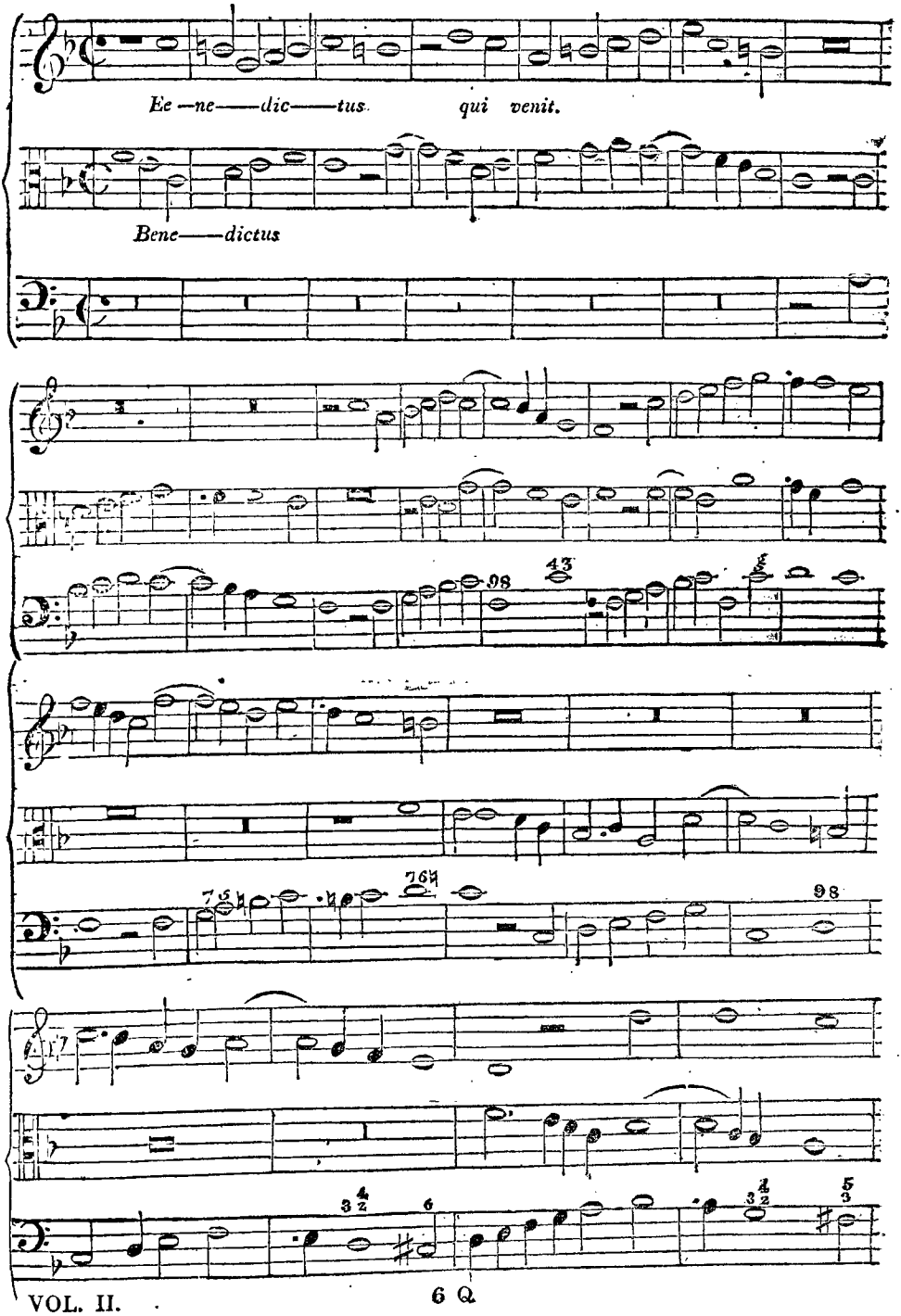
constant search of something new, will, in these authors, find Music equally adapted to their several tastes, and be likewise furnished with an excuse for their fastidiousness.

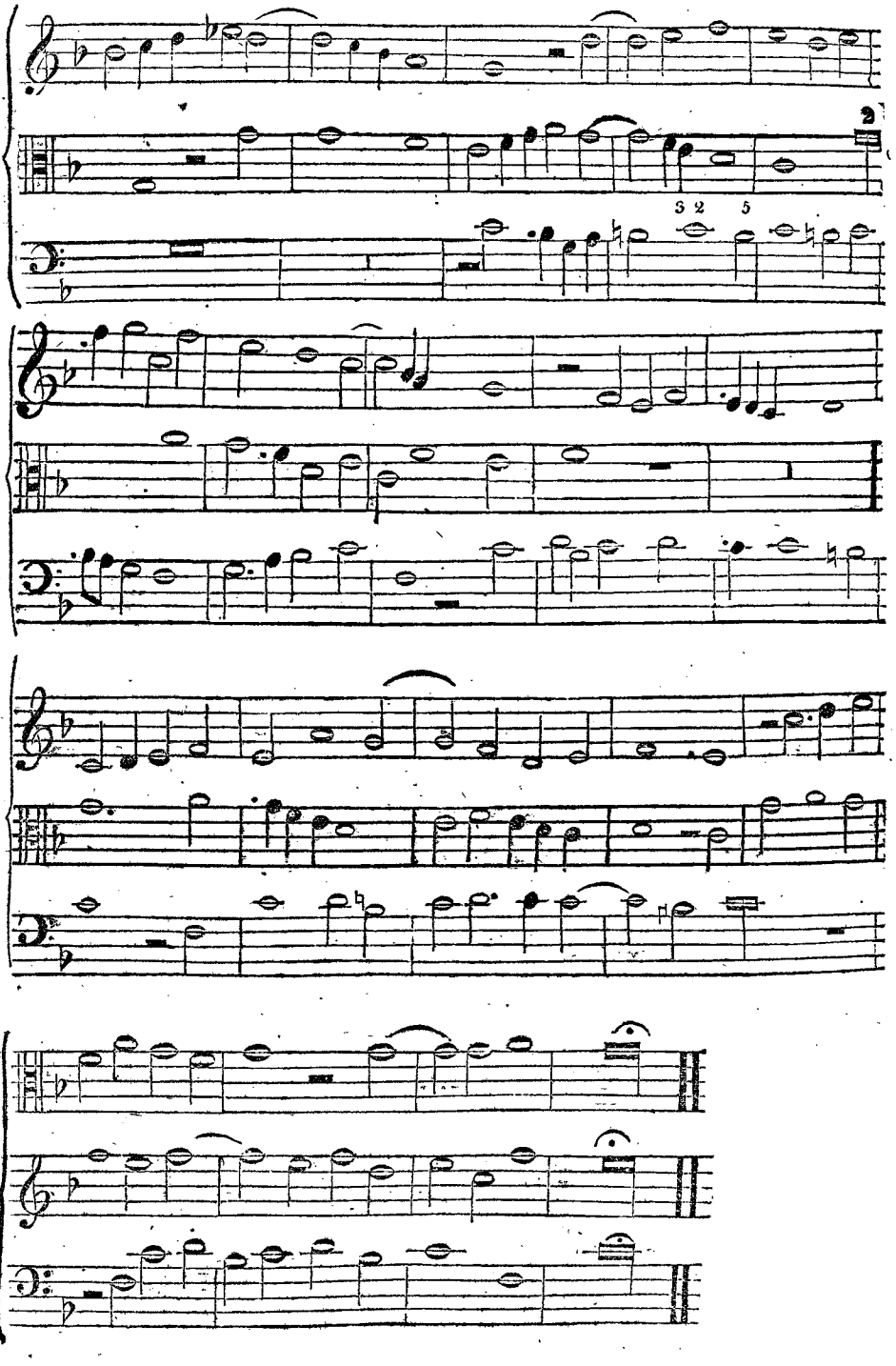
One of the most voluminous Composers of the period under consideration, was PIERRE DE LA RUE, or, as he is called by writers in Latin, PETRUS PLATENSIS. What country gave him birth, is now difficult to ascertain; Walter calls him a Netherlander; Glareanus, a Frenchman: others suppose him to have been a Spaniard. It is, however, certain, that he was in high favour with prince Albert, and princess Isabella, of the Low Countries; that a work under his name was published at Antwerp, with this title: *El Parnasso Espanol de Madrigales y Villancicos à quatro, cinco y seis voces;* besides Masses and Motets to Latin words; and that he was a very learned Contrapuntist.

Many of his compositions for the church are still extant in the Museum Collection of Masses and Motets, some of which were published as early as the year 1503, immediately after the invention of Musical Types. The following *Benedictus*, from his Mass *de beata Virgine*, is selected as a specimen of his style, and free use of the four principal discords, of second, fourth, seventh, and ninth. In the fourteenth Bar of this movement, likewise, the fifth, though somewhat aukwardly, is made a discord by the sixth (*t*).

(*t*) At No. (1) the seventh, for the first time that I have observed it, in only two parts, is resolved upon the fifth. And at No. (2) the ninth, which is wholly unaccompanied by a concord, must have been very unusual, at this early period of Counterpoint.

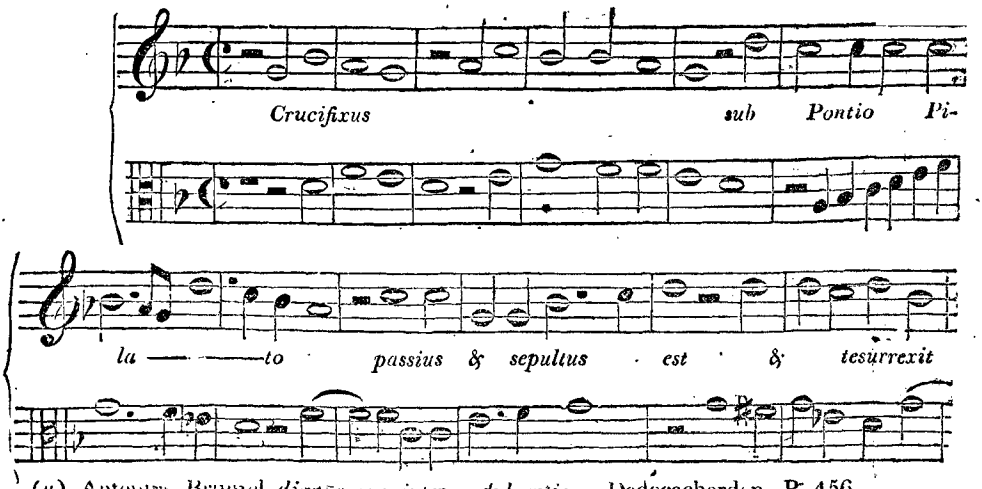
PIERRE DE LA RUE.




3 2 5

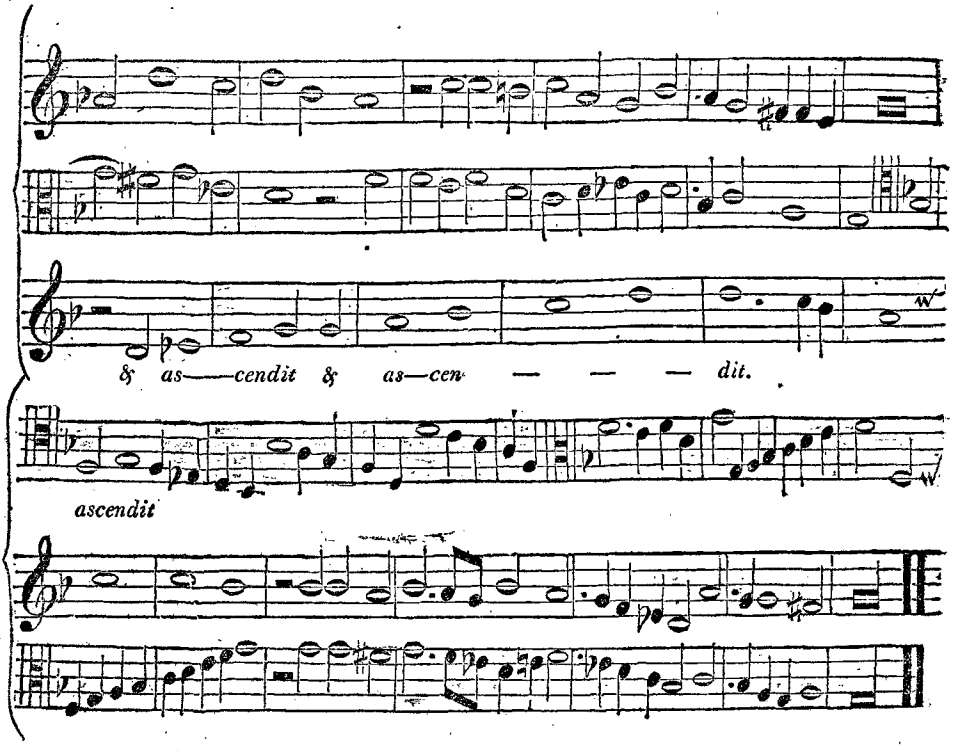
The most ancient Contrapuntist of the French school, of whose Compositions I have been able to find any remains, is ANTHONY BRUMEL, cotemporary with Josquin, and scholar of Okenheim, I scored an entire Mass by him, called Δεινζ, I know not why, unless it be the name, or initial word of a German drinking Song. It is printed in the first book of *Missarum diversorum*, in the Museum collection. He does not appear to have had much invention; however, his harmony in general, is pure, and melody and notation more clear and simple than was common at the period when he flourished. Glareanus seems to characterise him justly, when he says, that he was a very able Contrapuntist, but was possessed of more learning than genius (*u*). The same author informs us (*x*), that at the beginning of the sixteenth Century, when he was arrived at an extreme old age, he composed a Kyrie Eleison, in competition with Josquin, in which not only in the Tenor, but in all the parts, he introduced the subject, ascending, and descending, with wonderful skill. There is much more plain and simple Counterpoint in his Mass, which I have scored, and less Fugue, Canon, or imitation, than I have ever seen in a composition of the same length and period. The following short *Duo* has some faint glimmerings of expression, besides the merit of harmony and contrivance.

Duo.



(*u*) Antonius Brumel *dignus qui inter eximios Symphonetas numeretur, magis tamen diligentia & arte valuit, quam naturæ indulgentia.* Dodecachordon, P. 456.

(*x*) P. 152.

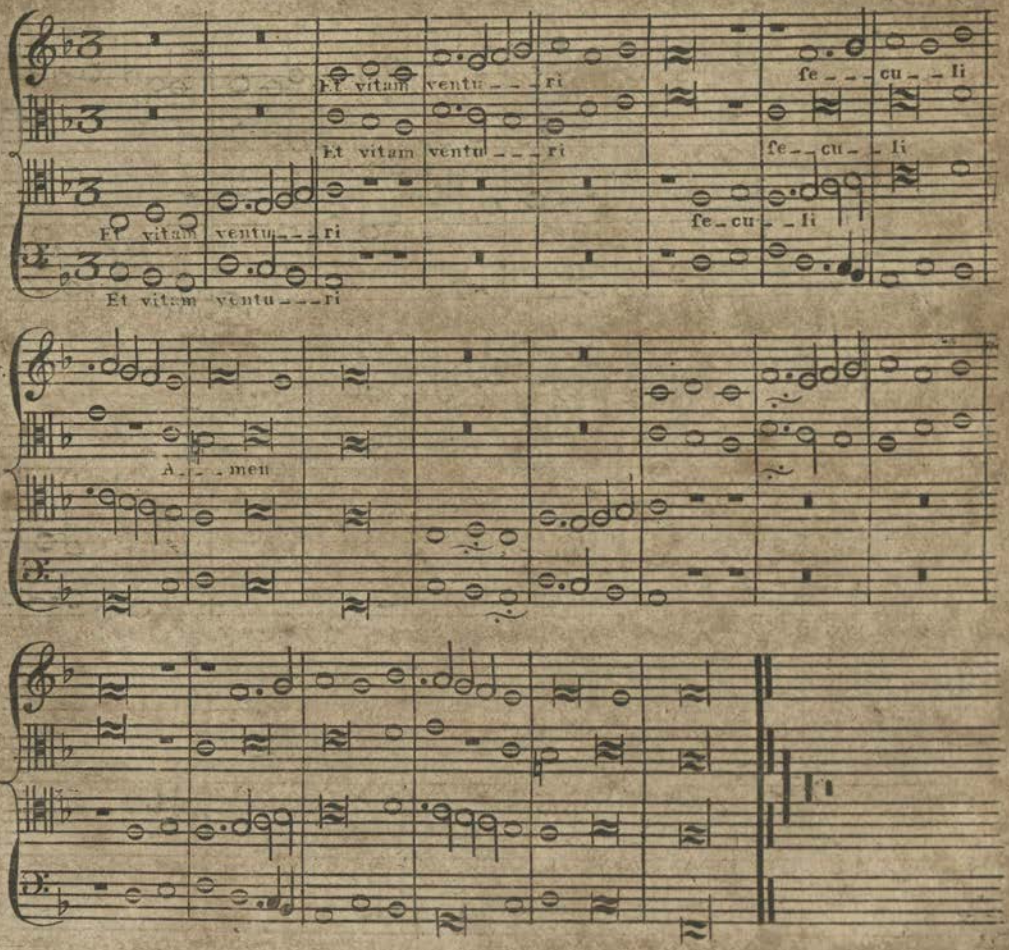


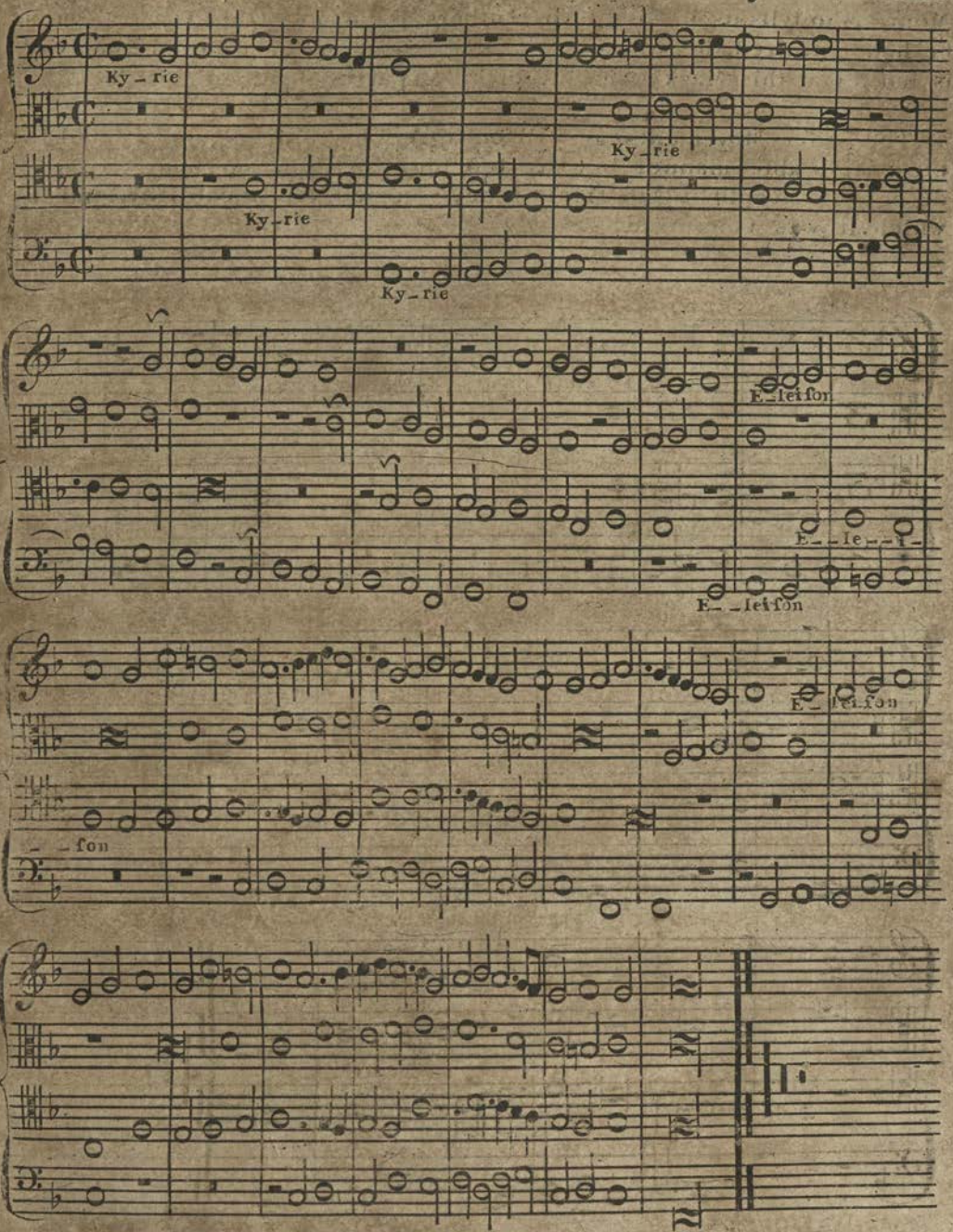
There is a Mass in the same collection by Gaspar, an old composer, probably a native of France, whose name occurs in Franchinus among the *most delightful* Contrapuntists of his time. The composition of this Mass, which is upon the subject of an old Song, *n'as tu pas*, is excellent, with respect to harmony; and the points of Imitation are such as would not disgrace Palestrina, or even a much more modern author, as to Melody, though printed in 1508, and probably composed much sooner.

Anthony *Feum*, or *Fevin*, a native of Orleans, is mentioned by Glareanus with great encomiums, as the successful emulator of Josquin, and a young man whose modesty was equal to his genius. There are three of his Masses in the Museum Collection, which, in scoring, I find excellent, particularly that which is called *Sancta Trinitas*, the second Movement of which I shall give, as a specimen of his abilities.

The Points in this Movement are pleasing, and Introduced in a Masterly manner: MORLEY, who tells us in his List of Authors, at the end of his INTRODUCTION, that he had consulted the works of FEVIN, has made great use of the point, which is led off at this Mark, ∿ in one of his 3 part Songs, beginning "Cease mine Eyes"

The other Movements are all on agreable Subjects, and treated in a clear and able manner, but are too long for insertion; however the close of one of them being in triple time, is curious, and beautiful, for the age in which it was Composed.




Ky - rie
Ky - rie
Ky - rie
Ky - rie
E - lei son
E - lei son
E - lei son
- son

Among the first Masses that were printed, there is one by Philip Basiron, which is dry, aukward, and devoid of invention and contrivance. Its extreme difficulty of notation, from the frequency of ligatures, and obscurity of obsolete prolations, encourages a belief that the author preceded Josquin; but as none of his works remain, except the Mass in this collection, it cannot be determined when, or where he lived, no mention having been made of him by Glareanus or Walther.

This author was peculiarly fond of unlimited Pauses, in the middle of his movements, having sometimes four together, and once, in the *Credo*, at the words *& homo factus est*, he has eight successively. As every thing has been tried in music, at all times, that was likely to please, surprise, or impress the public with an idea of the author's superior genius, taste, or science; so there has been at every period, some fashionable folly, extravagance, or affectation among musicians: for whenever a happy novelty has been started, by a man gifted with real genius, immediately another, with none, has given it to the public in a larger dose, with as little discretion as a cook, who, hearing that an ounce of some particular ingredient had rendered a new invented dish extremely palatable, should think it would be still more exquisite, if he doubled the quantity.

There is no other Composer of this high period whose Masses have been preserved in the same collection as those of the great Contrapuntists already mentioned, to whom we shall assign a separate niche, except JOHN MOUTON. Glareanus calls him a Frenchman, but Lud. Guicciardini claims him as a native of the Netherlands. Wherever he was born, it is certain that he spent the chief part of his life in the service of the French court, during the reigns of Lewis the Twelfth, and Francis the First. He was a disciple of Josquin (*y*), and master of Adrian Willaert, not his scholar, as Printz, and others after him, have asserted.

(*y*) See the notes on *Rabelais Moderne, To.* V. *2de partie,* P. 54.

Notwithstanding the rapture with which Glareanus speaks of this Composer's Masses, they seem to me inferior in melody, rhythm, and design to those of Josquin, De la Rue, and Fevin. It is in his fourth Mass that I first met with two Flats at the Clef, and an accidental Flat upon A. In scoring this composition, consisting of fourteen movements, I can discover no variety of measure or subject; nor is the want of melody compensated by richness of harmony, ingenuity of contrivance, or learning of modulation. His Motets, however, if not more nervous and elaborate than those of his cotemporaries, are more smooth and polished: but he lived in a court.

His Motet, *Non nobis Domine*, is not only pleasing, but masterly. It was composed in 1509, for the birth of Renée, the second daughter of Lewis the Twelfth, by Anne of Bretagne, as appears in the body of the Motet *(z)*; and this is sufficient to confute the opinion of Mouton having been the scholar of Adrian Willaert, who, according to his own account, went into Italy very young, during the pontificate of Leo the Tenth *(a)*.

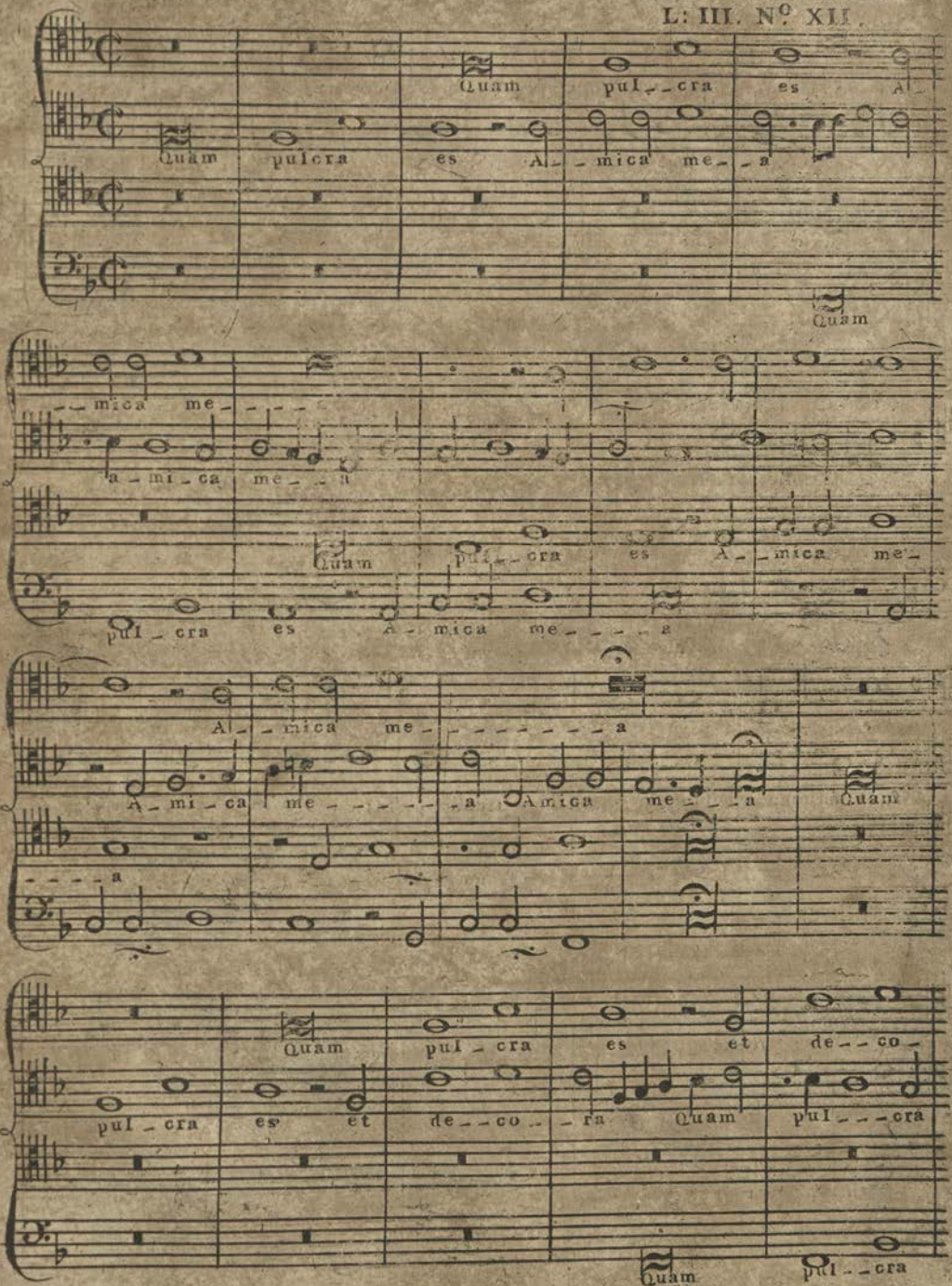
He composed another Motet in 1514, on the death of Queen Anne de Bretagne, but the best of his compositions that I have seen, is the Motet *Quam pulchra es Amica mea*, from the Song of Solomon. It is composed for three Tenors and a Base; the subjects of Fugue are pleasing, and treated with abilities. It is unfortunately too long for the whole to have a place in this volume; but, as examples of his style, I shall insert the first movement, and a short *Duo* from one of his Masses.

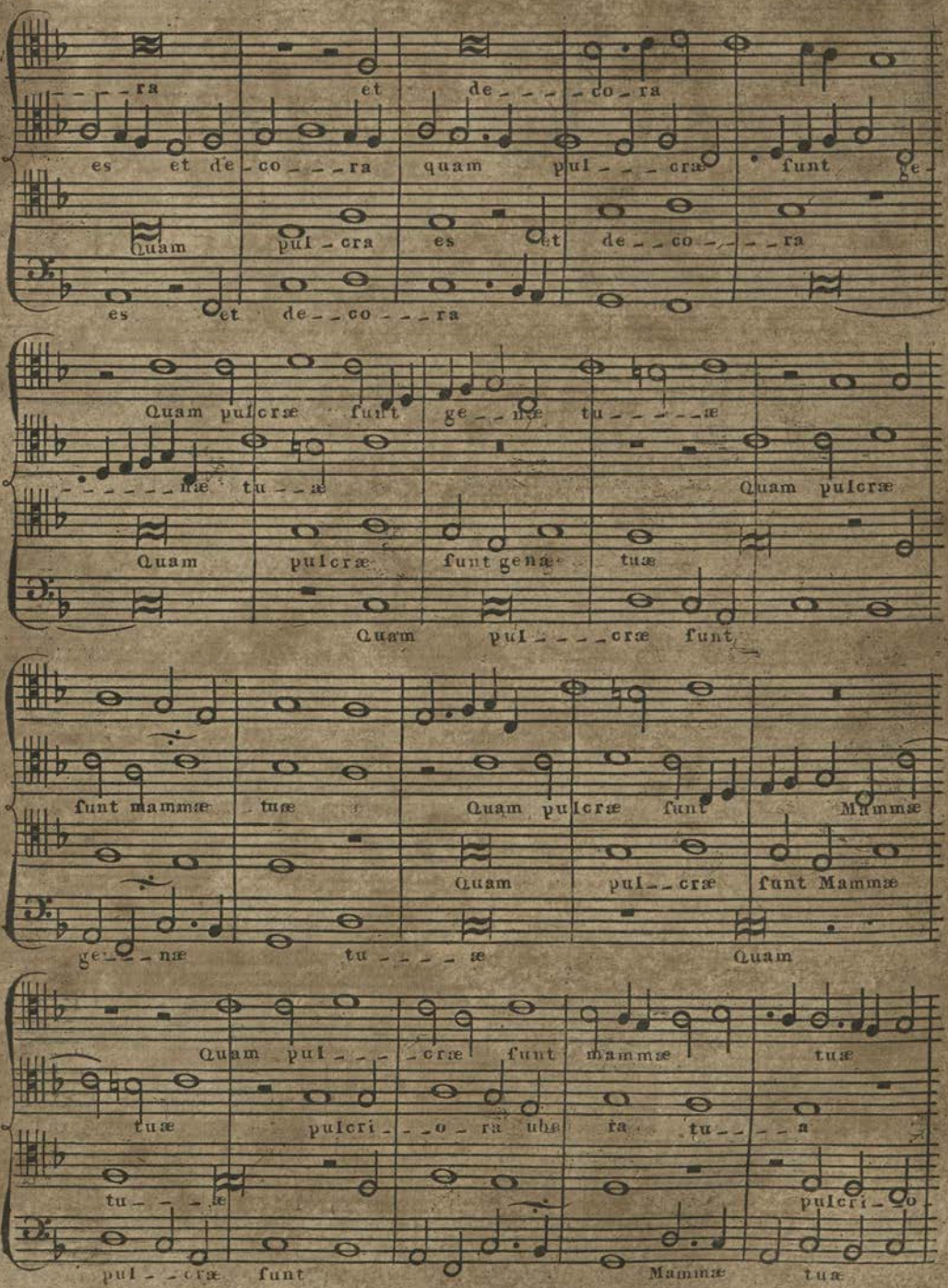
(z) This princess was married during the reign of Francis the First, to the Duke of Ferrara, after whose death she became a Hugonotte. Clement Marot, the poet, was her Secretary; she died at Montargis, 1575.

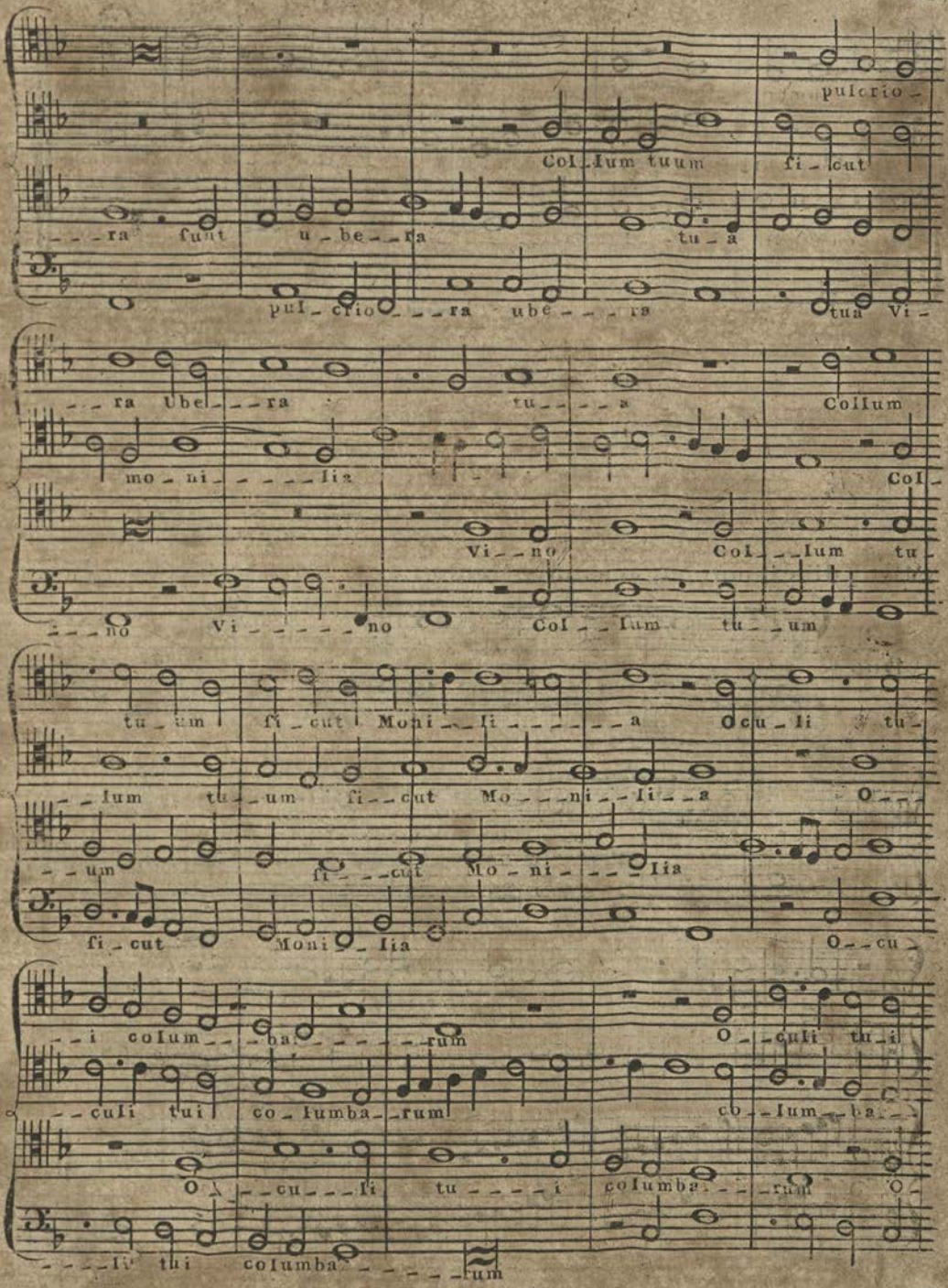
(a) Zarlino, *Istit. 4ta. parte*, P. 346.

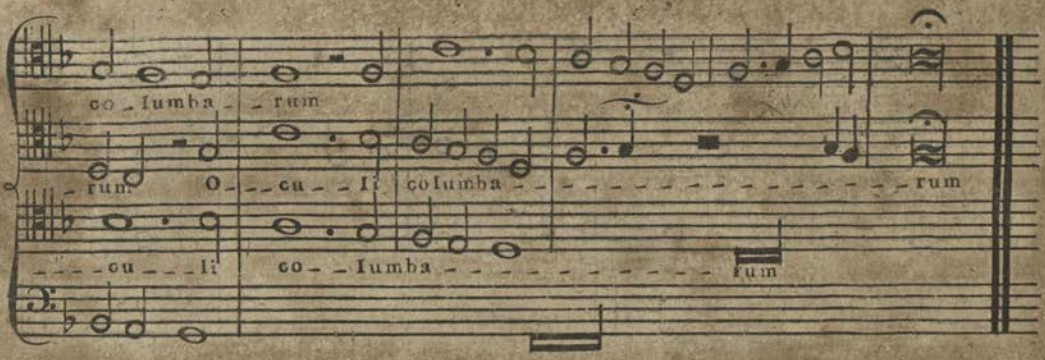
Jo: Mouton.

Motetti della Corona
L: III. N° XII.

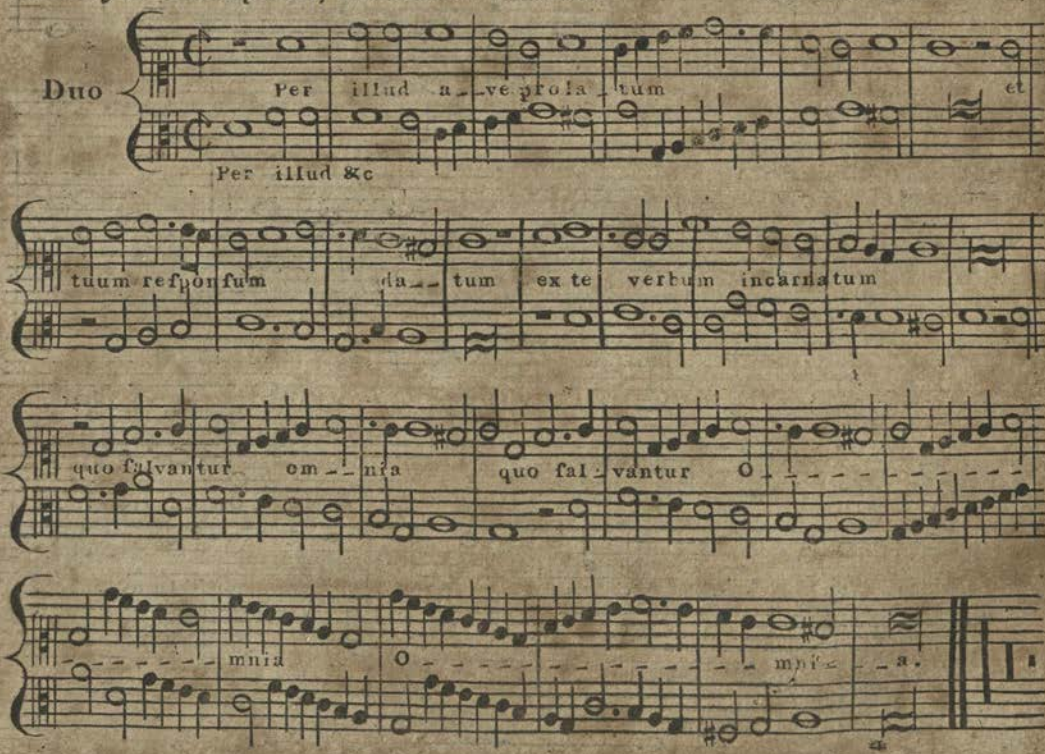

Quam pul_cra es A_mica me_a
Quam pulcra es A_mica me_a
Quam
mica me
a_mi_ca me_a
Quam pul_cra es A_mica me_
pul_cra es A_mica me_a
A_mica me_a
A_mi_ca me_a Amica me_a Quam
_a
Quam pul_cra es et de_co_
pul_cra es et de_co_ra Quam pul_cra
Quam pul_cra


ra et de co ra
es et de co ra quam pul cra funt ge
Quam pul cra es et de co ra
es et de co ra
Quam pulcræ funt ge næ tu æ
næ tu æ Quam pulcræ
Quam pulcræ funt genæ tuæ
Quam pul cræ funt
funt mammæ tuæ Quam pulcræ funt Mammæ
Quam pul cræ funt Mammæ
ge næ tu æ Quam
Quam pul cræ funt mammæ tuæ
tuæ pulcri o ra ubæ ra tu a
tu æ pulcri o
pul cræ funt Mammæ tuæ


pulcrio-
Col-lum tuum fi-cut
-ra sunt u-be-ra tu-a
pul-crio-ra ube-ra tua Vi-
-ra Ube-ra tu-a Collum
mo-ni-a
Col-
Vi-no Col-lum tu-
-no Vi-no Col-lum tu-um
tu-um fi-cut Moni-li-a Oculi tu-
-lum tu-um fi-cut Mo-ni-li-a O-
-um fi-cut Mo-ni-lia
fi-cut Moni-lia O-cu-
-i columba-rum O-culi tu-i
-culi tui co-lumba-rum co-lum-ba-
O-cu-li tu-i columba-rum O-
-li tui columba-rum



Mixolydii exemplum, Johannis Mouton. Ex Glariano. P. 347.



* * * * * * * * *

ENGLAND.

Having endeavoured to describe the progress of Counterpoint on the Continent, and to do justice to the genius and abilities of its first successful cultivators, of whose productions we have any remains, it is time, from such records and memorials as the diligence of research has discovered, to give an account of its state, during the same period, on our own Island; and it has already been shewn, from the MS. Musical Tracts, and Specimens of Composition of remote times, which have been preserved, that the natives were neither insensible to the charms of Music, nor negligent in its cultivation.

The examples of Counterpoint in other countries, which have hitherto been exhibited, are entirely confined to *Church Music*, and, of any other kind, I have been able to find but little, either in print or MS. of higher antiquity than near the middle of the sixteenth century; yet I have not only seen Masses in four, five, and six parts, composed by the natives of England, which are equally ancient with those on the continent, but *Secular Songs*, in our language, of two and three parts, and in good Counterpoint, of the fifteenth and beginning of the sixteenth century.

A very curious and valuable musical MS. is preserved, which once appertained to Dr. ROBERT FAYRFAX, an eminent English composer, during the reigns of Henry VII. and Henry VIII.; it was afterwards in the possession of General Fayrfax, and upon his demise made a part of the Thoresby collection, at the sale of which it was purchased by Mr. White (*b*).

It consists of a collection of the most ancient English Songs, to which the Music has been preserved. The writing is very clear and intelligible, for the period when it was transcribed,

(*b*) This MS. is still the property of the worthy Mr. John White, of Newgate-street; who is likewise in possession of a valuable collection of ancient rarities, as well as natural productions, of the most curious and extraordinary kind; no one of which, however, is more remarkable, than the obliging manner in which he allows them to be viewed and examined by his friends.

though-

though the time of the musical characters, from the want of bars, and the use of ligatures and prolation, with a mixture of red notes for diminution, is sometimes difficult to ascertain.

Having been allowed by the present proprietor of this MS. to transcribe what part of it I pleased, I have scored the whole, by which I am enabled to judge of the progress which had been made in harmony by my countrymen, and to familiarize myself with the prevailing cast of their melody, at the beginning of the sixteenth century.

The Composers of these Songs are William of Newark, ——Sheryngham, Edmund Turges, Tutor, or Tudor, Gilbert Banester, —— Browne, Richard Davy, William Cornyshe junior, Syr Thomas Phelyppes (*c*), and Robert Fayrfax. But little is known now concerning these musicians, except that Turges is a name that occurs among the musicians of Henry the Sixth (*d*). Tudor was author of several compositions in the Music Book of Prince Henry, afterwards Henry the Eighth. Cornyshe was of Henry the Seventh's chapel; and Fayrfax was admitted to a Doctor's degree in music, at Cambridge, 1511; but as he is not styled Doctor in this MS. we may reasonably suppose his compositions in it, to have been anterior to his receiving that honour in the University.

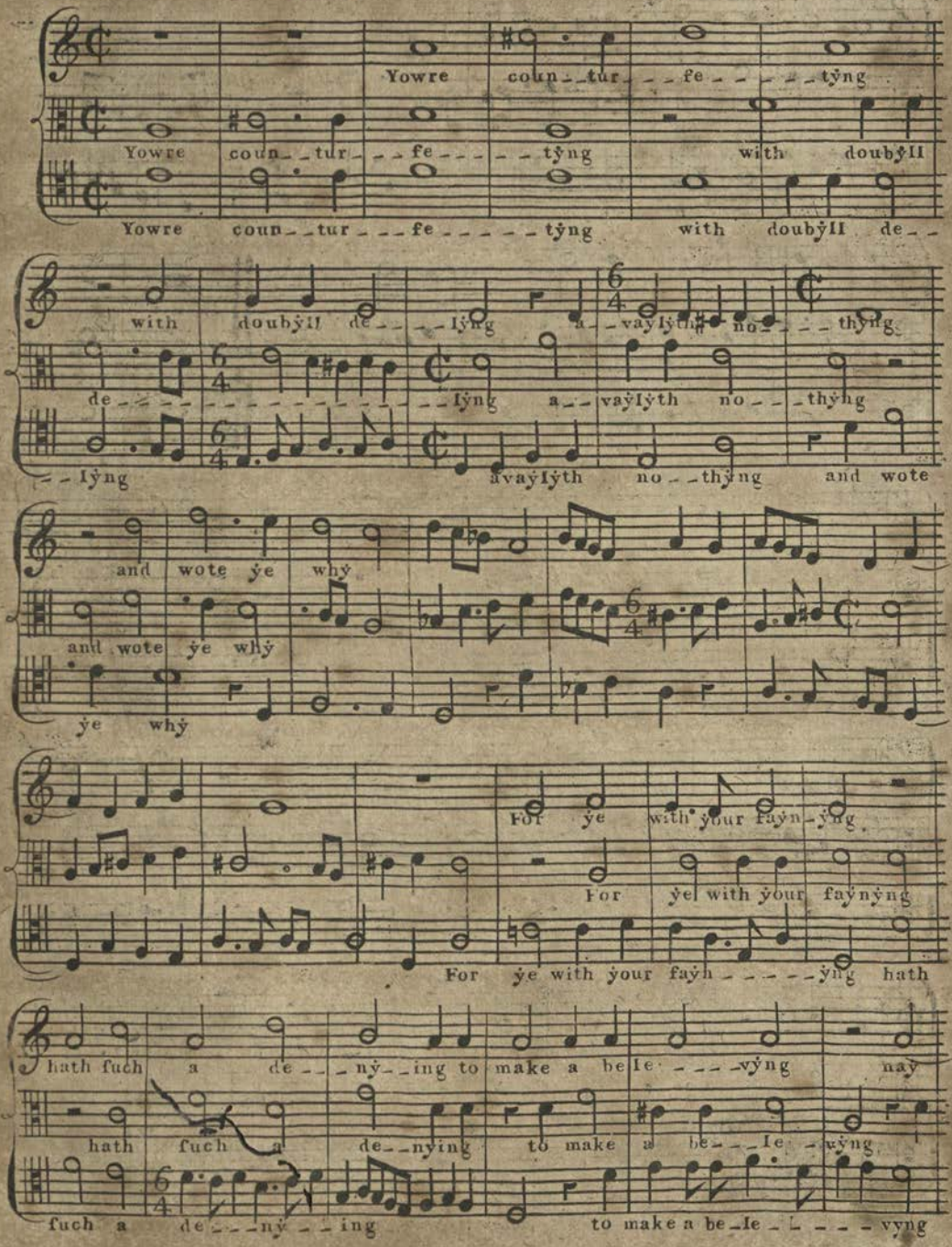
I shall select a few of the Songs in this MS, and insert them as specimens of our early Lyric Compositions.

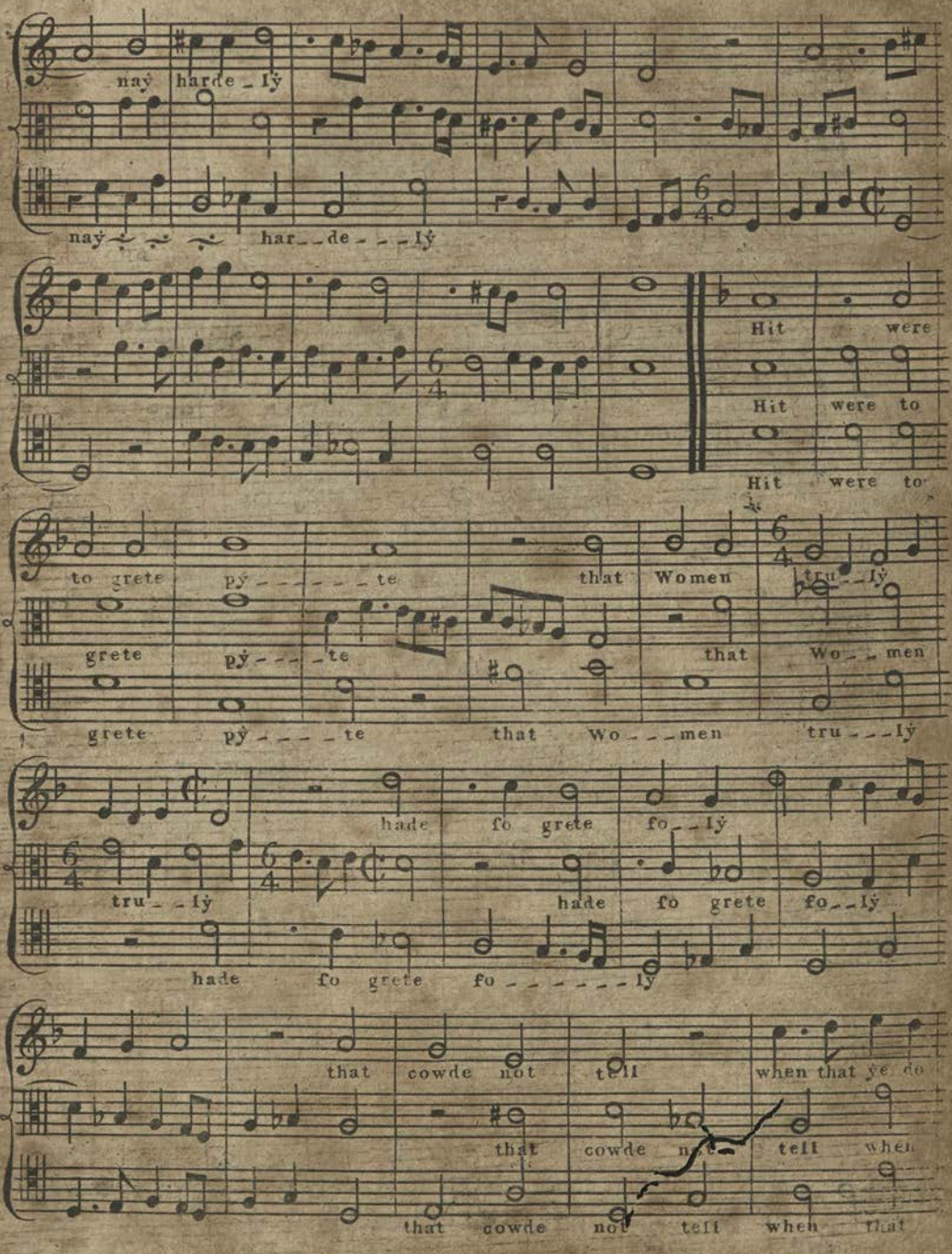
(*c*) *Sir* was a title formerly given to persons in orders, as well as to Knights; and Fuller, in his Church Hist. book vi. instances a great number of this class among the incumbents of Chauntries, in the cathedral of St. Paul, in the time of Edward the Sixth; and says, that, "such "Priests as have the addition of *Sir* be- "fore their Christian names, were men "not graduated in the University, *being* "in *orders*, but not in *degrees*; whilst "others entitled *Masters*, had commenced "in the Arts." P. 352.

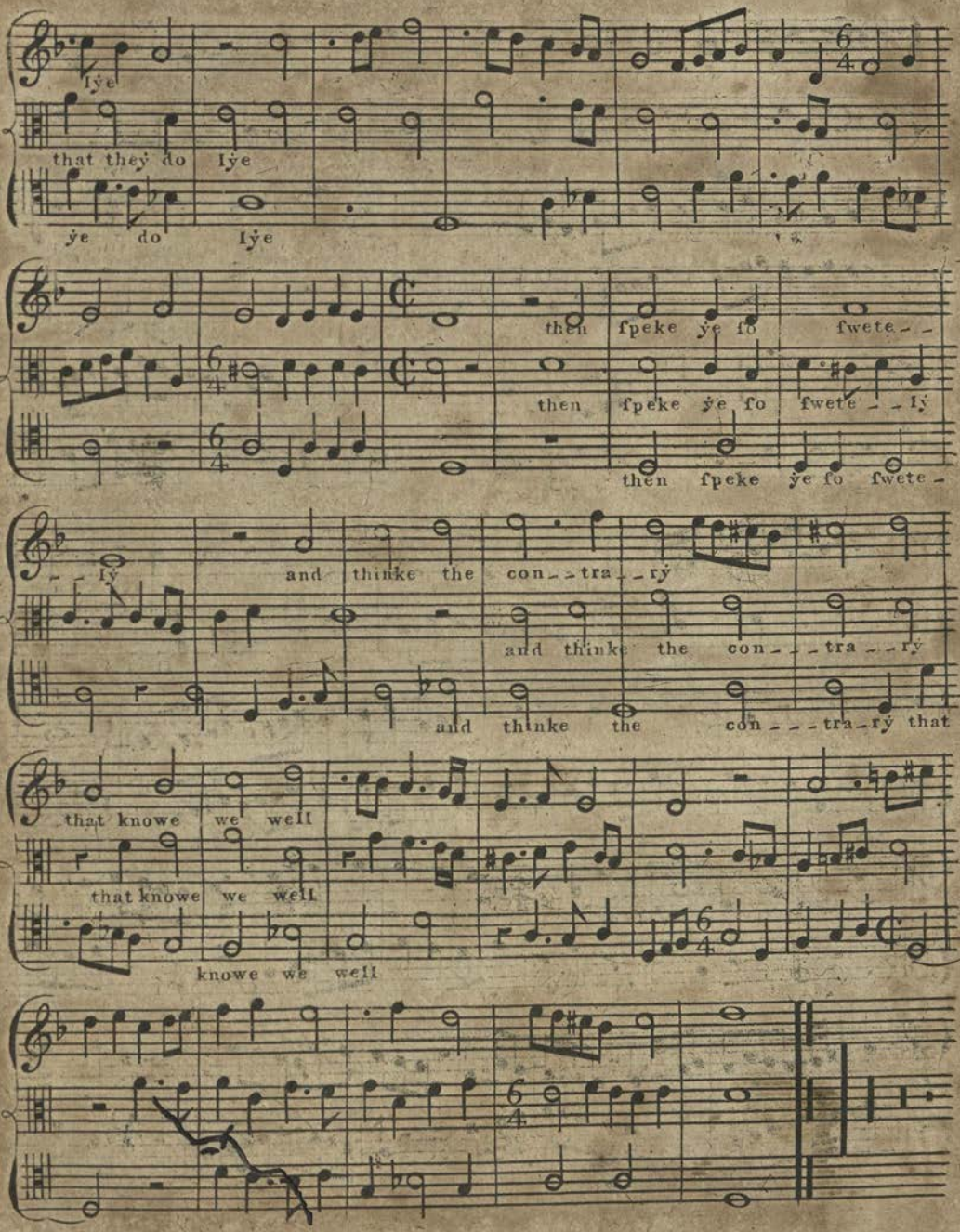
This explains and gives considerable antiquity to a four-part *Round*, that was first printed by John Playford, in *Catch that Catch can*, or a Collection of Catches, Rounds, and Canons, published by John Hilton, 1652.

"Now I am married, *Sir John* I'le not curse:
"He join'd us together for better for worse;
"But if I were single, I must tell you plaine,
"I would be advis'd ere I married againe."

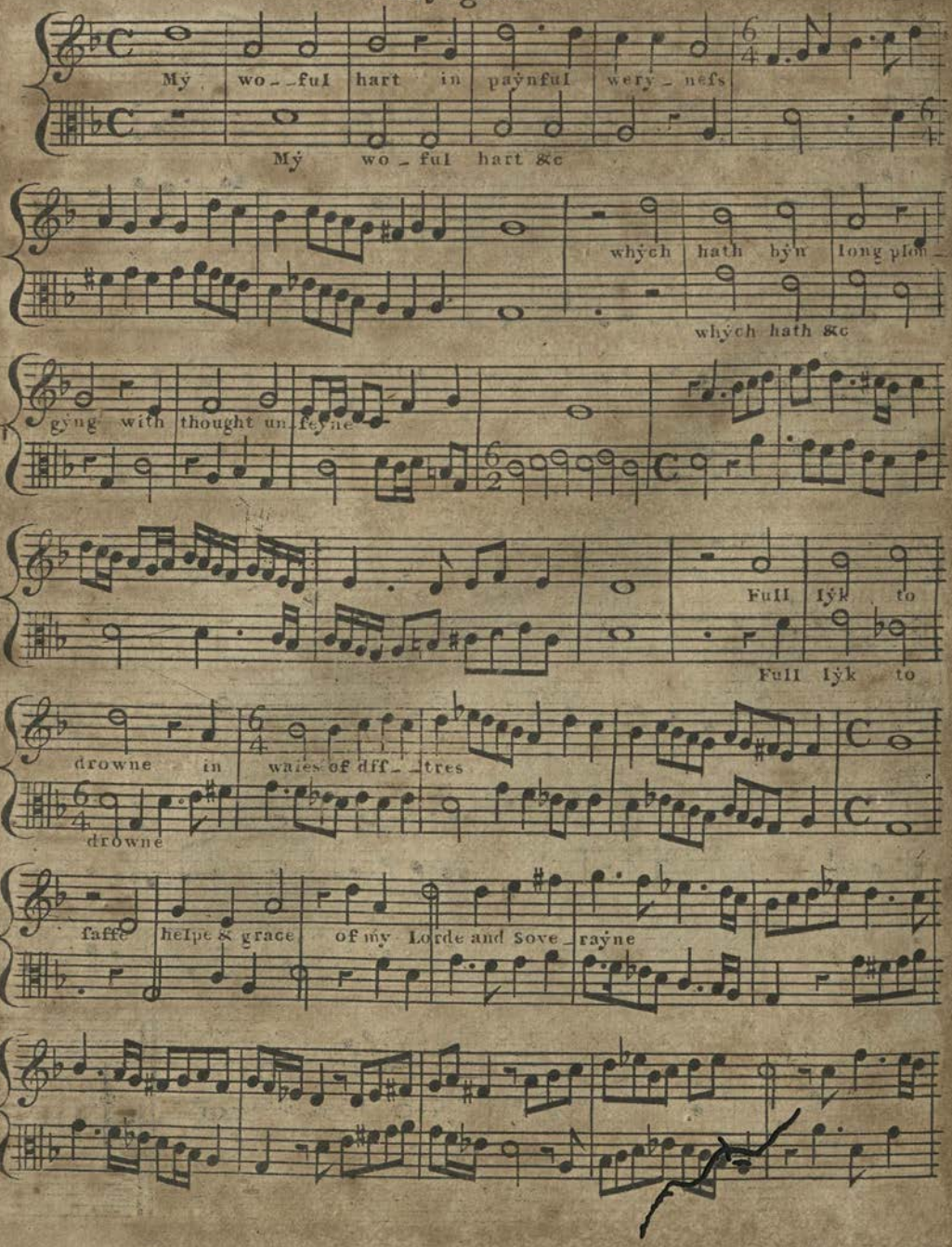
(*d*) See Gloss. to the late Edit. of Chaucer, at the word *Harpour*.

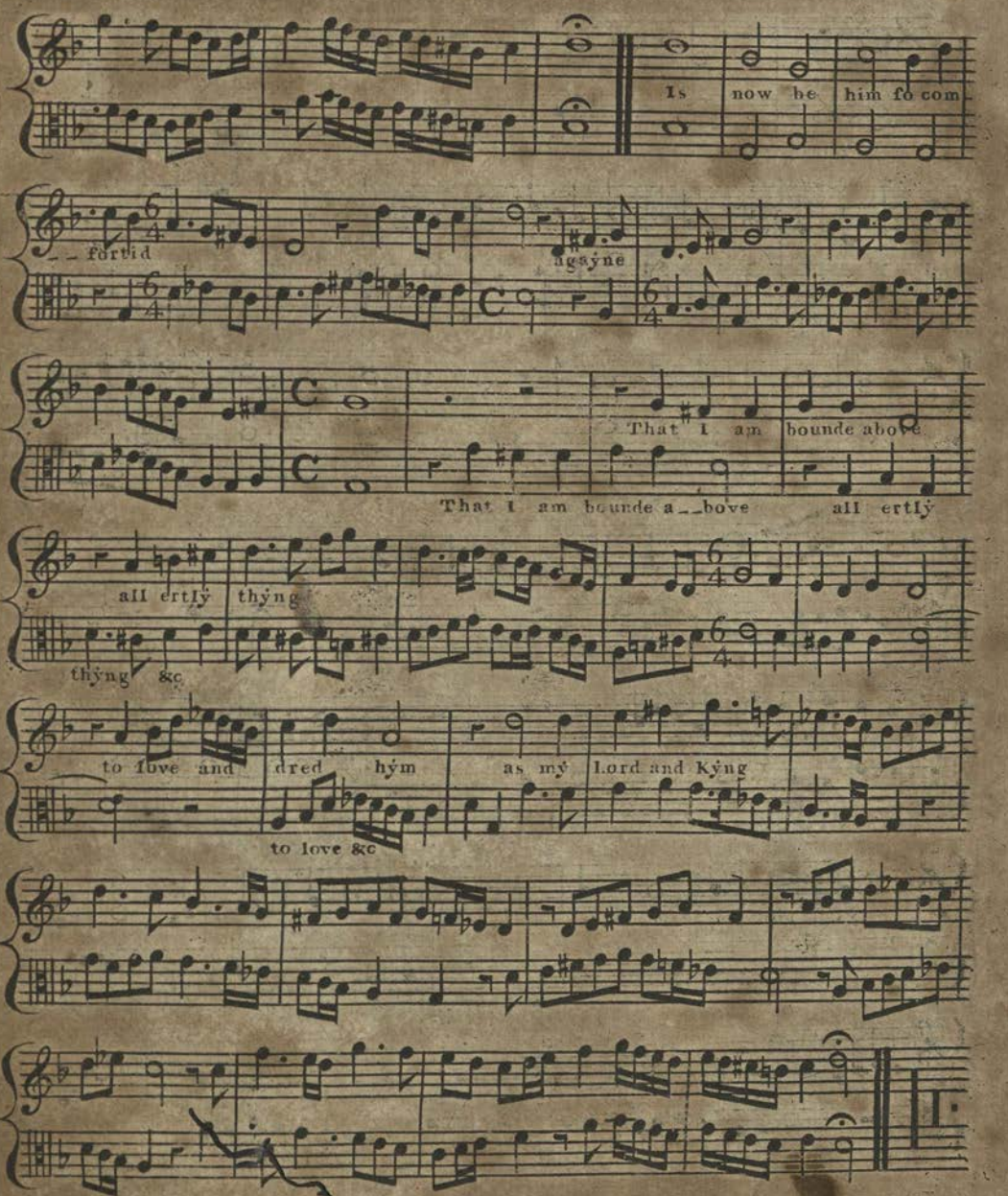

Yowre coun_tur_fe_tyng
Yowre coun_tur_fe_tyng with doubyll
Yowre coun_tur_fe_tyng with doubyll de_
with doubyll de_lyng a_vaylyth no_thyng
de_lyng a_vaylyth no_thyng
_lyng avaylyth no_thyng and wote
and wote ye why
and wote ye why
ye why
For ye with your fayn_yng
For ye with your fayn_yng
For ye with your fayh_yng hath
hath fuch a de_ny_ing to make a be_le_vyng nay
hath fuch a de_nying to make a be_le_vyng
fuch a de_ny_ing to make a be_le_vyng

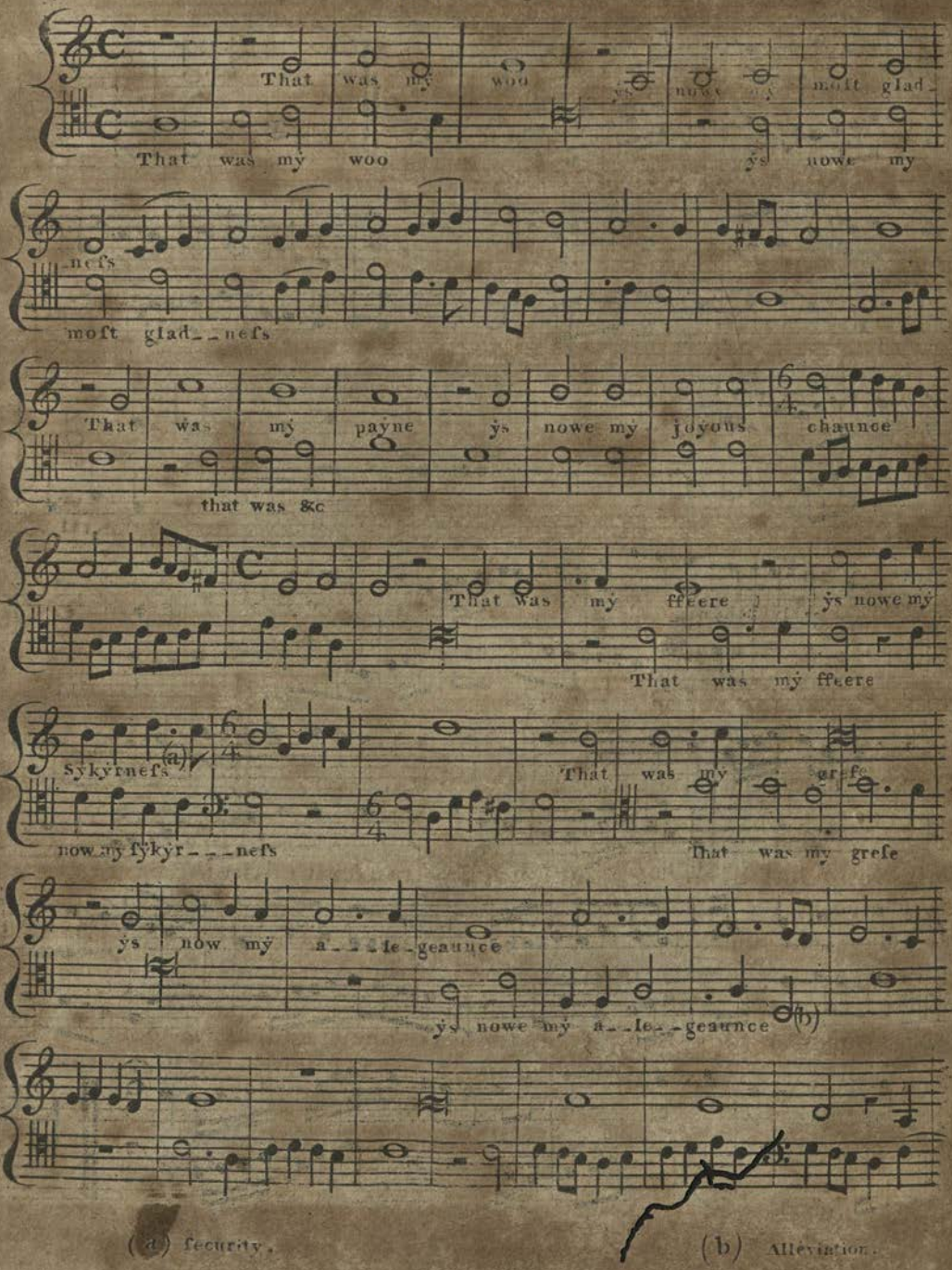

nay harde_ly
nay har_de_ly
Hit were
Hit were to
Hit were to
to grete py_te that Women tru_ly
grete py_te that Wo_men
grete py_te that Wo_men tru_ly
hade fo grete fo_ly
tru_ly hade fo grete fo_ly
hade fo grete fo_ly
that cowde not tell when that ye do
that cowde not tell when
that cowde not tell when that


Iẏe
that theẏ do Iẏe
ẏe do Iẏe
then ſpeke ẏe ſo ſwete - -
then ſpeke ẏe ſo ſwete - - Iẏ
then ſpeke ẏe ſo ſwete -
- - Iẏ and thinke the con - - tra - - rẏ
and thinke the con - - - tra - - rẏ
and thinke the con - - - tra - rẏ that
that knowe we well
that knowe we well
knowe we well

Sherýngham.

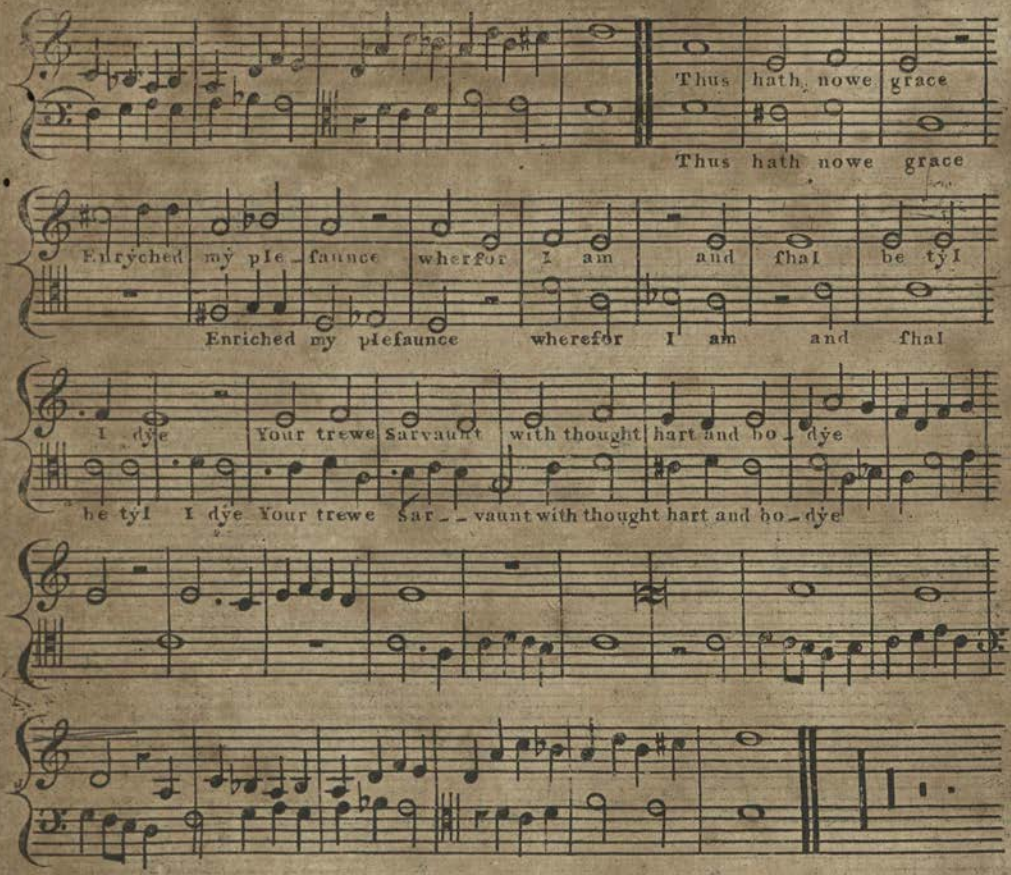

Mý wo_ful hart in payńful wery_nefs
Mý wo_ful hart &c
whych hath býn long plon_
whych hath &c
gýng with thought un_feyne
Full lýk to
Full lýk to
drowne in waies of dff_tres
drowne
faffe helpe & grace of my Lorde and Sove_rayne


Is now be him fo com
forbid
ageyne
That I am bounde above
That I am bounde a_bove all ertly
all ertly thyng
thyng &c
to love and dred hym as my Lord and Kyng
to love &c



(a) fecurity.

(b) Alleviation.

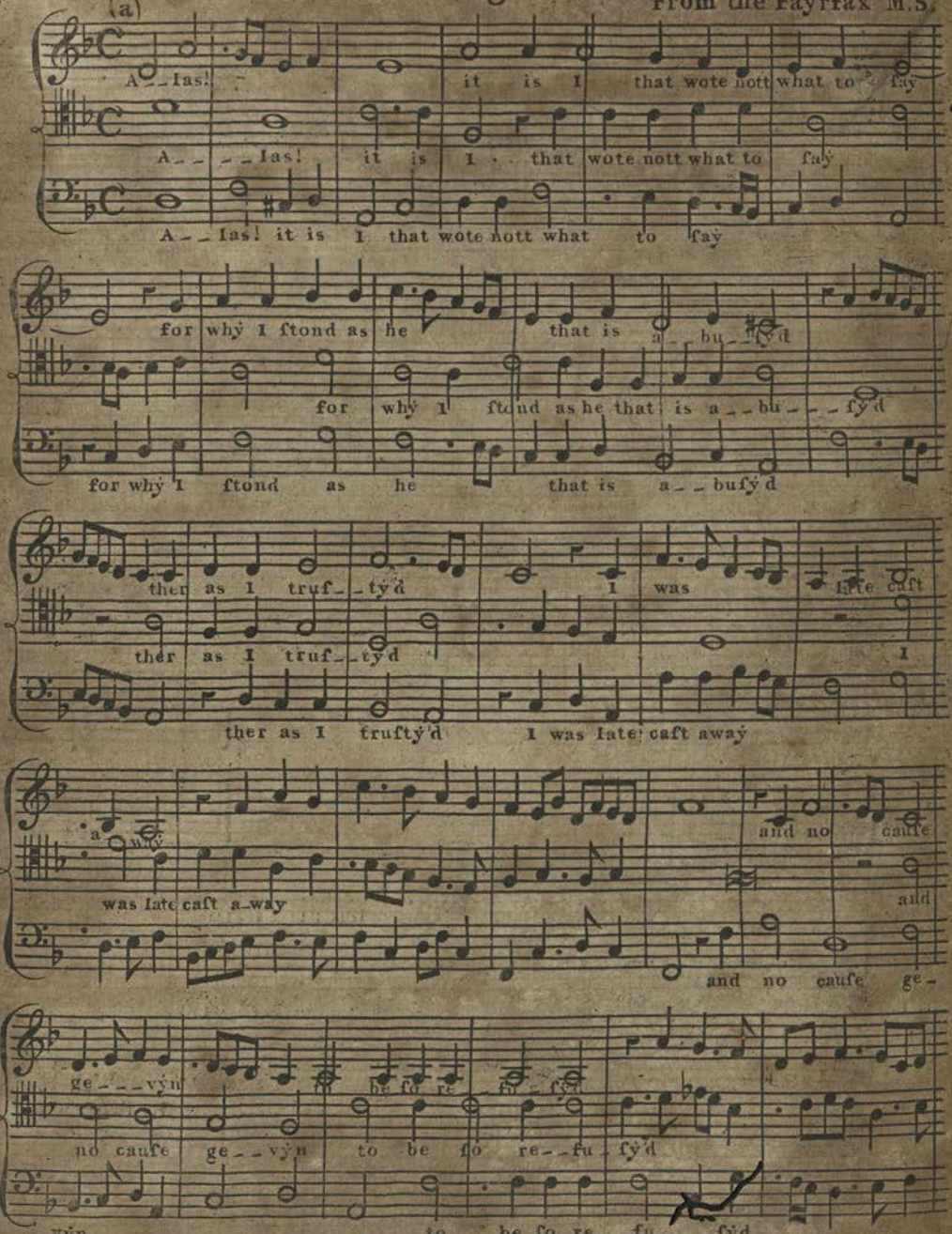


This Song has been very incorrectly tranſcribed, in the Fayrfax M.S. I have tried to reſtore many paſſages, without being certain that I have ſucceeded; particularly where the Baſe Clef occurs: thoſe, however, who wiſh to know how it ſtands in the Original, have only to eraſe that Clef.

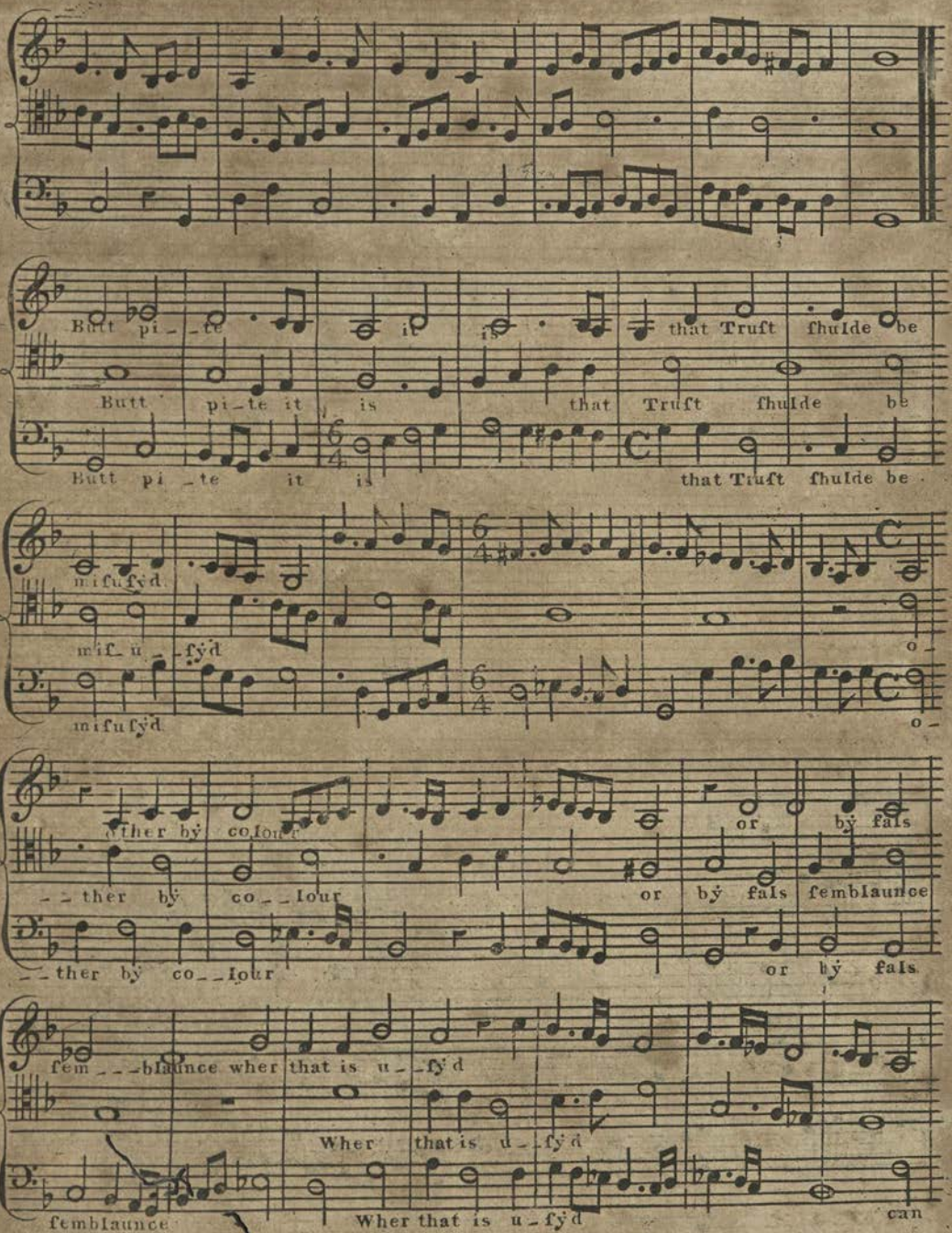
The Words of this Song ſeem to have been addreſsed to HENRY the VII on his aſcending the Throne, after the battle of Boſworth 1485.

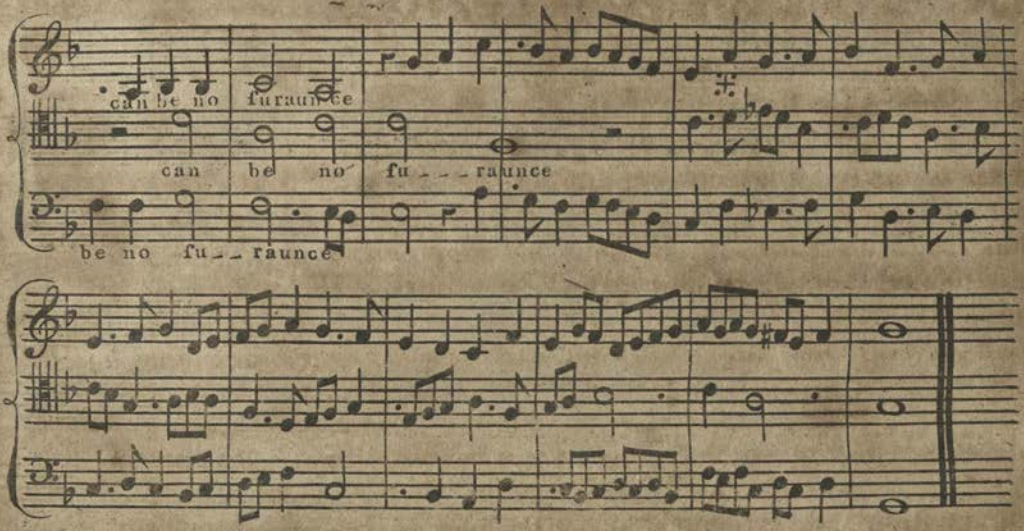
Edmund Turges.

From the Fayrfax M.S.

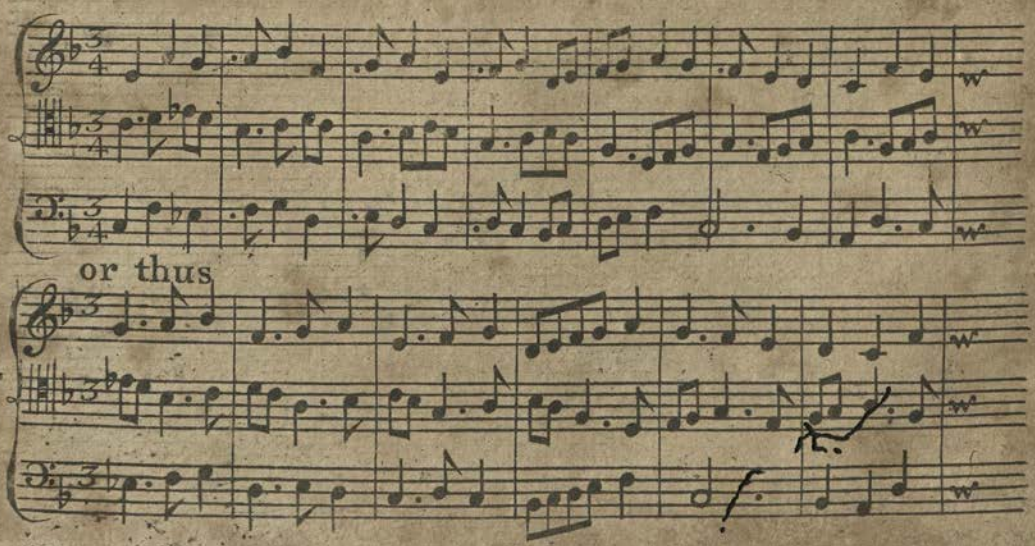


(a) This part in the M.S. is written in the Mezzo Soprano Cleef of C on the 2d line, the principal Melody ſeems to have been given to the Tenor.


Butt pi_te it is that Truft fhulde be
Butt pi_te it is that Truft fhulde be
Butt pi_te it is that Truft fhulde be
mifufyd
mif_u_fyd
mifufyd
o_
o_
ther by colour
_ther by co_lour
_ther by co_lour
or by fals
or by fals femblaunce
or by fals
fem_blaunce wher that is u_fyd
Wher that is u_fyd
femblaunce
Wher that is u_fyd
can



All the Compofers in Europe, about the end of the Fifteenth Century, feem to have had a paffion for MIXED MEASURES; and there is not one Song in the Fayrfax M.S. without inftances of one part moving in COMMON TIME while another is in TRIPLE: a contrivance that occafions nothing but confufion to the Ear, which is utterly unable to form a determined Idea of the MEASURE in which any one of the parts is moving. But at the latter end of each Strain of this Song, ſtill more confufion is occafioned, by all the parts continuing to perform, in COMMON TIME, paſſages that are abſolutely in TRIPLE MEASURE: ſee at this mark ♯ where the accent ſeems to require that the Notes ſhould be executed thus.



Most of these musicians seem to have been merely *secular* composers, as I have met with none of their names, except that of Fayrfax, among those for the church. Cornyshe, indeed, seems more a secular composer than the rest; and, if we may judge of his private character, by the choice of his poetry from Skelton's Ribaldry, he may be supposed a man of no very refined morals, or delicacy of sentiment. His compositions, however, though clumsy and inelegant, if selecting such words be forgiven, are not without variety or ingenuity, for so early a period of Counterpoint. He seems the first who had the courage to use the chord of the Sharp 7th of a Key, with a false 5th. He frequently changes the measure, like the French, in their old operas, and still more like them, composes in a kind of Rondeau, returning several times to the same short strain: Purcell, near two hundred years later, did the same.

The music, indeed, of these Ditties, is somewhat uncouth, but it is still better than the poetry.

The Saxons, who dispossessed the Britons of the greatest part of the Island, we find, from Bede's account of Cædmon (*e*), had poetry, though not rhyme, in the seventh century; for he repeatedly calls the compositions of Cædmon, *carmina*, *poemata*, and in one place *versus* (*f*). No traces, however, of rhyme, or metre, can be found in our language, till some years after the Conquest, at which time French was forced upon us, and, till the reign of Edward the Third, it was the practice in all schools to construe Latin into Norman French; a language which was fashionable at our court, even before the time of William the Conqueror; as Edward the Confessor, who had been brought up at the court of Normandy, encouraged many Normans to follow him into England.

In the thirty-sixth year of Edward the Third, however, a law was made, "That all pleas in the court of the King,

(*e*) *Eccles. Hist.* l. iv. c. 24.

(*f*) These words in the Saxon translation are rendered leoþ leoþ, ȝonȝeȝ, or, ȝonȝeȝ, and ȝeȝȝ; and *ars canendi* is translated leoþ cnæft, or ȝanȝ cnæft. Essay on the Lang. and Versif. of Chaucer. p. 46.

"or any other lord, shall be pleaded and adjudged in the "*English tongue*: and the reason recited in the preamble was, "that the French tongue was too much unknown." And yet for near sixty years afterwards, the proceedings in parliament appear to have been in French (*g*).

The English of Robert of Gloucester, who flourished about 1265, during the reigns of Henry the Third, and Edward the First (*h*), is more Saxon than Norman; however, it would not be very difficult to read, if the characters in which it is printed had been those in present use, instead of Saxon, with which it abounds. The language of Trevisa, 1385 (*i*), is not very unintelligible, if the ȝ be regarded as a g, for which I believe it was originally meant. About the first year of Henry the Sixth, 1422, French and English seem pretty equally balanced, and to have been used indifferently; however, very little improvement was made in our language and versification from the time of Edward the Fourth, to that of Henry the Eighth. Indeed, few English songs are to be found, which were set to original music during that period; it having been the fashion for the great to sing none but French words, as appears by the Music Book of Prince Henry, son of Henry the Seventh, in which all the songs are in French, Italian, or Latin.

It was so much the custom for our old poets to write *new words* to *old tunes*, that there was little business for a composer. These tunes, like those of the *Improvisatori* of Italy at present, being very simple, and little more airy than the chants of the church, required no teaching, and were an easy and ready vehicle for the Bard who wished to get at the heart of his audience, or, at least, to engage its attention by the blandishments of

(*g*) Ibid. P. 25.

(*h*) His History of England, in Verse, was published by Hearne, 1724.

(*i*) "Trevisa was a painful and faithful "translator of many and great books into "English, as *Polichronicon*, written by "Ranulphus of Chester, Bartholomæus *de* "*rerum proprietatibus*, &c. But his master-"piece was the translation of the Old and "New Testament. He died 1397." Fuller's Church History of Britain.

his

his own art, not those of another. For Metrical Romances, and Historical Ballads of great length, this kind of plain and familiar melody was best adapted; as it had scarce any other effect, than just to render the tone of the narrator's voice a little *longer* and *louder*, and consequently more articulate and distinct, than in common speech.

It is related by Gio Battista Donado (*k*), that the Turks have a limited number of tunes, to which the poets of their country have continued to write for many ages (*l*): and the Vocal Music of our own country seems long to have been equally circumscribed; for, till the last century, it seems as if the number of our secular and popular melodies did not greatly exceed that of the Turks; and in Virginal books, we find no attempts at an invention, in point of Air and Melody: the business of our best composers for keyed-instruments, such as Bird, Morley, Bull, Giles, Farnaby, and Gibbons, being to make variations upon old and well-known tunes; a fashion which was carried to such excess, that these melodies, which were in themselves so easy, that "Plowmen whistled them o'er the furrow'd land," by a mere multiplication of notes, without accent, grace, or meaning, became so difficult, that the greatest players in Europe of the present age, who are so frequently accused of levity, caprice and tricks, are utterly unable to perform them; and yet this has been pointed out as the period of perfection, and true simplicity in music, while modern musicians have said, "by a variety of treble Instruments, and a vicious taste, to have given harmony its mortal wound (*m*)."

We

(*k*) This author was a Venetian Senator, and Ambassador at Constantinople, 1688.

(*l*) *L'habbiano (la Musica) i Turchi, solo per traditione che passa la memoria ne' successori, e che consistono in venti quattro arie: cioe sei Malenchoniche, sei allegre, sei furibonde, sei meliflue, o pure amorose.*

(*m*) Notes to Walton's Angler, p. 238, edit. of 1760. If, in the variety of treble Instruments, the Violin tribe is included, the *murder* of Harmony is unjustly charged upon the moderns; as the most imperfect Instruments, with respect to tuning, that are now in use, were likewise those of the period of musical perfection, so much celebrated. Among these I include the Organ, Harpsichord, Hautbois, Bassoon, and all Instruments played *with Keys*, or *blown by Reeds*. As to the Flute and Lyre, the most

ancient

We are told (*n*) that Sir Thomas Wyatt was the first who introduced Italian numbers into English versification: this may have contributed to improve our Lyric poetry; but, to confess the truth, from the few poets of the first class throughout Europe, who, at this period, condescended to write Madrigals, and Songs for Music, it seems that the rage for Canon, Fugue, multiplied parts, and dissimilar melodies, moving at the same time, had so much employed the composers, and weaned the attention of the hearers of these learned, or, as some call them, Gothic contrivances, from Poetry, that the words of a Song seem to have been only a *pretence for singing* (*o*); and as the poets of the two or three last centuries were in little want of music, musicians, in their turn, manifested as little respect for poetry; for in these elaborate compositions, the words are rendered utterly unintelligible by repetitions of particular members of a verse; by each part singing different words at the same time; and by an utter inattention to accent.

But, however inelegant, uncouth, and imperfect our Lyric compositions may have been, till after the middle of the sixteenth century, our Counterpoint and church Music arrived at a perfection with respect to art, contrivance, and correctness of harmony, about that time, which at least equalled the best of any other country.

A set of books, containing masses and services to Latin words, some of which were composed in the time of Henry the Seventh, and *all* before the Reformation, is preserved in the Music School at Oxford. These volumes contain compositions by John Taverner, Dr. Fayrfax, Avery Burton, John Marbec, William Kasar, Hugh Ashton, Thomas Ashwell, John Nor-

ancient of all, with the Harp, Lute, Guitar, or Cithara, their imperfections in every Key, except one, need not here be pointed out; but the *Viols* of all kinds, which were so much in use during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, being fretted, could admit of no variety of modulation, without new tuning, or false intervals; and it would have been more just to have praised than censured modern instrumental Music, on account of intonation, if for no other excellence, the chief part of which being executed by VIOLINS and VIOLONCELLOS, admits of a perfection in the harmony of every Key, which, till these instruments became in general use, was utterly unknown to the ears of mankind.

(*n*) Miscel. Antiq. vol. ii. p. 8.

(*o*) Franklin's Philos. Essays, p. 478.

man,

man, John Shepherd, and Dr. Tye. The pieces by the three or four last, are entered in a modern hand, with different characters, and paler ink. The chief part of the compositions are transcribed in a large, distinct, and fine hand, and character, but Bars not having been yet introduced, and being all *ad longam*, *alla breve*, or in *tempo di Capella*, the ligatures, prolations, and moods, render these books extremely difficult to read, or transcribe in score *(p)*. However, by dint of meditation and perseverance, I have arranged the parts under each other, of several movements by all these founders of our Church Music, particularly John Taverner, Dr. Fayrfax, and Dr. Tye; having scored an entire Mass by each of them: as they are the most ancient and eminent of these old masters, in whose compositions the style is grave, and harmony, in general, unexceptionable, if tried by such rules as were established during their time; but with respect to invention, air, and accent, the two first are totally deficient.

The compositions, however, of these early English masters, have an appearance of national originality, free from all imitation of the choral productions of the Continent, which have been already described. Few of the arts of Canon, Inversion, Augmentation, or Diminution, were as yet practised by them: short Points of Imitation are sometimes discoverable, but they seem more the effects of chance than design: and to characterise the chief of these composers in the order they have been named; Taverner and Fayrfax have but little design and no melody in their compositions; and it seems as if they should not have been ranked, as they are by Morley *(q)*, with those of a much higher class, at a later period.

I can venture to give a characrer of TAVERNER, from an *actual survey* of his principal works, which have been preserved, and which I have taken the pains to score. This au-

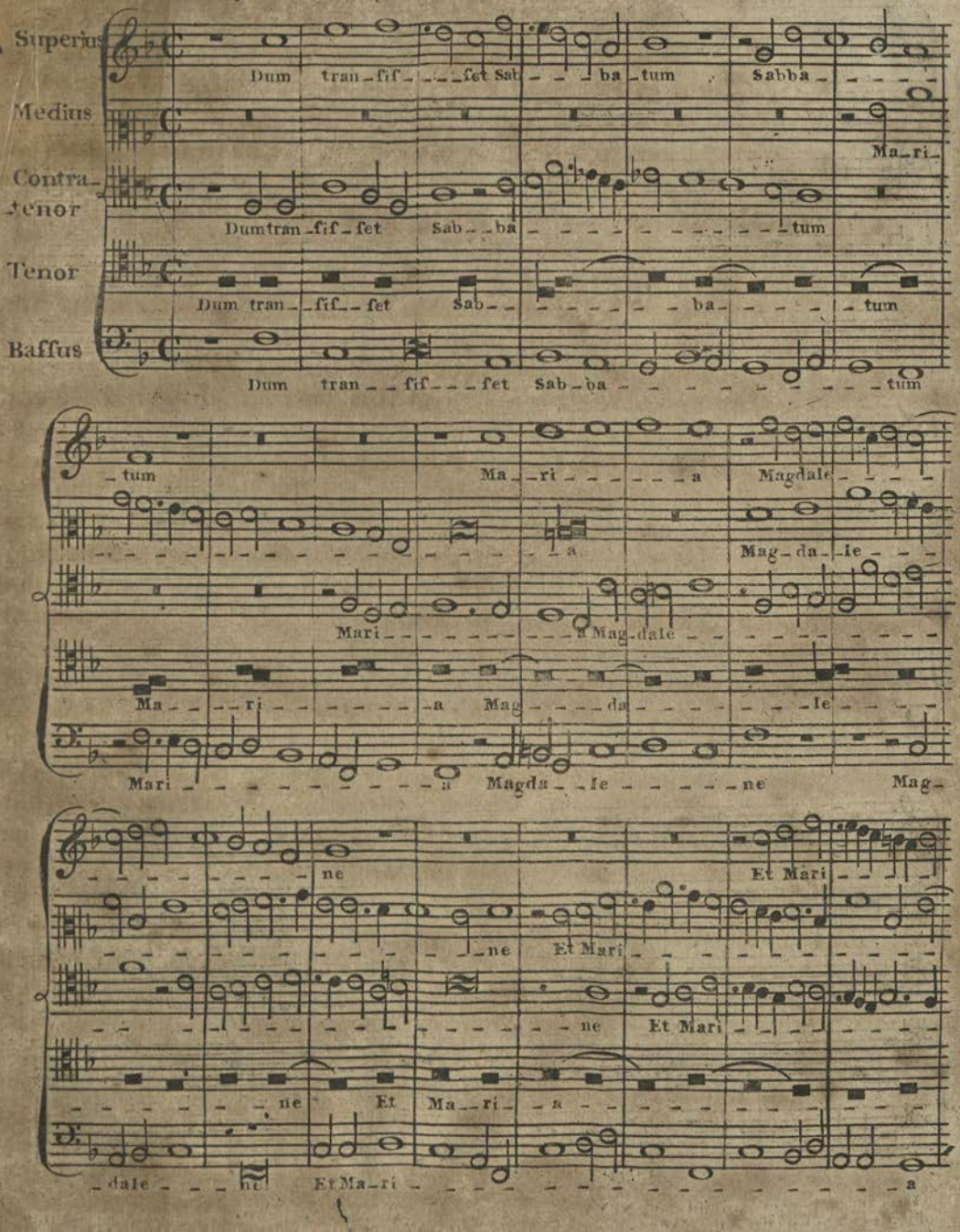
(*p*) Anthony Wood says, they were thought illegible by the Musicians of his time.

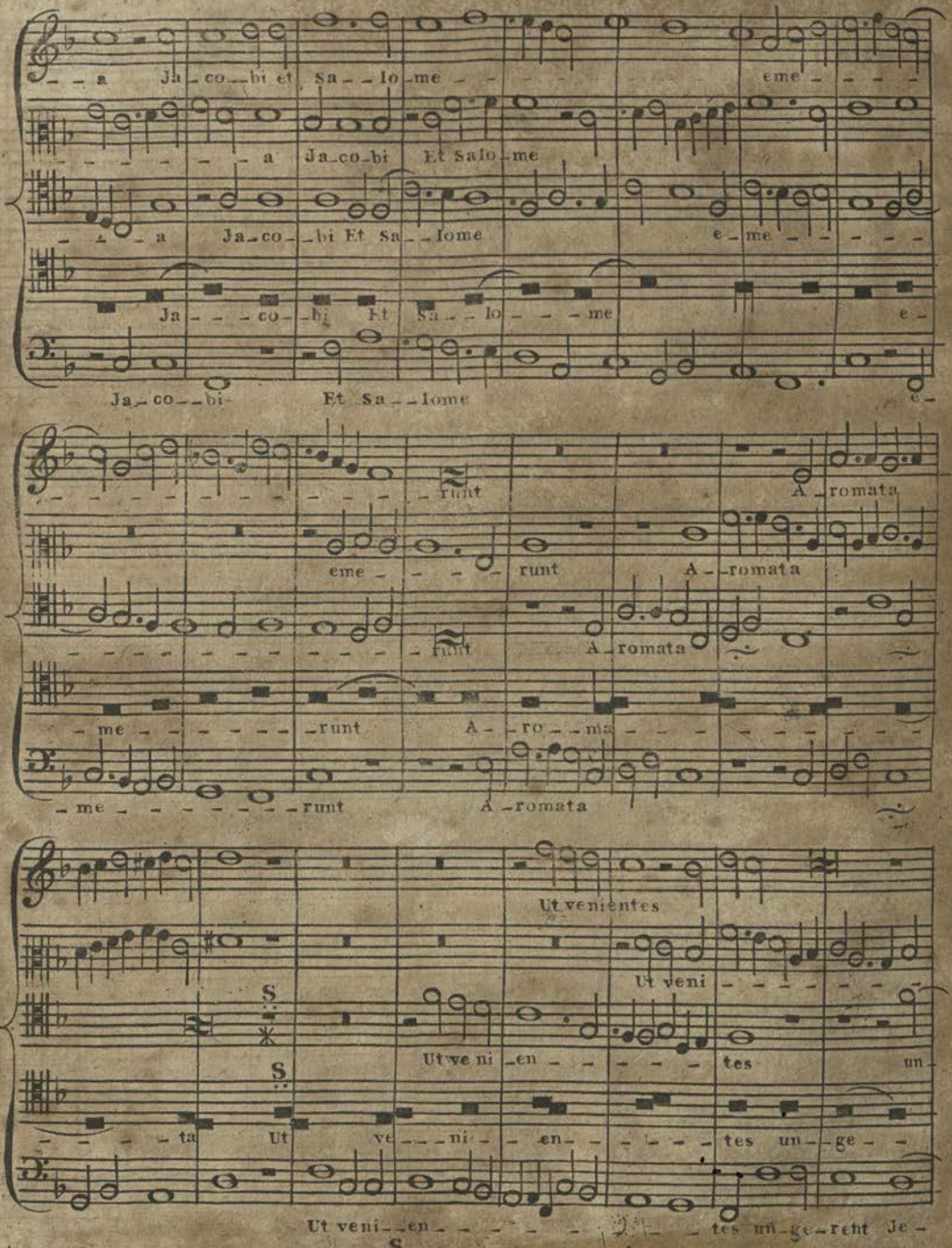
(*q*) P. 150.

thor is in general very fond of slow Notes, so that all his pieces that I have seen, are *ad longam*, or, at quickest, *alla breve*. Long Notes in Vocal Music, unless they are to display a very fine voice, have little meaning, and are wholly destructive of poetry and accent; but our old composers have no scruples of that kind; and being as great enemies to short syllables, as to short Notes, exercised the lungs of a singer as frequently upon one as the other.

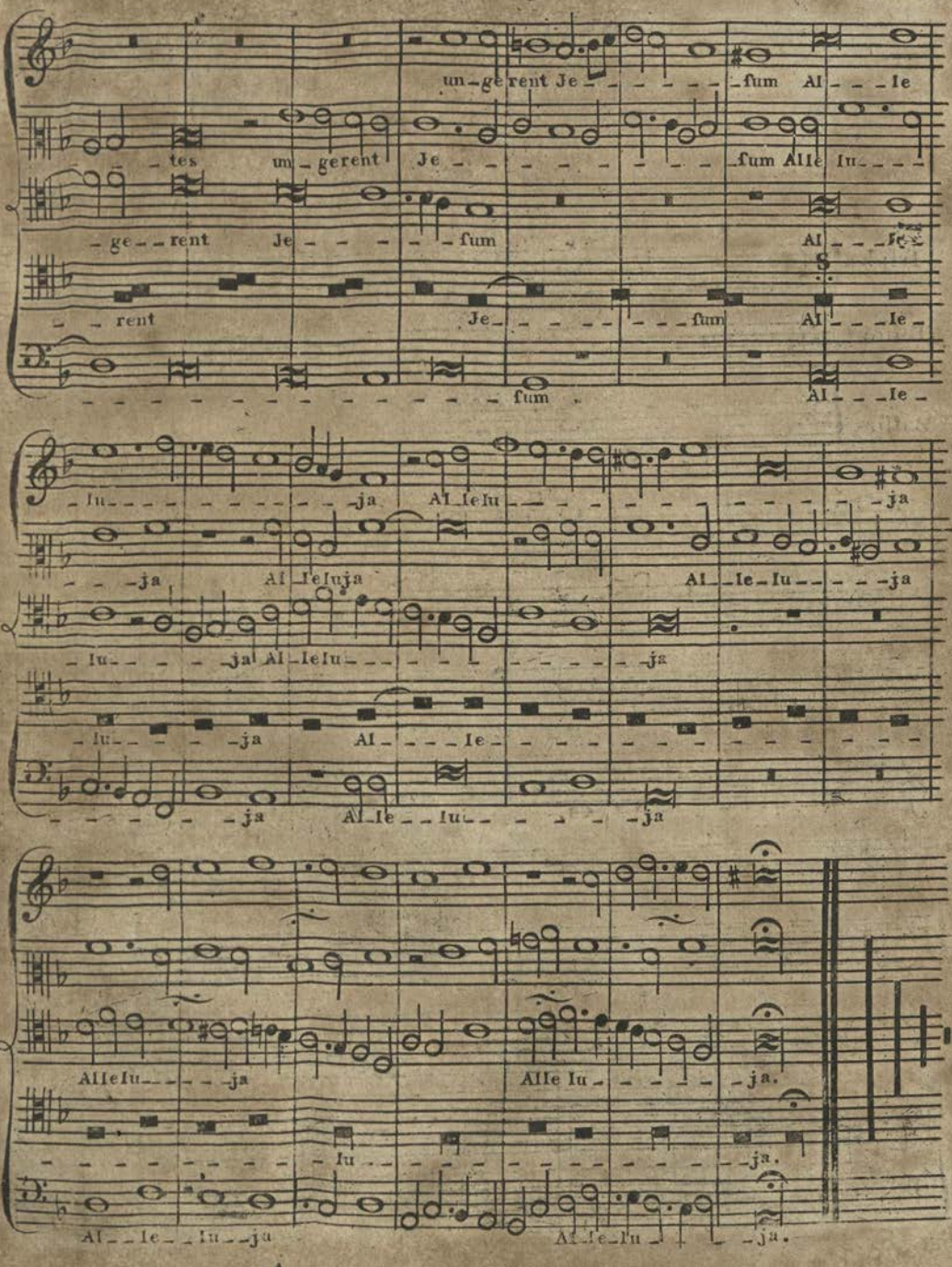
As the first essays at harmony were made in extemporary Discant, upon a *Plain-Song*, so in written counterpoint it was long a favourite and useful exercise, to build the several parts of a movement upon some favourite chant, making it the ground-work of the composition. And this custom answered several purposes: it excited ingenuity in the construction of the parts; it regulated and restrained the modulation within the ecclesiastical limits; and as the plain song had been long used in the church, by the priests and people, it was still easy for the musical members of the congregation, to join the chorus in singing this simple and essential part, while the choristers and choirmen by profession, performed the new and more difficult Melodies, which had been superadded to it by the composer. The first Reformers, or at least their followers, who were perhaps no great musicians, wished to banish every species of Art from the church; and neither retaining small portions of ancient chants, or making melodies in the same plain and simple style for their Hymns and Psalms, threw aside all figurative harmony and florid counterpoint; and sung in Notes of equal duration, and generally in mere unison, those tunes which are still retained by the Calvinists, and in most of the reformed churches in Christendom. At the latter end of the fifteenth, and during the whole of the sixteenth century, as some chant or tune was the foundation upon which the harmony of almost every movement of a Mass or Motet was built, the following composition by our countryman Maister John Taverner, is given, not only as a specimen of his abilities in counterpoint, but of the custom which generally prevailed during his time, of writing upon a *Plain-Song*.

John Taverner. From M.S.S. in Ch: Ch: Oxon.

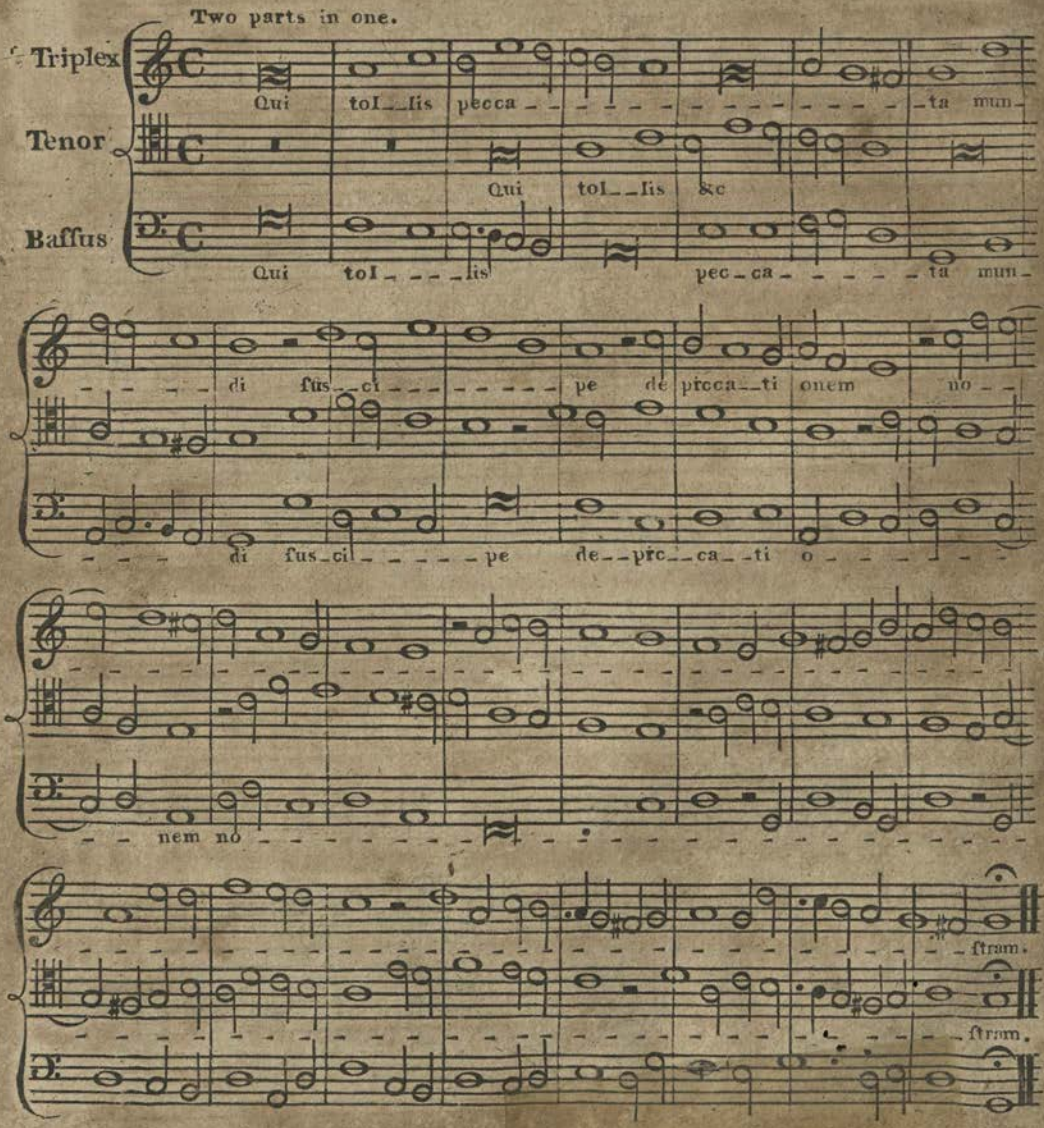




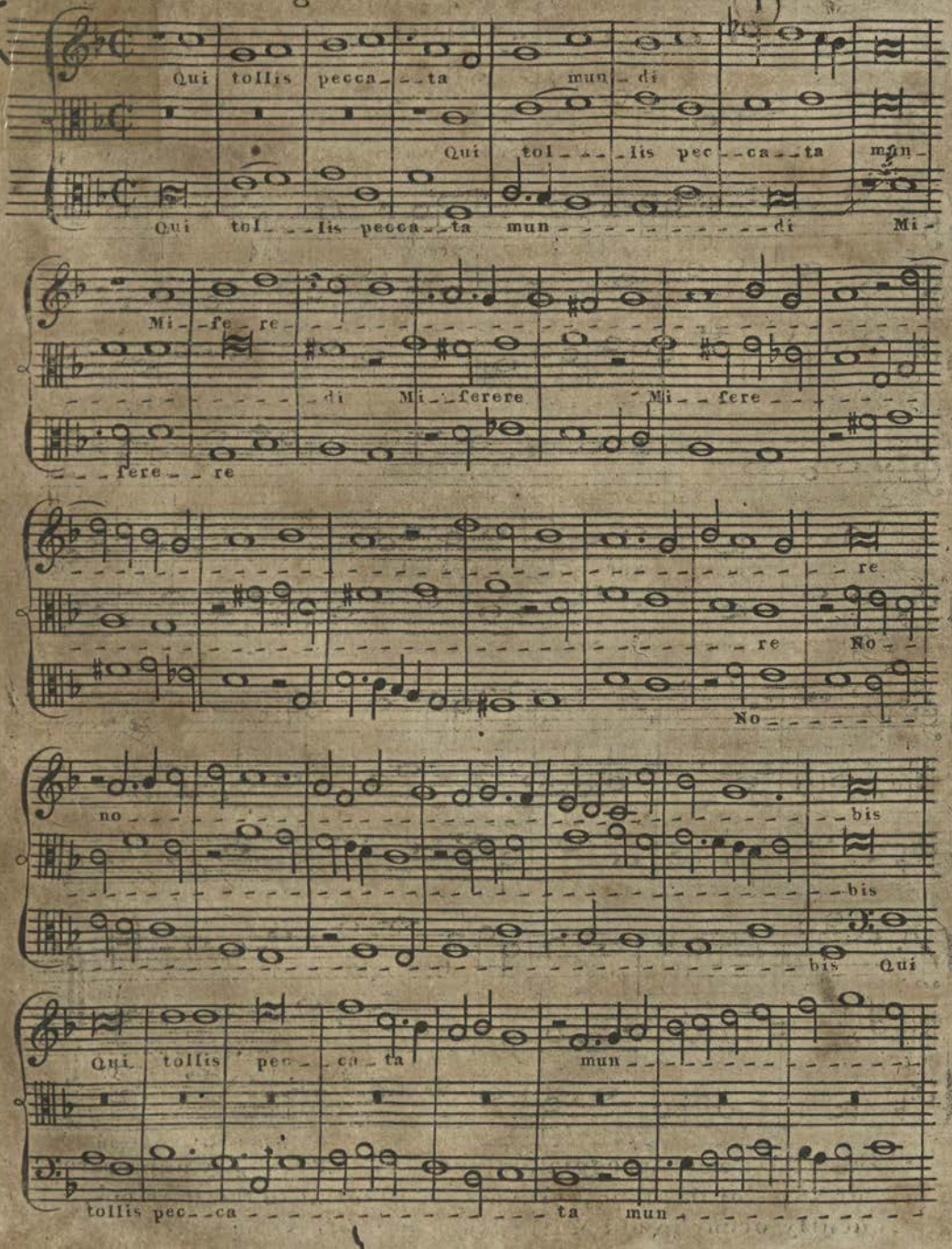
* I fee no other uſe in this SIGNUM, 𝄋 throughout the Movement, than to indicate the beginning of a new Subject in the Words and Muſic, like the MOSTRA, propoſed by the late Mr AVISON, for the ſame purpoſe; and this is all that it implies, in the examples from other old Authors,

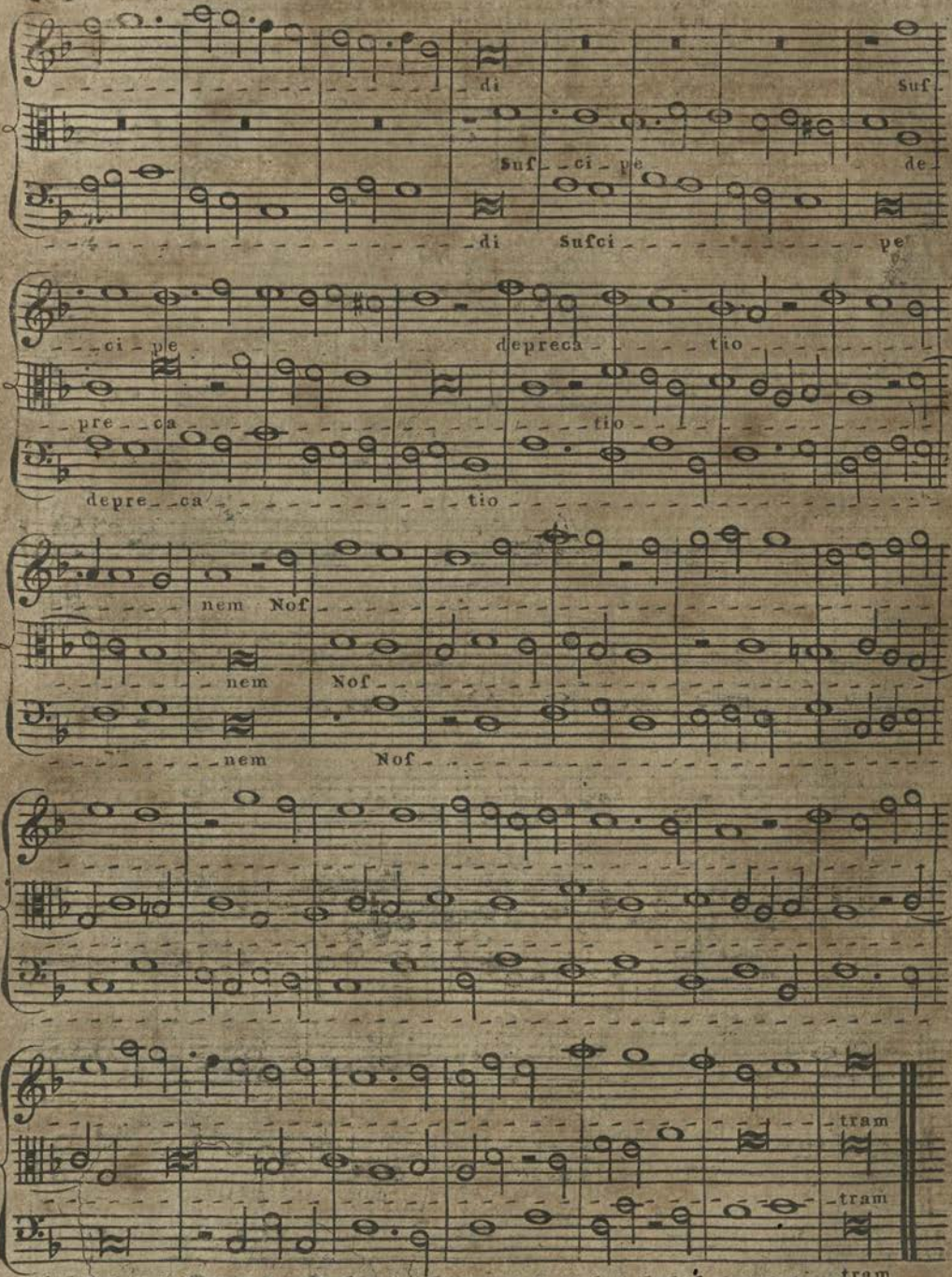

um-ge-rent Je-fum Al-le
-tes um-gerent Je-fum Alle Iu-
-ge-rent Je-fum Al-le-
-rent Je-fum Al-le-
-fum Al-le-
-Iu-ja Al-leIu-ja
-ja Al-leIuja Al-le-Iu-ja
-Iu-ja Al-leIu-ja
-Iu-ja Al-le-Iu-ja
-ja Al-le-Iu-ja
Alleiu-ja Alle Iu-ja.
-Iu-ja.
Al-le-Iu-ja Al-le-Iu-ja.

The only CANONS I found in the Old Maſses preſerved in the Muſic-School at Oxford, which amount to 18, are in a Maſs by Taverner, which he calls O MICHAEL: the following is the beſt of all the Compoſitions which I have ſeen of this Author.



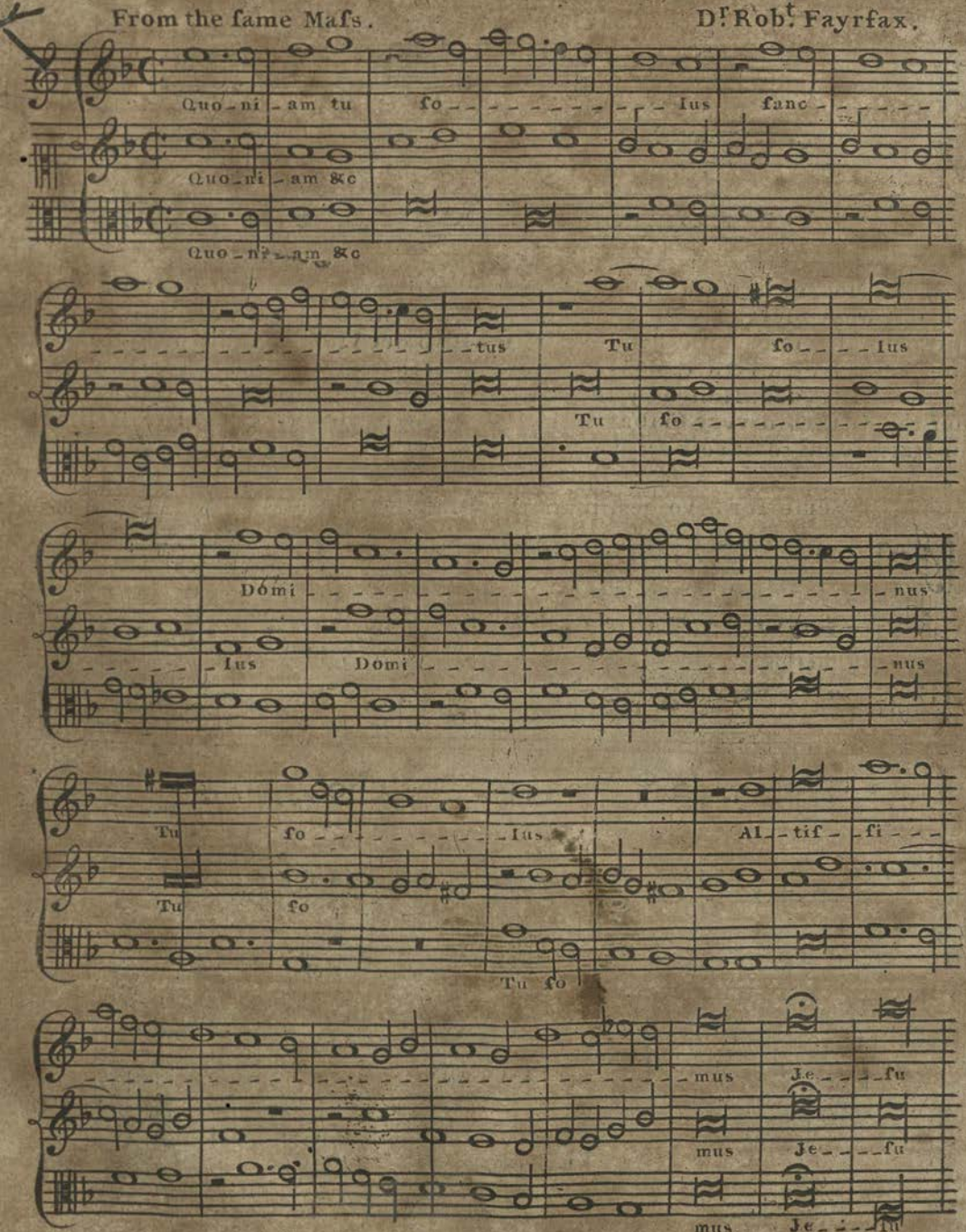
The following Movements by D. Fayrfax, are selected from his Mass, Albanus, in the set of ancient Choral Books belonging to the Music-School at Oxford, as having more clearness and design, than any others that I have found among his Works.

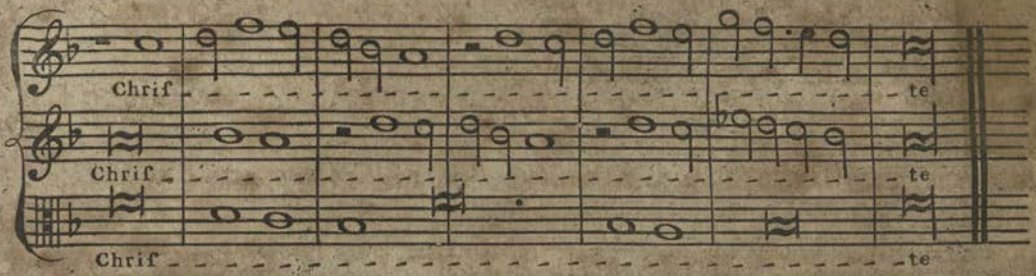




(1) This E♭ is a mere Appoggiatura, and a 4th to B♭, wholly unprepared. But Notes of this kind, written as if essential to the Harmony, frequently occur in old Music. NB. This Note belongs to the preceding Page.

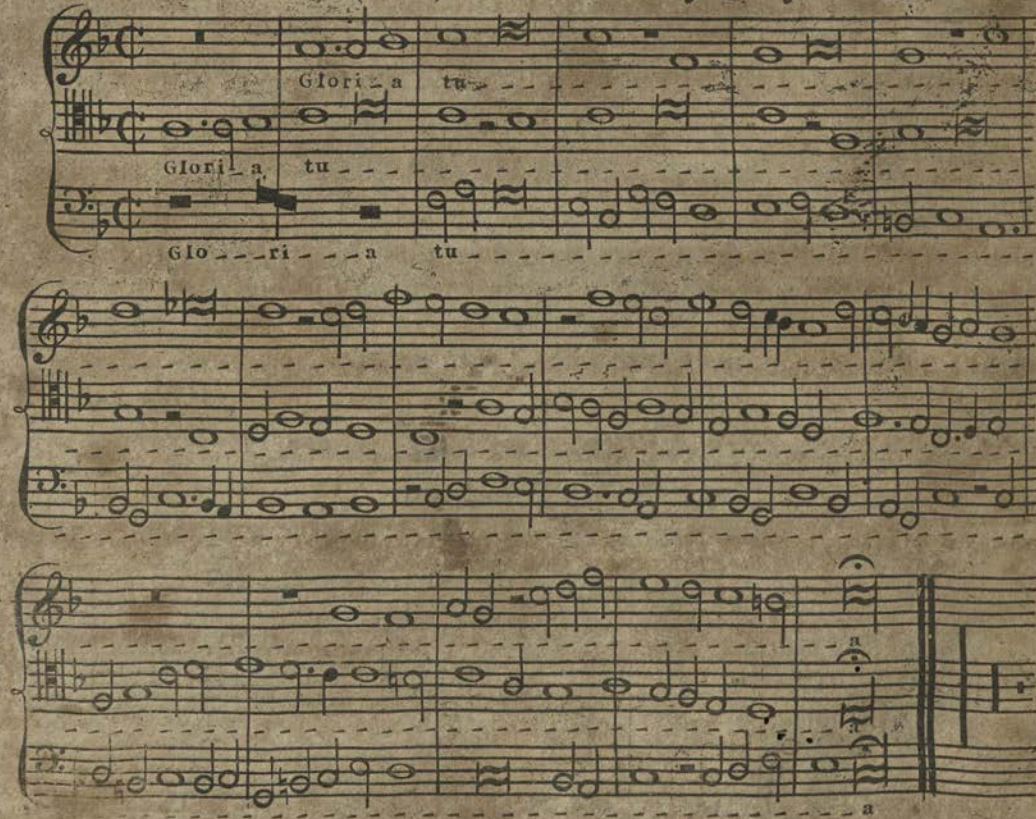
From the fame Mafs. Dr. Robt. Fayrfax.





The Movements in Triple Time, of theſe Old Maſters, in which it was the Cuſtom to ſet the Kyrie of every Maſs, are the moſt unlike Muſic of the preſent times, and the moſt difficult to decipher; on account of the Ligatures, mixture of black Notes, perfection and imperfection of the White, occaſioned by the Modal ſign, and by poſition, which render the Notation very embarraſsing. Dr. Tye, in England, and Paleſtrina, in Italy, ſeem to have been the firſt to quit theſe Meaſures.

Verſe for 3 Voices, in another Maſs by Dr. Fayrfax.



There is nothing characteristic in the compositions of Avery Burton; and in those of Marbec, of this collection, I can discover no superiority, in Counterpoint, to the general cast of composition in Henry the Eighth's reign, which was not only deficient in Measure and Melody, but in design and contrivance. Here Marbec appears as a Roman Catholic Composer, the words he has set to Music being part of the Mass, in Latin; but we shall have occasion to speak of him hereafter, in the character of a Protestant, who distinguished himself, very early, as a friend to the Reformation. William Kasar, Hugh Ashton, Thomas Ashwell, and John Norman, may still rest in that peace and obscurity, which they have long enjoyed; as their garb is too uncouth, as well as antique, to bear the inspection of modern critics.

If we were to judge of JOHN SHEPHARD, by a specimen that has lately been given of his abilities, he would seem the most clumsy Contrapuntist of them all *(r)*, and not only appear to be less dexterous in expressing his ideas, but to have fewer ideas to express; yet, in scoring a Movement by this author, from a set of MS. books, belonging to Christ-Church College, Oxon, he appears to me superior to any Composer of Henry the Eighth's reign: in this production, with which we shall present the reader *(s)*, we have a regular design, and much ingenuity in the texture of the parts; three of which having carried on a Fugue for some time, in the fifth above, and eighth below the subject, are joined by two other parts, which form almost a Canon between the Superius and second Base, to the end of the Movement.

(*r*) In the Counter-tenor part, Bar the sixteenth, there is a curious leap of a sharp seventh, from A, down to Bb, and then another up to C, the ninth above. See *Hist. of the Science and Practice of Music*, vol. ii. p. 524.

(*s*) See among the plates, at the end of this Volume, Composition, No. I.

This

This shews the fallacy and injustice of determining an author's character by a single production; of whom, when more can be found, the best should be chosen. Anthony Wood tells us that Shephard supplicated for the degree of Doctor of Music at Oxford, in 1554, having, before that time, been a Student in Music for the space of twenty years; but leaves it doubtful whether his request was granted.

Of DOCTOR TYE, who survived the reformation, and contributed greatly to the perfection of our Cathedral Music, we shall have occasion to speak hereafter; however, as an example of his style and abilities before that event, we shall give a movement from his Mass *Euge bone*, in the Oxford Music-School Books, which is much more clear, correct, and accented, than any other composition in the collection *(t)*.

I have scored several Movements of such Masses and Services of our old masters, as were composed to Latin words, before the Reformation; but must confess, that the reward I received for my labour was very inconsiderable. Indeed, none of the rules of Harmony are violated, by these venerable Contrapuntists, but there is such a total want of Design, Subject, Melody, and attention to the Accent and Meaning of the Words, that the Notes seem to be thrown upon paper at random; nor could they be more devoid of meaning, if the sounds of such keys as these pieces are written in, had issued from a mill, or been ballotted for in the Laputan manner. But Johnson and Parsons must not be involved in this censure.

ROBERT JOHNSON, an Ecclesiastic, and a learned Musician, was one of the first of our Church Composers, who disposed his parts with intelligence and design. In writing upon a plain Song, moving in slow Notes of equal value, which was so much practised in these times, he discovers considerable art and ingenuity, in the manner of treating subjects of Fugue

(*t*) See No. II. among the Specimens of Composition at the end of the Volume.

and

and Imitation; as will be evident from a composition (*u*), upon the same chant, and to the same words, as that upon which Taverner worked, in the example given above (*x*), but, in this production, Johnson seems greatly his superior.

ROBERT PARSONS, of Exeter, then of the Royal Chapel, and afterwards Organist of Westminster Abbey, was admirable in this kind of writing. The building harmony upon an ancient ecclesiastical chant, was no more than *written Discant*, which is still an exercise for young contrapuntists in the Conservatorios of Naples, and practised in Italy, by all writers for the church. During the sixteenth century, many of our great harmonists displayed wonderful science and abilities in these laborious undertakings, and like some of the proud sovereigns that were led in triumph by the ancient Romans, preserved an appearance, at least, of dignity and independence, even *in chains*. There are some excellent compositions by Parsons in the MSS. of Christ Church College, Oxford, particularly an *Ave Maria*, and an *In Nomine* (*y*); but as we have already exhibited several specimens of church music, which do honour to the harmonical skill of our countrymen, if not to their taste, I shall now present the reader with a Song by this author, in which, though the melody and poetry are somewhat rude, the harmony and modulation will be found rich and curious (*z*).

If the Songs in the Fayrfax MS. be excepted, but little of our secular music of the beginning of the sixteenth century is preserved; however, there must have been great plenty of it, such as it was; for we find that the nobility kept a number of Musicians in their service, under the denomination of *Minstrels*, and that these travelled about to the houses of great personages, as well as to the neighbouring monasteries. The salaries of the Earl of Northumberland's Minstrels, and the fees

(*u*) See No. III. at the end of the volume.

(*x*) P. 557.

(*y*) This was an ancient Chant to that part of the Mass, beginning *Benedictus qui venit in nomine Domini*, upon which the English masters of the sixteenth century had great delight in exercising their science and ingenuity.

(*z*) See No. IV. at the end of the Vol.

given to those of other noblemen who visited his castles, have been registered in the Earl's Household Book; from which I shall extract such passages as immediately concern my subject *(a)*.

In the year 1512, and third of Henry VIII. a memorandum is made *(b)*, that three Mynstralls were retained as part of the Earl of Northumberland's household; viz. a Taberett, a Luyte, and a Rebec. And afterwards *(c)* that "Every "Mynstrall, if he be a Taberett, shall have iiij l; every Luyte "and Rebec xxxiij. iiij d; and to be payd in householde if they "have it not by patent or warraunt."

Sect. XLIII.—"REWARDIS usede customable to be geven "yerely to *Stralgers*, as *Players*, *Mynstraills*, ande others, "as the some of every rewarde, particularly with the consi- "deration why and wherefore it is geven, with the names of "the PARSONS to whom the said rewardes be geven, &c.

"*Furst*, My Lorde usith and accustomyth to gyf to the "King's Jugler if he have wone, when they custome to come "unto hym yerely—viz. viiij d.

"*Item*, My Lorde usith and accustomyth to gyf yerely "the Kynge or the Queene's Barwarde, if they have wone, "when they custom to com unto him yerely—vj s. viij. d.

"*Item*, My Lorde usith and accustomyth to gyf yerely "to every Erlis Mynstrellis, when they custome to come to "hym yerely, iij s. iiij d. Ande if they come to my Lord sel- "dome, ones in ij or iij yeres, than vj s. viij d.

"*Item*, My Lord usith and accustomyth to gyf yerely to "an Erls Mynstrall, if he be his speciall Lorde, Frende, or "Kynsman, if they come yerely to his lordschipe.....

(*a*) These very curious domestic annals were printed and presented to the friends of his Grace the Duke of Northumberland, and the learned editor, in 1770, under the following title: *The Regulations and Establishment of the Household of* Henry Algernon Percy, *the fifth* Earl of Northumberland, *at his Castles of* Wresill *and* Lekinfield, *in Yorkshire, begun* 1512.

(*b*) Sect. v. p. 45.

(*c*) P. 48.

And

"And if they come seldom, ones in ij or iij yeres---vi s. "viij d *(d)*.

"*Item*, My Lorde usith and accustomyth to gyf yerely "a Dookes or Erlis Trumpetts, if they com vj together to his "lordshipp, viz. if they come yerly vi s. viij d. ande if they "come but in ij or iij yeres, than--- x s.

"*Item*, My Lorde useth and accustometh yerely, when his "lordshipp is at home, to gyf to iij of the Kynges Shames, "when they come to my Lorde yerely---x s (*e*.)

"*Item*, My Lorde usith ande accustomyth to gyf yerely, "when his lordschipp is at home, to his Mynstraills that be "daly in his Houshold, as his Tabret, Lute, and Rebec, upon "new-yeres-day in the mornynge, when they doo play at my "Lordis chambre doure, for his Lordschipe and my Lady, "xx s. viz. xiij s. iiij d. for my Lorde, and vi s. viiij d. for my "Lady, if sche be at my Lords fyndynge and not at her "owen. And for playing at my Lordis Sone and heir "Chaumbre doure the Lord Percy, ij s. And for playinge at "the Chaumbre doores of my Lords yonger Sonnes my yonge "Maisters, after viij the pece for every of them---xxiij s. "iiij d *(f)*.

"*Item*, My Lorde usith and accustomyth to gyf yerely "when his lordshipe is at home upon New-yeres-day, to his "lordshipis vj Trompettes, when they doo play at my Lords "Chaumbre Doure, the said New-Yers-Day in the Mornynge "xx s. viz. xiij s. iiij d. for my Lord, vj s. viij d. for my

(*d*) P. 339.

(*e*) I am in possession of other proofs that the Minstrels of the principal Nobility and Gentry visited the houses of their patrons' friends on great Festivals, or, at least, annually, which I transcribed from the household account-book of the L'Estrange family, now in the possession of Nicholas Styleman, Esq. of Snettisham, Norfolk. This register was begun in 1508, the last year of Henry the Seventh, and continued till 1544. It is entirely in the hand-writing of the lady of Sir Thomas L'Estrange, who was a daughter of Lord Vaux.

"To the Duke of Suffolke', *Trompetts*, "and to my Lord Privy Sealles *Min-"strelles*.

"To my Lord of Rutland's *Min-"strelles*.

"To Mr. Hogans *Minstrels*, and my "my lord Fitzwaters *Jogeler*, &c." P. 341.

(*f*) P. 343.

"Lady

" Lady, if sche be at my Lords fyndynge and not at hir owen " —xx s (*g*).

This Earl's Chapel-establishment in 1512, was equal to that of a Cathedral; for we find it recorded in the same family-kalendar, that the " Gentillmen of the Chappell consisted of " x Parsons—As to say—Two at x Marc a pece—Three at iiij l. " apece—Two at v Marc a pece—oone at xl s. and oone at xxs. " viz. ij *Basses*, ij *Tenors*, and vj *Countertenors*—*Childeryn* of " the Chappell vj after xxv s. the pece. (*h*)"

In 1514 the number of Performers on the establishment was augmented: " Item, it is thought by my Lord and his Councell, " that there shall be yerely ij Gentillmen of the Chappel " COUNTERTENORS, more than ordynarie appointed in " the Booke of Orders of Housholde (*i*). Bicause it is now " percyvid there was to fewe Gentillmen before in nomber ap- " poynted in the Booke of Orders to kepe both Mattyns, La- " die Masse, Highe Masse, and Evyn-Songe (*k*), to serve the " Queare, and to kepe the iiij Rector Choryes upon pryncipal " feests, who are ordeynde to be had for that cause."

Though a person is appointed in one part of these regulations (*l*), to play on the *Orgaynes*, yet, in general, this office was not the department of a single individual, but of every Choir-man, " oon after an outher, ande" it is ordered, that " every man that is a player shall keepe his cours weikely (*m*)."

The nobility of these times, in imitation of Royalty, had, among other officers of their houshold, *a Master of the Revels*,

(*g*) P. 344.

(*h*) P. 47.

(*i*) Where so many *natural counterte-nor* Voices, which are so difficult to find at present, were procured at this remote period, is not easy to discover. Sometimes, however, there was a different arrangement in the Earl's Chapel; as we find it composed, p. 324, of 3 Basses, 4 Tenors, and 4 Countertenors, with 6 Boys; at this time, one of the Countertenors was *Maister* of the *Childer*.

(*k*) The *Evyn-Song* was now sung at 3 o'clock, as we find by an order for the domestics to meet " at ten of the clok to " awaite at dynner till oon, that dynner " be doon; and to remain in the Great " Chaumbre daily at aftirnoon from oon " unto *three of the Clok*, that they ryng to " *Evyn-Song*."

(*l*) P. 44.

(*m*) P. 369.

" for

" for the overseyinge and orderinge of *Playes* and *Interludes* " and dressing that is plaid in the xii Dayes of Crestenmas *(n)*." Of these, the Gentleman and Children of the Chapel seem to have been the principal performers; for which, and for acting upon other great festivals, they are assigned particular rewards: " Item, my Lorde vseth to gyf yerely when his Lordeship is at " home, in reward to them of his Lordschip Chappel, that " doith play upon Shroftewsday at night, xs." And when they performed in the Dramatic Mysteries, such as "the play of the " Nativity at Crestenmas *(o)*, or of the Resurrection upon Es- " turday *(p)*," they were allowed xxs. The boys had also an extraordinary compensation " of vj. viijd. for occasionally " singing in the responde callede *Exaudivi* at the Matyns- " tyme for xj thousand Vergyns uppon Alhallowday—and *Gloria in excelsis* uppon Cristenmas-Day in the Mornynge." This magnificient nobleman dying 1527, his son, the sixth Earl, whose passion for Ann Bullen is supposed to have occasioned his disgrace at court, seems to have been treated with great insolence and indignity by Cardinal Wolsey, who, by an extraordinary stretch of power, to which the Earl thought it prudent to submit, demanded his Choral Books, for the use of his own Chapel. Letters concerning this requisition are still preserved in the family, in which the Earl says, " I do per- " ceayff my Lorde Cardinalls pleasour ys to have such Boks as " was in the Chapell of my lat Lord and ffayther (wos soll " Jhu pardon). To the accomplychment of which, at your " desyer, I am confformable, notwithstandinge I trust to be " able ons to set up a Chapelle off myne owne.—I shall with " all sped send up the Boks unto my Lords Grace, as to say " iiij *Antiffonars* (Antiphoners), such as I think wher not seen " a gret wyll—v *Gralls* (Graduals)—an *Ordeorly* (Ordinal)—a " *Manuall*—viij *Prossessioners* (Processionals)."

(*n*) P. 343.
(*o*) P. 343.
(*p*) P. 345.

Indeed the magnificence of Cardinal Wolsey's own Chapel-establishment, as described by Cavendish, his cotemporary and domestic, seems to have surpassed that of the Roman Pontiff himself:

"First, he had there a Deane, a great Divine, and a man "of excellent learning; a Sub-dean, a Repeatour of the Quire, "a Gospeller and Epistollor; of singing Priests, ten, a Master "of the Children. The seculars of the Chapell, being sing-"ing-men, twelve; Singing-children, ten, with one servant to "waite upon them. In the Vestry, a Yeoman and two "Grooms; over and besides other retainers that came thither "at principal feasts. And for the furniture of his Chapell, it "passeth my weak capacity to declare the number of the "costly ornaments and rich jewels that were occupied in the "same. For I have seen in procession about the hall 44 rich "Copes, besides the rich Candlesticks, and other necessary "ornaments to the furniture of the same *(q)*."

Our vindictive and voluptuous monarch, Henry the Eighth, had studied Music very seriously in his youth, according to Lord Herbert of Cherbury: who tells us, in his life, that "his "education was accurate, being destined to the Archbishoprick "of Canterbury, during the life of his elder brother, Prince "Arthur.---By these means, not only the more necessary "parts of learning were infused into him, but even those of "ornament, so that besides being an able Latinist, Philoso-"pher, and Divine, he was (which one might wonder at in a "King) a curious Musician; as two entire Masses composed "by him, and often sung in his Chapel, did abundantly "witness *(r)*."

(*q*) The Life of Wolsey, by his Gentleman-Usher Cavendish, seems first to have been published by the author, soon after the Cardinal's decease; it was next printed in 1667; and lastly, in 1706. See Strype's *Eccles. Memorials*, vol. i. p. 128. Stow has given an account of the Cardinal's Chapel, *verbatim*, from Cavendish. *Survey of London*, edit. 1618, p. 137.

(*r*) Burnet, though he denies, in his History of the Reformation, part i. p. 11. that Henry was ever intended for the Church, yet allows that he was better educated than any other prince had been for many ages; and that he was "a good "Musician, as appears by two whole "Masses which he composed;" but adds, that "he never wrote well, but scrawled, "so that his hand was scarce legible."

Hollingshead

Hollingshead likewise (*s*) informs us, in describing the manner in which Henry employed his time, during his progress from one palace to another, that "He exercised himself daylie "in shooting, singing, dancing, wrestling, casting of the "barre, plaieing at the recorders, flute, virginals, in setting of "Songes, and making of Ballades."

The attention that was paid to Choral Music during the reign of this Prince, before his breach with the Roman Pontiff, may be collected from a set of regulations given to the royal household about the year 1526, by Cardinal Wolsey; in which it is said, that "when the King is on journies or progresses, only six "singing boys, and six Gentlemen of the Choir, shall make a "part of the royal retinue; who daylie in absence of *the residue* "of the Chapel, shall have a Masse of our Ladie before noon, "and on Sondaies and holidaies, Masse of the daie, besides "our Lady-Masse, and an Anthempne in the afternoon: for "which purpose, no *great carriage* of either vestiments or "bookes shall require (*t*)."

It is generally allowed that Henry could not only perform the Music of others, but was sufficiently skilled in Counterpoint to compose the pieces that go under his name (*u*). To be able to sing a part in the full pieces of the time, was thought a necessary accomplishment in this age, not only for a private gentleman (*x*), but a prince. Sandoval, in his Life of the Emperor Charles the Fifth (*y*), tells us, that "he was a great friend to

(*s*) Chron. iii. 806.

(*t*) "ORDINAUNCES made for the "Kinges Houshold and Chaumbers." Bibl. Bodl. MSS. Laud. K. 48. fol. For this information I am obliged to Mr. Warton's *History of Poetry*, vol. iii. p. 153.

(*u*) See an Anthem in Boyce's collection. He was likewise author of a Motet, of which Dr. Hayes of Oxford, is in possession of a genuine copy, in which the first Movement is in a measure wholly different from a Score of the same composition that has been lately printed.

(*x*) See *Nugæ Antiquæ*, vol. i. p. 22. 133. First Edit. published by Dr. Harrington, of Bath; himself an excellent judge of Music, and Composer of several Catches that are justly admired for their humour and contrivance.

(*y*) *Historia de la vida del Emperador* Carlos Quinto *por el maestro don Fray* Prudencio *de* Sandoval, *su Coronista, Obispo de* Pamplona. *Fol.* 1614.

"the

" the science of Music, and after his abdication, would have " the Church-officers only accompanied by the Organ, and " sung by fourteen or fifteen Fryers, who were good Musi- " cians, and had been selected from the most expert Per- " formers of the order. He was himself so skilful, that " he knew if any other singer intruded, and if any one made " a mistake, he would cry out, such a one is wrong, and " immediately mark the man. He was earnest too, that no " seculars should come in; and one evening, when a Con- " tralto, from Placentia, stood near the desk with the Singers, " and sung one verse with them eminently well, before he " could sing another, some of the barbarians ran, and told the " Prior to turn him out of the Choir, or, at least, bid him hold " his tongue."

" The Emperor understood Music, felt, and tasted its " charms: the Fryers often discovered him behind the door, " as he sate in his own apartment, near the high altar, beating time, and singing in part with the performers; and if any " one was out, they could overhear him call the offender names, " as *Redheaded Blockhead*, &c. A Composer from Seville, of " my own acquaintance, continues his Biographer, whose " name was Guerrero (*z*), presented him with a book of Mo- " tets and Masses; and when one of these Compositions had " been sung as a specimen, the Emperor called his confessor, " and said, see what a thief, what a plagiarist, is this son of a—! " why here, says he, this passage is taken from one Composer, " and this from another, naming them as he went on. All this " while the Singers stood astonished, as none of them had " discovered these thefts, till they were pointed out by the " Emperor (*a*)."

Brantome

(*z*) Not *Guerino*, as he is called by Bonet. *Hist. de la Musique.*

(*a*) This passage is so curious, that I shall here give it in the original.

" *Era muy amigo de la Musica, y que le* " *dixessen los oficios en Canto de Organo con-* " *tal, que no cantessen sino Frayles, que si* " *bien eran catorze o quinze los Musicos,* " *porque se avian llevado alli los mejores de* " *la orden, conocia, si entre ellos cantava* " *otro, y si erravan dezia: fulano erro; y* " *en tanto los conocia, y queria, que no can-*

tasse

Brantome (*b*) tells us, that "both Charles the Ninth, and "his brother Henry the Third, in imitation of their father, "used frequently to quit their places at Mass, in order to join "the choirmen in performing the service at their desks; and "were able to sing either the Treble or Countertenor very cor- "rectly. Charles was very fond of these singers, particularly "of M. de Laurens, who had a very fine voice. His succes- "sor also sung very well, but was pleased with a different kind "of music." The French historians speak of the attachment to church music, of several of their sovereigns, from the time of Pepin and Charlemagne, to the monarchs just mentioned, many of whom used to put on a surplice, in order to sing with the canons, and chanters, by profession.

The favourites of unfortunate princes, in turbulent and convulsive times, are generally involved in the calamities of their patrons, particularly, if, from a principle of affection or gratitude, they manifest a zeal for their service: but it is somewhat remarkable, that in the short space of twenty-nine years, the favourite musicians of three queens upon the same island, should fall sacrifices to suspicion and vengeance.

Mark Smeaton, a musician, in the service of Anna Bullen, and groom of her chamber, was executed May 12th, 1536, (*c*). Thomas Abel, who taught music and grammar to queen Catharine,

"*tassen siglares entre ellos que unas vis-*
"*peras vino un contra alto de Placencia*
"*muy bueno yllegose al facistol con los Can-*
"*tores, y Canto con ellos un verso muy bien:*
"*pero no torno, a cantar el segundo porluego*
"*vino uno de los barbaros corriendo, y dixo*
"*al Prior, que echasse aquel Canto fuera del*
"*Coro, y affi si le vuo de dezir que calasse.*
"*Y entendia la Musica, y sentia, y gustava*
"*della, que muchas vezes les escuchavan*
"*Frayles detras de la puerta, que salia de su*
"*aposinto al altar mayor, y le veyan llevar*
"*el compas, y cantar a consonancia con los*
"*que cantavan en Coro, y si alguno si errava*
"*dezia consigo mismo. O hideputa bermejo,*
"*que a quel erro, o otro nombre semejante.*
"*Presentole un Maestro de Capilla de Se-*
"villa, *que yo conoci, que se dezia* Guerrero,
"*un libro de Motetes que el avia Compuesto,*
"*y de Missas, y mando que cantassen una*
"*Missa por el, y acabada la Missa embio*
"*a llamar al Confessor, y dixole: O hideputa*
"*que sotil ladron es esse* Guerrero, *que tal*
"*passo de fulano, y tal de fulano hurto: de*
"*que quedaron todos los Cantores admirados,*
"*que ellos no lo avian entendido hasta que*
"*despues lo vieron.*" Segunda parte, *p.* 828. § vii.

(*b*) *Tom.* ix. p. 459.

(*c*) "Smeaton was prevailed on by the "vain

tharine, wife to Henry the Eighth, having written a treatise, *De non dissolvendo* Henrici & Cathirinæ *Matrimonio*, was hanged and quartered, July 30th, 1540. And David Rizzio, secretary to Mary Queen of Scots, was murdered in her presence, March, 9th, 1565 *(d)*.

With respect to this last, it need only be remarked, that this assassination was no proof of guilt; for so ferocious, savage, and vindictive were the times, and so frequent the plots, conspiracies, and murders, that if the death of each individual who was treacherously slain, had been entered in the kalendar of Scotland, it would have been as crowded as the rubric of the Romish church *(e)*. If, however, we compare the frail and suspicious character of these domestic ΑΟΙΔΟΙ, with that of the philosophical and conscience-keeping Bards of the Trojan times, who were a sort of domestic chaplains, or musical *Dragons*, perhaps peculiarly qualified for their employment, we shall find a great degeneracy in their manners and morals. It has already been related in the First Volume *(f)*, that when Ægisthus wanted to corrupt Clytemnestra, he was obliged to put to death the Bard, that Agamemnon had left as her *Duéno*, by leaving him in a desert island *(g)*.

" vain hope of life, to confess a criminal " correspodence with the queen; but even " her enemies expected little advantage " from this confession: for they never dared " to confront him with her." Hume's *Hist. of Engl.* Hen. VIII. chap. v. " The " Queen said, he was never in her chamber, " but when the King was last at Winchester; " and then he came in to play on the *Vir-* " *ginals*. She said, that she never spoke " to him after that, but on Saturday before " May-Day, when she saw him standing in " the window, and then she asked him, " why he was so sad? he said, it was no " matter: she answered, you may not look " to have me speak to you, as if you were " a nobleman, since you are an inferior " person. No, no, Madam, said he, a look " sufficeth me." Burnet's *Hist. of the Reform.* vol. i. book iii. p. 199.

(d) Hume, who seems to treat this transaction with more reason, philosophy, and candour, than any other historian among his countrymen, says, " The favourite was " of a disagreeable figure, but was not past " his youth; and though the opinion of his " criminal correspondence with queen Mary " might seem of itself *unreasonable*, if not " *absurd*, a suspicious husband could find " no other means of accounting for that " lavish and imprudent kindness, with which " she honoured him." *Hist. of Engl.* Eliz. chap. ii. 1st. edit. p, 466.

(e) The controverted point of Rizzio having been the author of the Scots Tunes which go under his name, will be discussed hereafter, when *National Music* comes to be considered.

(f) P. 354.

(g) *Odyss.* Γ. 265, *& seq.*

At

At the time that Henry had determined to emancipate himself and the nation from Papal restraints and usurpations, passion, perhaps, operated more than reason; and a regular and general plan of Reformation, so far from being digested, seems never to have been in meditation, during his life time; at least, with respect to ecclesiastical Music, no other change was made than that of applying it to English words.

The alterations, according to Burnet, which the Bishops, who were appointed to examine the Rites and Ceremonies of the Church, made in the Mass, "were inconsiderable, and "so slight, that there was no need of reprinting, either the "Missals, Breviaries, or other offices; for a few rasures of the "Collects in which the Pope was prayed for, of Thomas à "Becket's office, and the offices of other Saints, whose days "were, by the King's injunctions, no more to be observed, "with some other deletions made, that the old books did still "serve *(h)*."

Collier *(i)*, tells us, that Archbishop Cranmer himself first adjusted the translation of the Litany to a Chant. In a letter, written by this Prelate to Henry the Eighth, 1545, which is, preserved in the Paper-office, he tells his Majesty, that according to his Highness's commandment, he had translated into the English tongue, certain processions to be used upon festival days. "The judgment whereof I refer wholly to your Majesty, and "after your Highness has corrected it, if your Grace com-"mands some devout and solemn note to be made thereunto (as "is to the procession which your Majesty has already set forth "in English) (*k*), I trust it will much excitate and stir the hearts, "of all men to devotion and goodness. But in my opinion, "the Song that shall be made thereunto, would not be full of "Notes, but as near as may be, for every syllable a note, so "that it may be sung distinctly and devoutly, as be in the *Mat-*

"*tins*,

(*h*) *Hist. Reform.* vol i. p. 294.

(*i*) *Eccles. Hist.* vol. ii. p. 206.

(*k*) This parenthesis alludes to the Prayers, Processions, and Litanies, which the King had translated into the English tongue, the preceding year, and sent to the Arch-

" *tins*, and *Even-Song*, *Venite*. The Hymns *Te Deum*, *Bene-*
" *dictus*, *Magnificat*, *Nunc Dimittis*, and all the *Psalms* and
" *Versicles*: and in the Mass, *Gloria in Eccelsis*, *Gloria Patri*,
" the *Credo*, the *Perfice*, the *Pater Noster*, and some of the
" *Sanctus* and *Agnus*. As concerning the *Salve festa dies*, the
" *Latin* note, as I think, is sober and distinct enough. Where-
" fore I have travel'd to make the verses in *English*, and have
" put the *Latin* note unto the same. Nevertheless, those that
" be cunning in Singing, can make a much more solemn Note
" thereto, I made them only for a proof, to see how English
" would do in a Song."

But the whole English Cathedral service, including the Preces, Prayers, and Responses, were set to musical Notes and first published in 1550, by JOHN MARBECK, Organist of Windsor. The premature reforming zeal of this Musician, nearly made a martyr of him, in the time of Henry the Eighth. He had indeed, the honour of being condemned to the stake, with three other persons, who were burnt for Heresy, but was pardoned by the intercession of Sir Humphry Foster (*l*).

His notation of the English Cathedral service was published under the following title.

The Booke of Common-Praier, Noted. 1550.

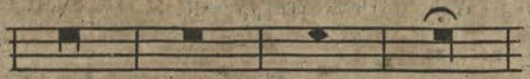
Imprinted by Richard Grafton, Printer to the Kinges Majestie, *cum privilegio ad imprimendum solum.*

As this book is become very scarce, I shall present the reader with a considerable extract from it.

Archbishop of Canterbury, for the use of his province; with an order for their being said and *sung* in all Churches, which is preserved in Burnet. *Hist. Reform.* vol. i. p. 331. and *Collect.* Book. iii. Ns. xxviii.

(*l*) Fox, in his *Acts and Monuments*, and Burnet, *Hist. of the Reform.* give a circumstantial detail of the troubles in which Marbeck was involved, on account of religion.

"In this Booke is conteyned ſo muche of the Order of Common Pray-er as is to be ſong in Churches: wherein are uſed only theſe IIII. ſortes of Notes.

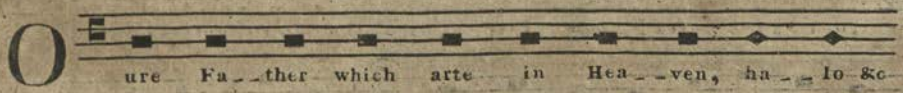


The firſt Note is a ſtrene Note. (a) and is a Breve. The ſecond is a ſquare Note, and is a Semy-Breve. The III a Pycke and is a Mynymme. & where there is a Prycke by the ſquare Note, that Prycke is half as muche as the Note that goeth before it. The IIII is a Cloſe, and is only uſed at the end of a Verſe."

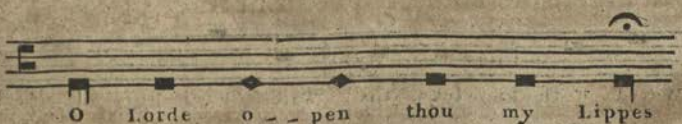
(a) Strained, or Stretched out: perhaps from its being the longeſt Note, uſed in Chanting. Junius makes Strene and Strain ſynonimous.

Mattins.

The Quere with the Prieſt.

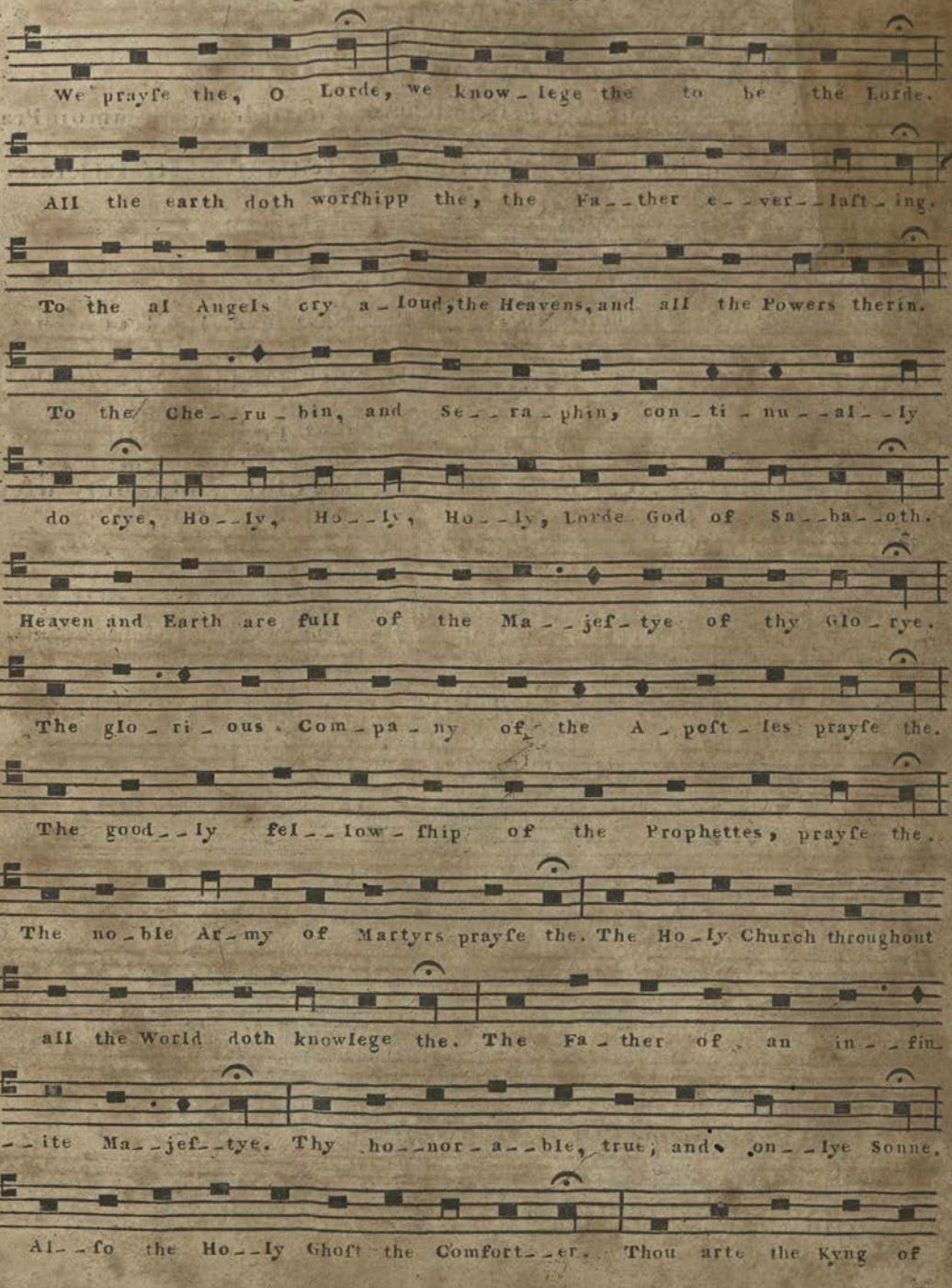


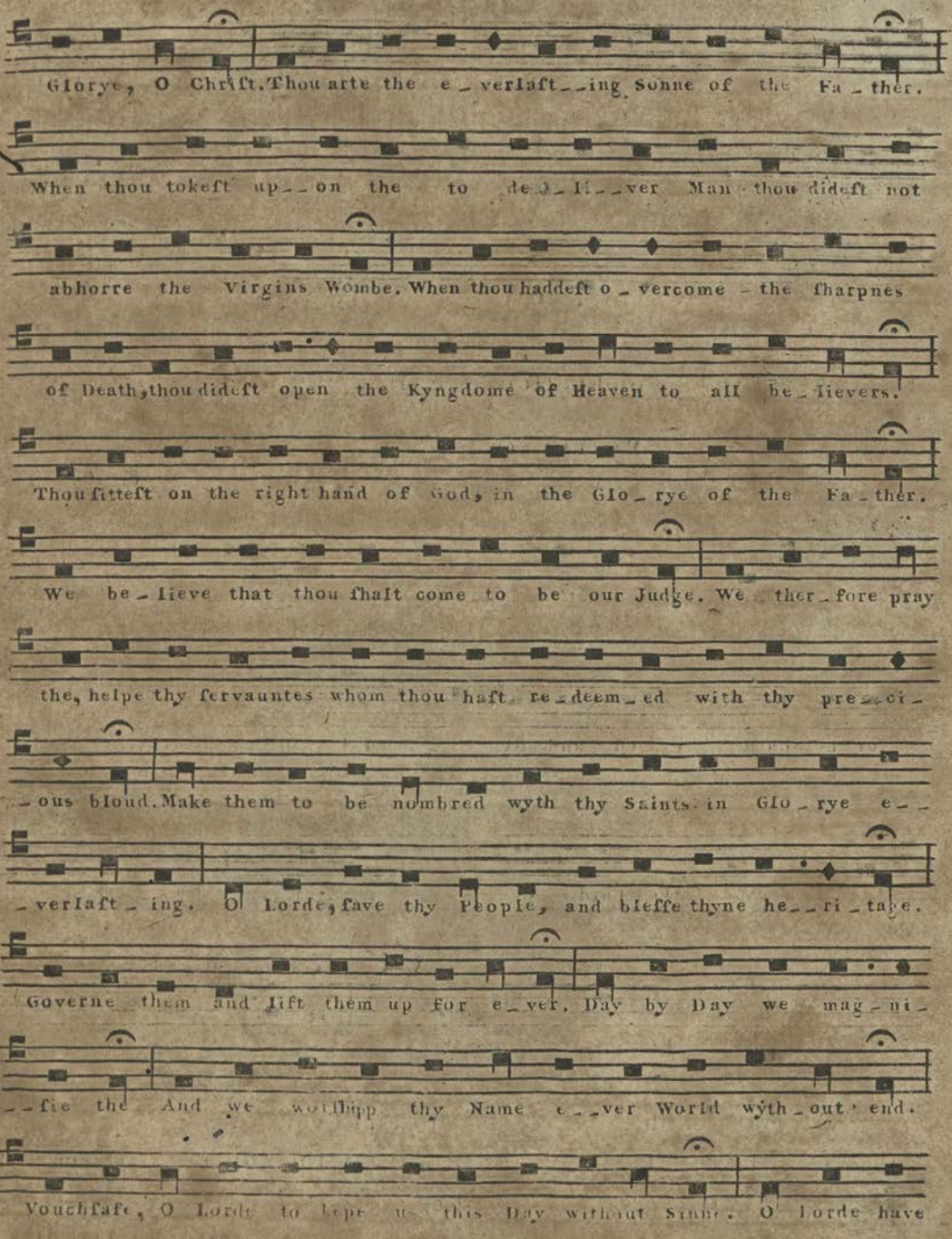
Prieſt.

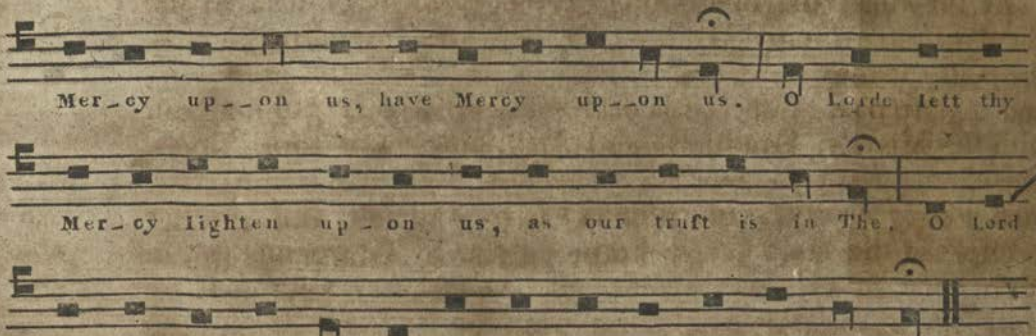


Anſ.

Te Deum Laudamus.

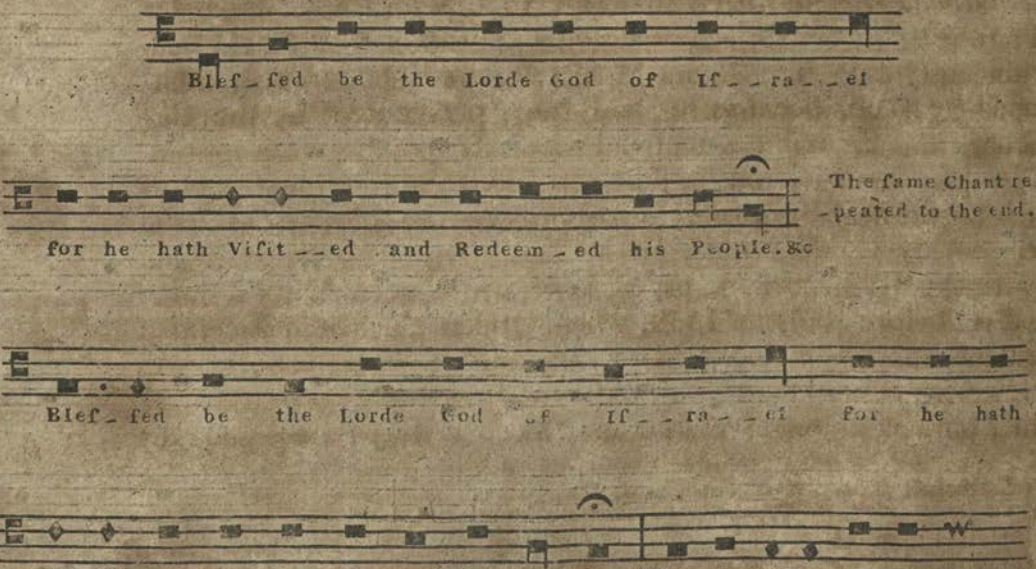



Glorye, O Chriſt. Thou arte the e_verlaſt_ing Sonne of the Fa_ther.
When thou tokeſt up_on the to de_li_ver Man thou dideſt not
abhorre the Virgins Wombe. When thou haddeſt o_vercome the ſharpnes
of Death, thou dideſt open the Kyngdome of Heaven to all be_lievers.
Thou ſitteſt on the right hand of God, in the Glo_rye of the Fa_ther.
We be_lieve that thou ſhalt come to be our Judge. We ther_fore pray
the, helpe thy ſervauntes whom thou haſt re_deem_ed with thy pre_ci_
_ous bloud. Make them to be nombred wyth thy Saints in Glo_rye e_
_verlaſt_ing. O Lorde, ſave thy People, and bleſſe thyne he_ri_tage.
Governe them and lift them up for e_ver. Day by Day we mag_ni_
_fie the And we worſhipp thy Name e_ver World wyth_out end.
Vouchſafe, O Lorde to kepe us this Day without Sinne. O Lorde have



After the Second Leſſon one of theſe that follow.

BENEDICTUS DOMINUS.



In this manner the whole Morning and Evening Service, as it is now Chanted, is ſet; except the Litany. At the end is the Name of

JOHN MERBECKE.

At this time, the Plain-Song of the Romish church in the chants of the principal Hymns and Responses, remained nearly the same, as may be seen in comparing the *Te Deum laudamus*, and other parts of the cathedral service, in this publication, with the Missals, Graduals, and Antiphonaria of those times. The chant to the *Te Deum*, as published by Meibomius (*m*), from a copy nearly as ancient as the hymn itself, and another example of the same Canto Fermo, given by Glareanus (*n*), in 1547, correspond exactly with that which was retained by Marbeck, at the time of the Reformation: as the *Mode*, the *Dominant*, and *Medius*, are all the same; nor is the least deviation discoverable, except where the different number of syllables in the translation required it, and which affect the melody no more, than those slight changes which happen in the *manner* or *use* of any two choirs in singing the same chants, or even in adjusting different stanzas of any song to the same tune (*o*).

Marbeck was admitted in 1549, to the degree of Bachelor in Music, at Oxford, according to Anthony Wood (*p*), who erroneously calls him *James* Marbeck: he is honourably mentioned by Bale, because he had been persecuted by the Catholics, and his name is omitted by Pitts, for the same reason.

It seems as if we may safely conclude, that the chief part of such portions of Scripture, or hymns of the church as have been set by English musicians to Latin words, were produced *before* the Reformation, or, at least, in Queen Mary's time; that is, before the year 1558, when Queen Elizabeth ascended the throne, by which time a school of counterpoint was formed in this country, that was equal, at least, to that of any other part of Europe. A reason, however, may be assigned for

(*m*) *Antiquæ Mus. Auct. Sept. Amst.* 1652. *Vide Præf. Lectori benevolo.*

(*n*) *Dodecad.* p. 110.

(*o*) *A review of the Cathedral service*, was published by Edward Lowe, in a similar manner, at Oxford, 1664; and, as more than a hundred years have elapsed since any book of this kind has appeared, it seems as if another were now wanting.

(*p*) *Fasti Oxon.*

the choral music of every Christian country, aproaching perfection by nearly equal strides.

Before the Reformation, as there was but *one* religion, there was but *one* kind of music in Europe, which was Plain Chant, and the discant built upon that foundation; and as this music was likewise *only* applied to *one* language, the Latin, it accounts for the Compositions of Italy, France, Spain, Germandy, Flanders, and England, keeping pace with each other, in style and excellence. All the arts seem to have been the companions, if not the produce, of successful commerce; and they will, in general, be found to have pursued the same course, which an admirable modern Historian has so well delineated (*q*): that is, *like Commerce*, they will be found, upon enquiry, to have appeared first in Italy; then in the Hanseatic towns; next in the Netherlands; and by transplantation, during the sixteenth century, when commerce became general, to have grown, flourished, matured, and diffused their influence, in every part of Europe.

If this were a place to illustrate such an idea, it would be easy to shew, that ecclesiastical music in the middle ages, was all derived from the Papal chapel, and court of Rome; that counterpoint was first cultivated for their use; that it travelled thence to the Hanseatic towns, and the Netherlands, where the affluence, which flowed from successful commerce, afforded encouragement and leisure for its cultivation; till about the middle of the sixteenth century, when, by the general intercourse which traffic and the new art of printing introduced, all the improvements in harmony, which had been made in Italy and the low Countries, were communicated to every other part of Europe; which not only stimulated the natives to adopt and imitate them, but to improve and render them more different, by their own Inventions and Refinements.

(*q*) *Hist of Charles the Fifth*, vol. i. sect. 1.

We

* * * * * * * * * *

We are now arrived at the Reformation, and middle of the sixteenth century; a period which seems favourable for closing this Volume, already more bulky than the first. My original intention was, to comprise the whole work in two volumes; but I soon discovered, with some degree of shame and mortification, that to have bestowed no more pages on *modern* Music, concerning which we have so much *certain* information, than upon the *ancient*, of which, so little can now be even *conjectured*, would be like allowing one volume in a History of England, to the Heptarchy, and only one to all subsequent times.

At first, imagining that there would be no need of compression, and, indeed, not seeing the whole compass of my subject, I ransacked antiquity for whatever materials it could furnish, relative to the music of the Greeks and Romans, of which the effects have been so splendidly described, and which have long remained, and, it is to be feared, ever will remain, Enigmas to all who have the misfortune to be born too late for the Strains of Swans and Sirens. When I quitted these enquiries, to survey the rest of my labours, I saw "Alps on Alps arise," which it was impossible to ascend without great pain and perseverance; however, as only one could be assailed at a time, I still was obliged to work in detail at particular parts, without bestowing much attention on the *whole*: and in this manner a second Volume has been produced. If I committed an error, in allotting too many pages of my work to the ancient Music, it would have been ill-corrected, by bestowing too few on the modern. Thus, as one error produced a Second Volume, before the completion of my design, so will a Second produce a Third; which, soon after the close of the First, appeared inevitable, unless, all proportion of the whole, to its parts, had been sacrificed.

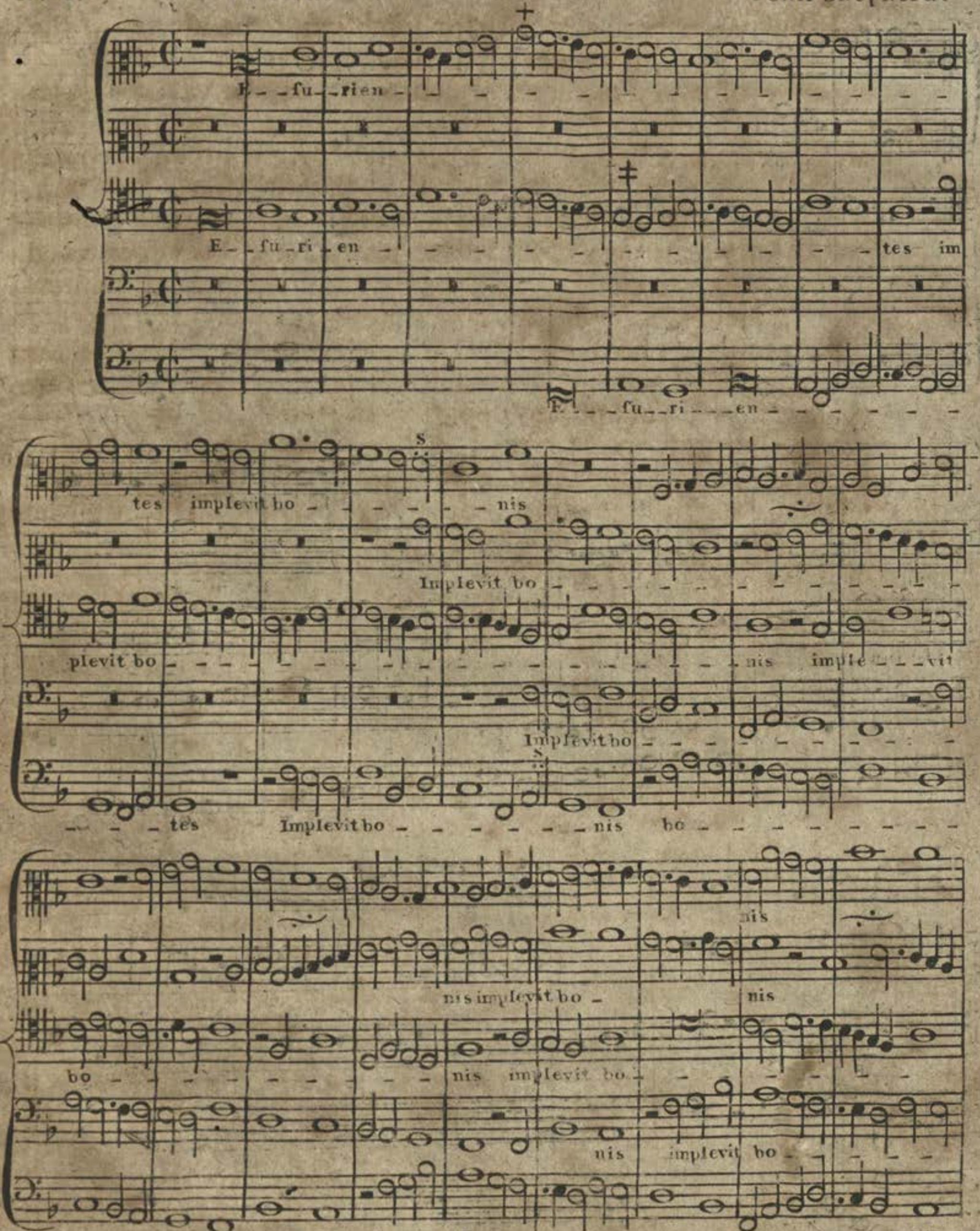
It

It has never been my wish, or intention, to be always in the *Press;* or to keep memory and reflection on the rack, at the expence of every moment of leisure for enjoyment or amusement. My industry, in this undertaking, has not been stimulated by profit, and the reputation of an author becomes daily less alluring, as reflection shews it to be more uncertain. Yet, a repugnance to abandoning, unaccomplished, an enterprize, for which such pains and expence have been bestowed in procuring materials, would be still an incitement to new efforts, though every other should fail.

This apology, for the amplification of my original plan, seems due to my first subscribers. I have been obliged, extremely against my inclination, to depart from the letter of my Proposals; but as it has been done with no selfish or sinister views, my wish being only to render my work more worthy the honour of their pratronage, I venture to hope, that no great moral turpitude will be found in the addition, at some future time, of a THIRD VOLUME.

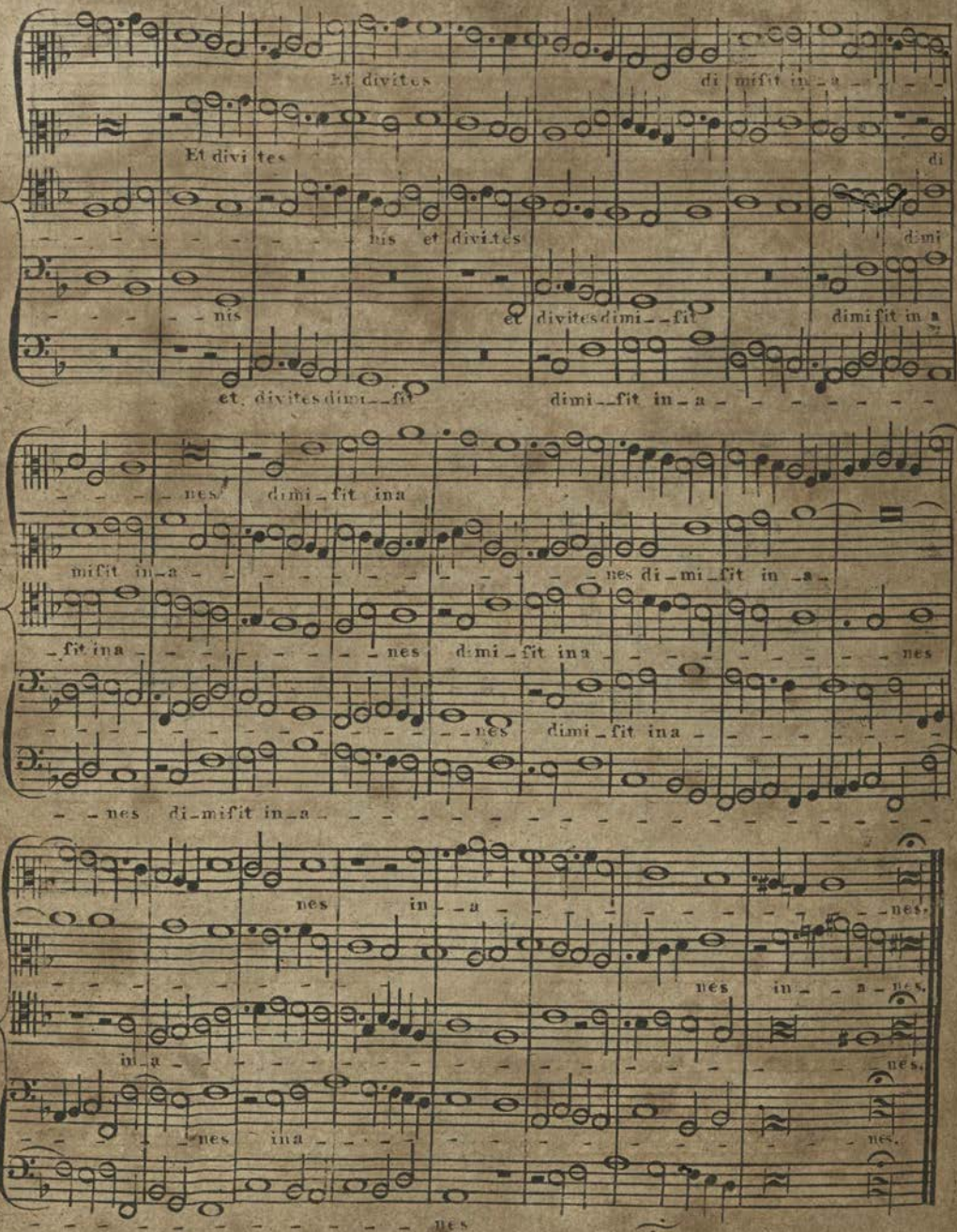
END OF THE SECOND VOLUME.

No. I. Motettus. John Shepherd.



+ This is another inſtance of a mere Appoggiatura being written as an eſsential Note.

‡ The unprepared 7th here, is unuſual, and unpleaſant.


Et divites
di mifit in a
Et divites
di
his et divites
dimi
nis
et divites dimi fit
dimi fit in a
et divites dimi fit
dimi fit in a
nes dimi fit ina
mifit in a
nes di mi fit in a
fit ina nes dimi fit ina nes
nes dimi fit ina
nes di mifit in a
nes
in a nes.
nes
in a nes.
in a
nes.
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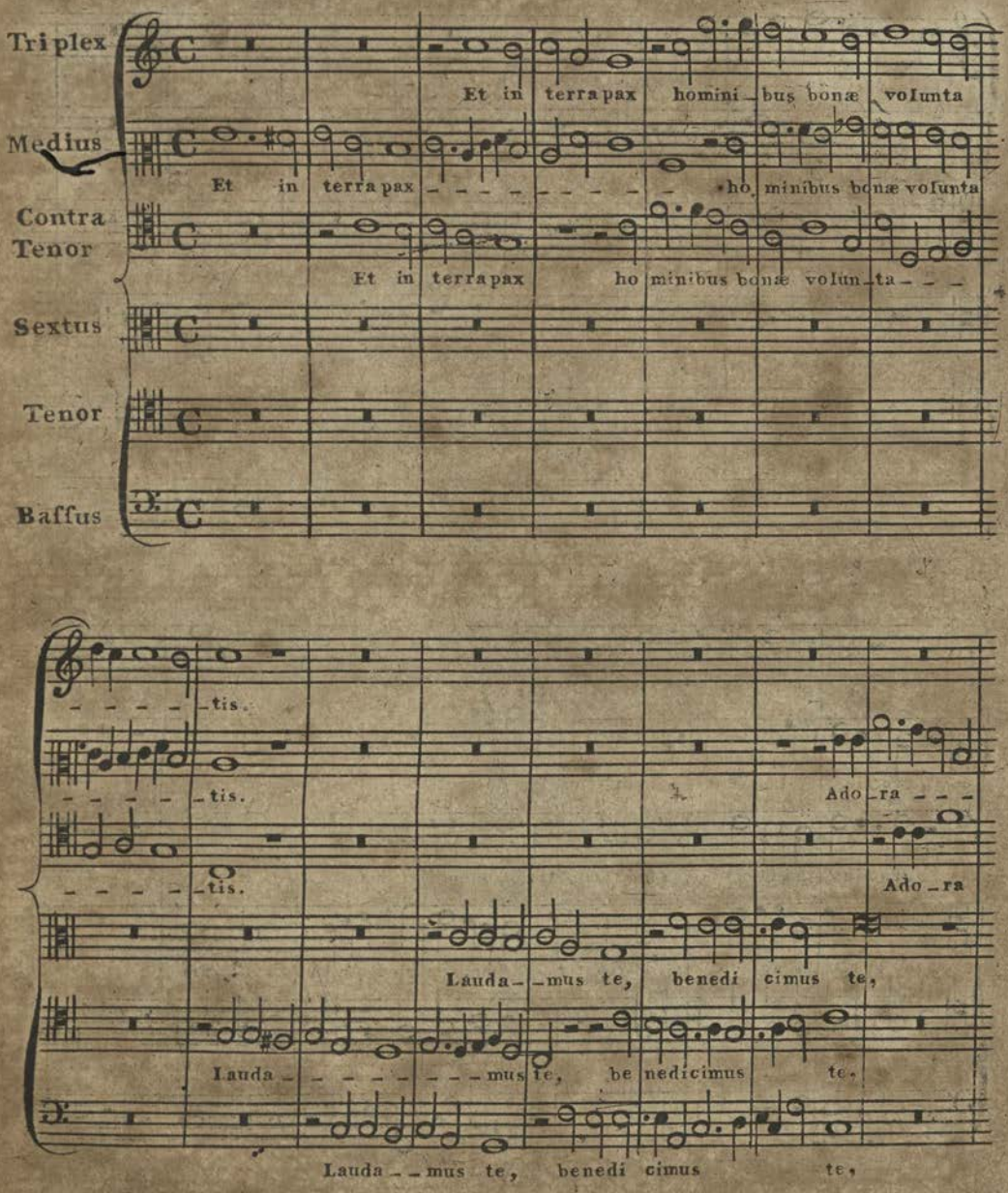
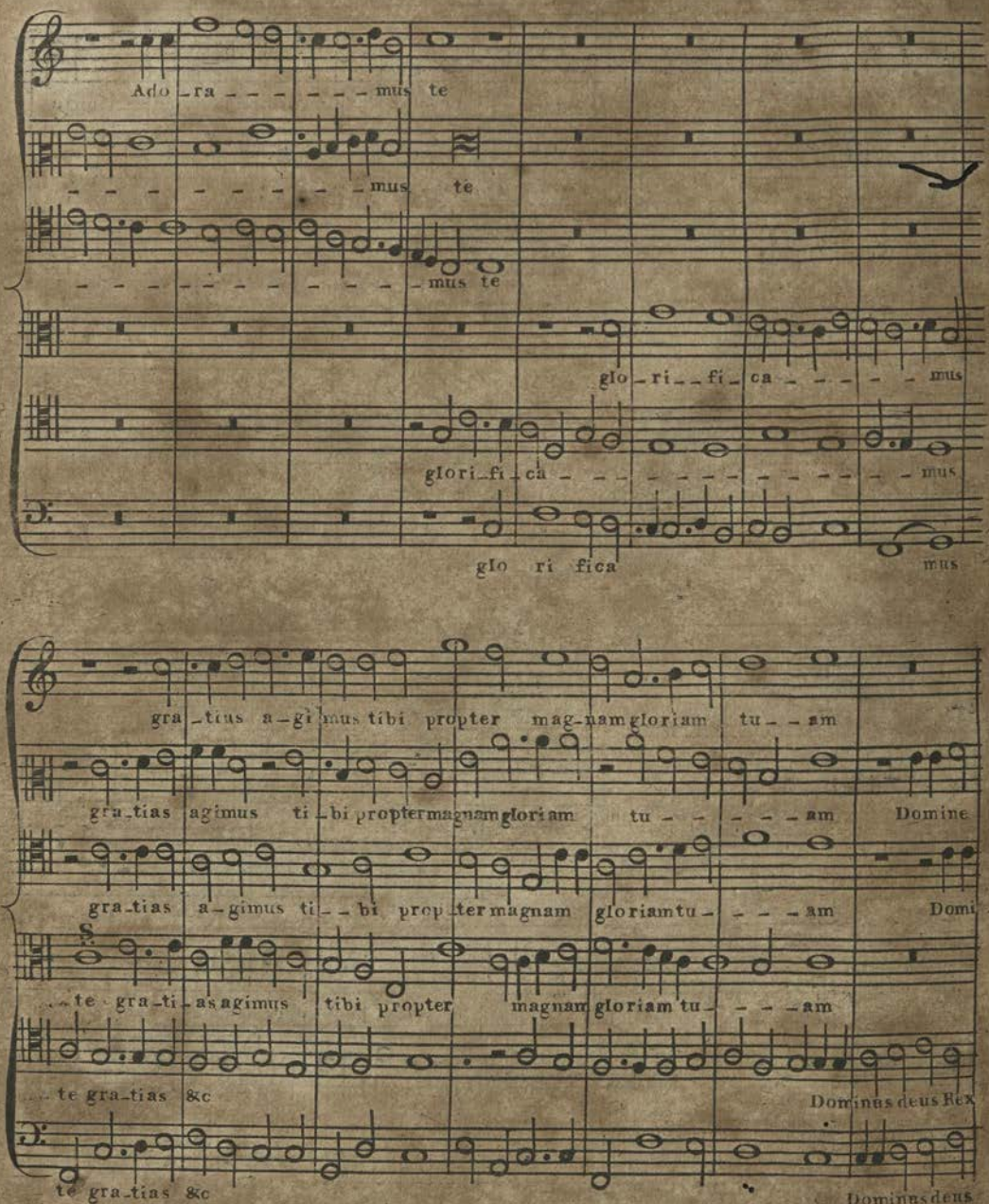
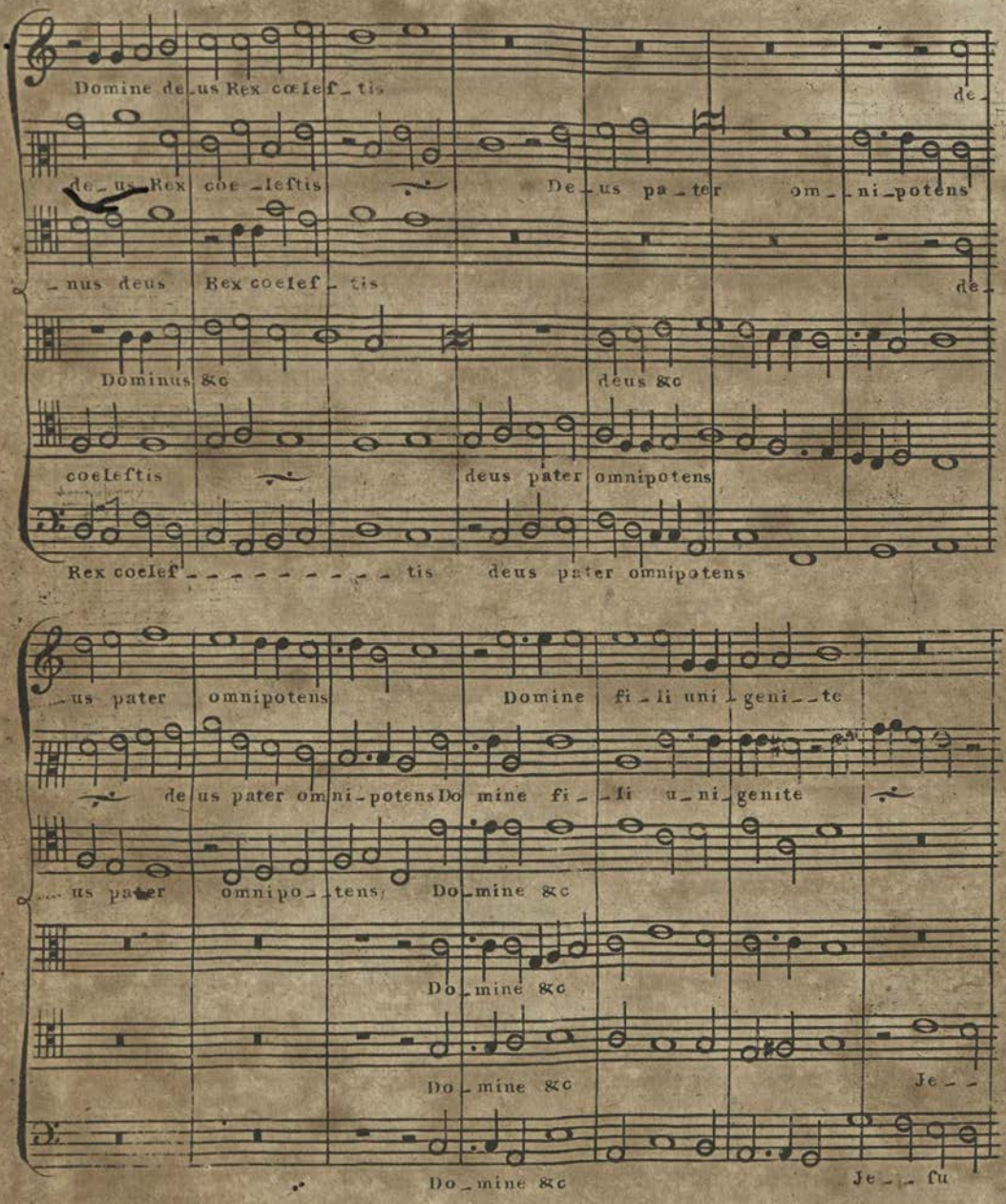
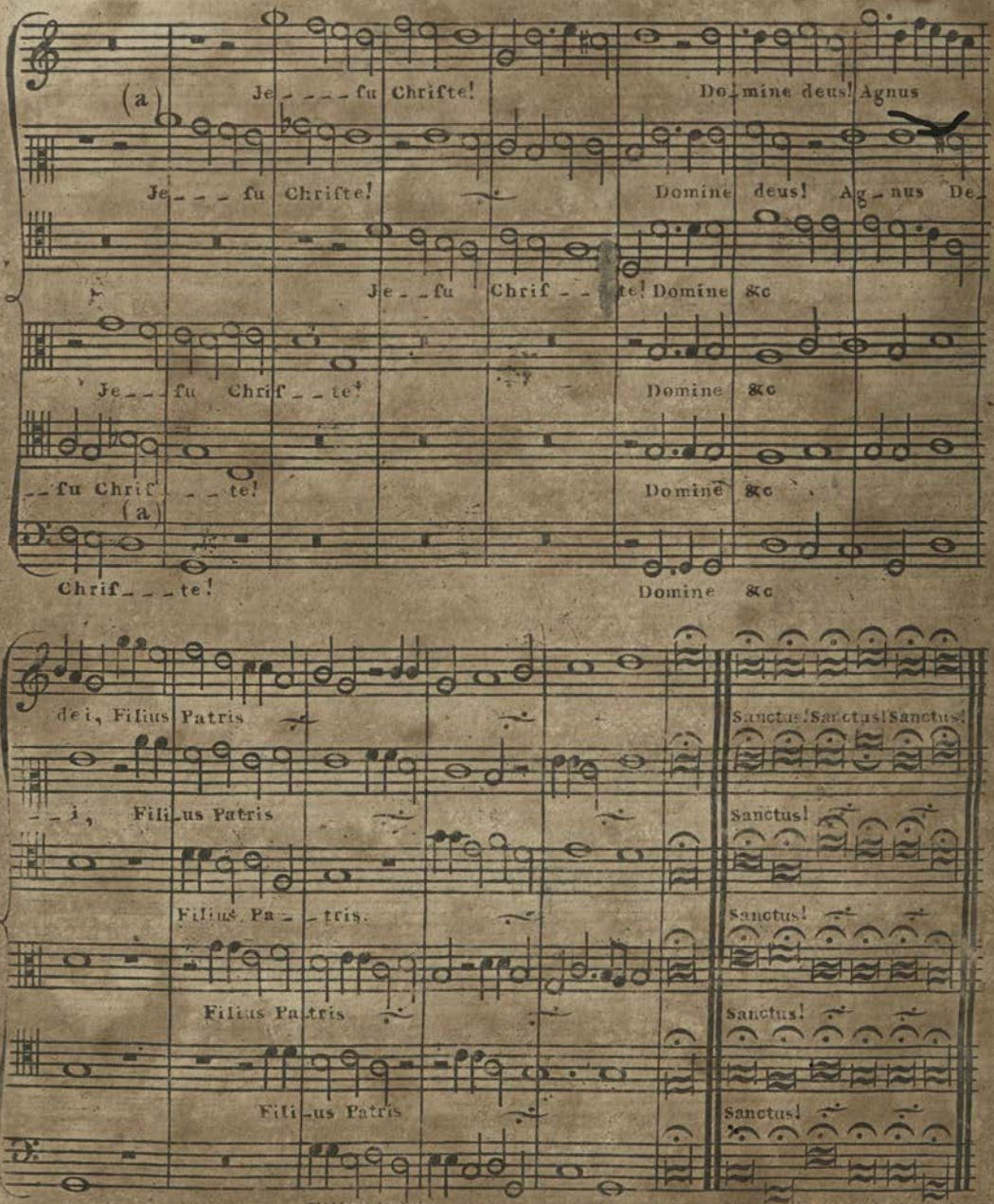
Nº II. The opening of Dr Tye's Mafs, Euge Bone, from the antient Choral Books, preferved in the Mufic School, at Oxford.



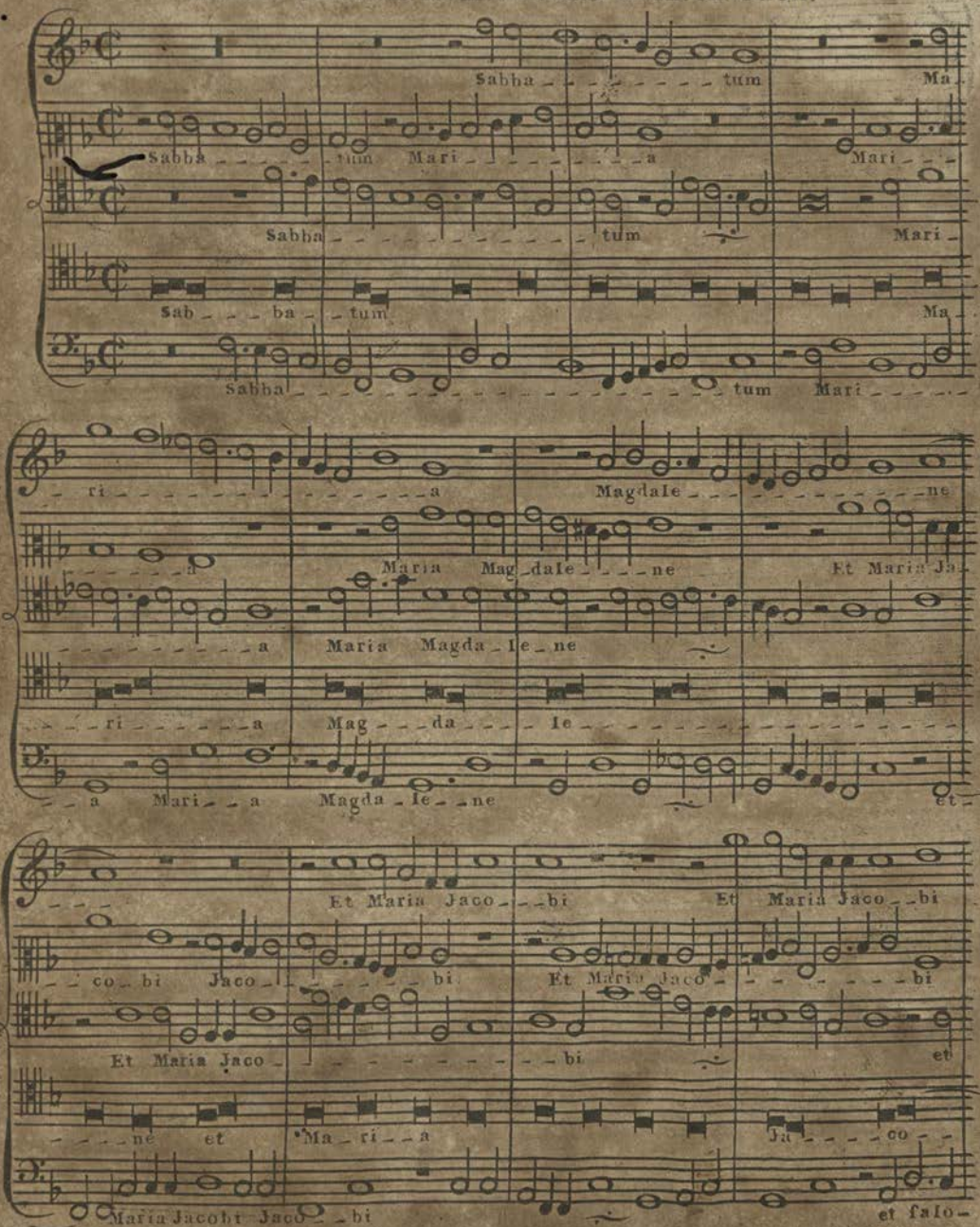

Ado_ra_ _ _ _ _mus te
_ _ _ _ _ _ _ _mus te
_ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _mus te
glo_ri_ _fi_ca_ _ _ _ _ _mus
glori_fi_ca_ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _mus
glo ri fica mus
gra_tias a_gi_mus tibi propter mag_nam gloriam tu_ _am
gra_tias agimus ti_bi propter magnam gloriam tu_ _ _ _am Domine
gra_tias a_gimus ti_ _bi propter magnam gloriam tu_ _ _ _am Domi
te gra_ti_as agimus tibi propter magnam gloriam tu_ _ _ _am
te gra_tias &c
Dominus deus Rex
te gra_tias &c
Dominus deus

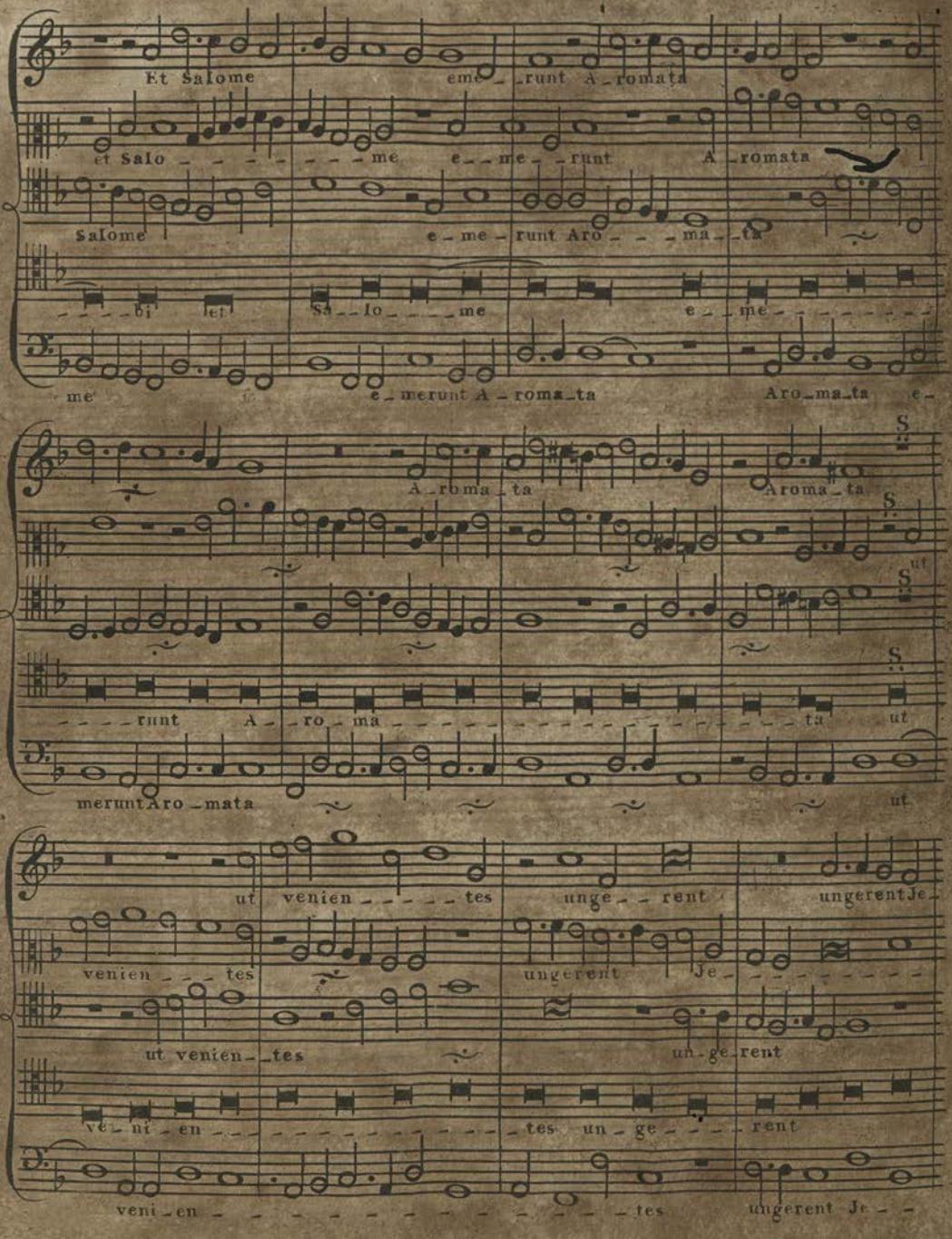

Domine de_us Rex cœlef_tis
de_
de_us Rex coe_leftis
De_us pa_ter om_ni_potens
_nus deus Rex coelef_tis
de_
Dominus &c
deus &c
coeleftis
deus pater omnipotens
Rex coelef_ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ tis
deus pater omnipotens
_us pater omnipotens
Domine fi_li uni_geni_te
de us pater omni_potens
Do mine fi_li u_ni_genite
_ us pater omnipo_tens
Do_mine &c
Do_mine &c
Do_mine &c
Je_ _
Do_mine &c
Je_ _ fu

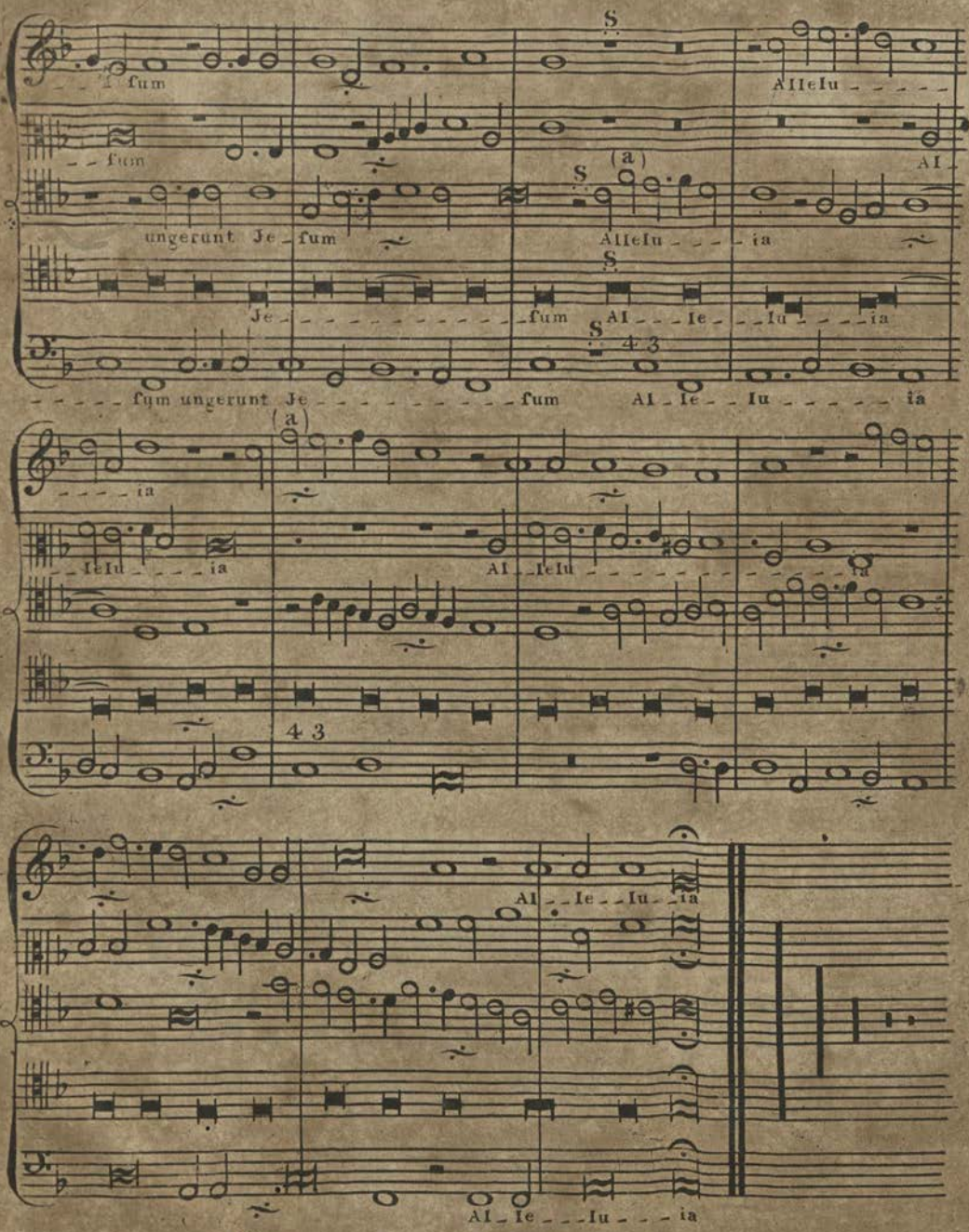


(a) This unor[illegible] 7th would be thought licentious, even in a Compoſer of the preſent times.

N°. III. Robert Johnson. From the M.S.S. of Ch. Ch. Oxon.




Et Salome emerunt Aromata
et Salo me emerunt Aromata
Salome emerunt Aroma ta
bi let Salo me e me
me emerunt Aroma ta Aroma ta e
Aroma ta Aroma ta
runt Aro ma ta ut
merunt Aroma ta ut
ut venien tes unge rent ungerent Je
venien tes ungerent Je
ut venien tes un ge rent
ve ni en tes un ge rent
veni en tes ungerent Je



(a) The unprepared 4ths here, and below, seem to be taken as Appoggiaturas.

a wretched Man muft write a wretched Tale, a woful hed

(a)

be-feemeth to en--dite. a wretched Tale a

woful hed be-feemeth to en--dite.

Engraved by T. Straight, No. 138 St. Martins Lane Charing Cross London.

(a) Here is a ſucceſſion of three 5ths, by contrary-motion; a licenſe which the beſt old Maſters frequently took; but an example of ſuch equivocal Modulation as this Song furniſhes, would be ſought for in vain elſe-where.

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